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An HISTORICAL
A C C O U N T
O F T H E
BRITISH TRADE
O V E R T H E
C A S P I A N S E A :
W I T H A
JOURNAL of TRAVELS
F R O M

LONDON through RUSSIA into PERSIA ; and back again through
RUSSIA, GERMANY and HOLLAND.

To which are added,

The revolutions of PERSIA during the present century, with the particular
history of the great usurper NADIR KOULI.

In F O U R V O L U M E S.

V O L I

By JONAS HANWAY, Merchant.

L O N D O N.

Sold by J. BODSLEY, in Pall-mall ; Mr. NOURSE, Mr. MILLAR, Mr.
VINTAGE, and Mr. PATTERSON, in the Strand ; Mr. WAGGH, in Lombard-
Street ; and Mr. WILLOCK, in CORNHILL. MDCCLIII.

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And. Walker sculp.

To the WORSHIPFUL
ROBERT NETTLETON, Esq;
 GOVERNOR,
 T H E
 CONSULS and court of ASSISTANTS of the RUSSIA
 COMPANY.

GENTLEMEN,

I Beg the favour of your acceptance of a treatise, which could not, with any degree of propriety, be otherwise addressed. Your company is one of the earliest and most successful trading corporations established in this nation. The famous SEBASTIAN CABOT, the father of our

distant navigation, and in some measure the 'founder of our empire in AMERICA, was the director of your company in the discovery of ARCHANGEL: this put us in possession of our trade to RUSSIA, which has been since carried on with so great reputation. In our own time we find the same spirit of industry and enterprize, of which your late attempt over the CASPIAN sea is an honourable proof. How that enterprize was conducted, and what various incidents attended it, as I had an opportunity of the most authentic information, corroborated by my own experience, I have indulged my inclination, and employed my leisure in giving an account: with what fidelity this is done, you are the proper judges.

As this trade became an object of attention to the legislature upon your recommendation, and as the great hopes conceived of it were not entertained without just grounds; I presume it will not be ungrateful to you, that the public should know upon what principles you acted, and how beneficial your undertaking might have been to the nation. Though we have been foiled in this enterprize, the seas are open to us, and whilst we continue MASTERS of them, they are our safest, and perhaps our only means of conveyance; for I believe, history can hardly furnish an instance in these latter times, of a considerable trade being carried on by traversing the dominions of a foreign prince.

The relation of prosperous undertakings is the most agreeable task ; but instruction, which is the great end of historical narrations, depends not upon the nature of events : it is not material whether they are favourable or not, but whether they be honestly and fairly stated, the true causes explored, and their influence discovered through the whole chain of effects. Perhaps future generations may have occasion to refer to what has passed in our time, as we now look back to the days of queen ELIZABETH ; and if circumstances should again render this trade practicable and advantageous to the nation, the experience we have lately bought, must necessarily be of great use.

If we call to mind that religious zeal with which you raised a fund for building a public place of worship at St. PETERSBURG ; and your generous resolution not to permit that the BRITISH nation should be the only one in RUSSIA without this mark of honour and distinction ; may it not be expected that the SUPREME BEING, who directs all events by his providence, will enable you either to revive your CASPIAN trade, or to strike out some other branch more beneficial ? The characteristic of a brave and commercial nation is to be ever pursuing something useful to mankind. The world is not in all its known parts so familiar to us, but new channels of trade may be struck out ; nor is it so well civilized, but commerce may
gently

gently effect what the sword cannot. You have my sincere wishes that in all things prosperity may attend your endeavours, in your private, as well as corporate capacity. I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most humble

London,
January, 1753.

and most Obedient Servant,

Jonas Hanway.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

THE glory and welfare of the BRITISH monarchy depending on the acquisition and preservation of trade, it becomes the duty of every subject to encourage this general design, and consequently to endeavour to inspire the minds of the people with such sentiments as promote industry, and restrain the growth of a luxurious and irregular manner of living. A peculiar accident of my life engaged me in the pursuit of commercial knowledge in a new path, which was that of trading to PERSIA over the CASPIAN sea; but when I was initiated into this commerce, it seemed already devoted to ruin; nor was it in the power of all our skill and industry to support this tender plant against the violence of those rude storms which incessantly blew upon it; so that it hardly began to blossom before it was blasted.

To transmit some account of this to posterity, may possibly be a means of recovering the trade, if future times should render it practicable and advantageous; or at least of preserving the memory of this enterprize, and gratifying the curiosity of the more intelligent part of this nation, who know the importance of trade: for this commerce was proposed to introduce the useful commodity of raw silk, the basis of one of our most considerable manufactures, on the cheapest terms; and, which is still more, in exchange for our manufactured wool, from which such advantages are derived to GREAT BRITAIN.

Never any new trade was entered upon with more sanguine hopes, or prosecuted with more laborious attention by several of the most eminent merchants of this metropolis; to which we may also add, scarce any commercial scheme has had a more powerful protection, from great princes. It must be confessed, that taking all these advantages together, it had once so fair an appearance, that it dazzled the eyes of many, engaged very clear heads, as well as honest hearts, in its cause.

Various

Various were the objections made against this commerce, with regard to the interest of other mercantile companies: some of the members of those companies foretold its fate in general terms; but, as an instance of the fallacy of human wisdom, the design was at length frustrated by means the least, if at all suspected; for could it be imagined that one, who engaged himself as a BRITISH factor in PERSIA, would engage also as a shipwright to NADIR SHAH?

When men have committed errors in life, it is common to suggest reasons for them, as if they existed in their minds previous to their actions. I believe, Mr. ELTON, who had the chief merit in opening this trade, did not really foresee the tendency of his engagement to NADIR SHAH, to which its destruction was in a great measure owing. If the RUSSIANS could have been supposed idle spectators of a PERSIAN naval power, or of a few trading ships on the CASPIAN sea, Mr. ELTON certainly pursued one temporary means of strengthening our interest with NADIR; but such a supposition to him who knew the connection of things on that side, was weak if he did make it; and if he did not, his judgment which, in many instances, was very good, here certainly failed him. But to consider the matter in a mercantile light only, what solid foundation could there be for the security of property under so tyrannical a government, as that of PERSIA; when a factor to merchants, engages as a servant to the crown, and becomes subject every day to be called to an account? This question he hardly ever asked, but suffered himself, the common failing of mankind, to be lulled into an easy security, by contemplating only the bright side of the prospect. Had he acted with more consistency, we certainly might have longer retained the countenance of RUSSIA, and longer supported our trade in the north of PERSIA: for so long as princes ARE on good terms, national compacts are not violated without very strong reasons, though easily cancelled when they ARE NOT.

When I left ENGLAND in 1743, I remember that Mr. RICHARD LOCKWOOD, a TURKEY merchant, discoursed with me to this effect: "Either you will teach the RUSSIANS how to trade, and then become an object of their jealousy, if you have success in this enterprize; or you will

“ will be plundered in PERSIA ; and in either case your trade cannot last “ long.” Experience has taught us, that his observation was just, and in some measure prophetic. It is certain, that in the many years experience of the TURKEY company, they never established any factors in the northern provinces of PERSIA : they thought it more judicious to leave that risk, as well as the profits arising from such establishment to the ARMENIANS ; who used to bring the PERSIAN silk to them in SMYRNA and ALEPPO, as the RUSSIANS and ARMENIANS now bring great part of it to St. PETERSBURG. But the TURKEY company never had the same temptations as the RUSSIA merchants : they had no treaty with the TURKS, to provide for a safe passage to PERSIA, nor any invitations from the mouths of princes to enter upon the trade. Besides, their BY-LAWS restrained their factors from sending goods into PERSIA on their own account.

The parliament, by an act of 1749, now permits us to import raw silk from St. PETERSBURG in exchange for our woollen manufactures : and I hope some advantages will accrue from it to this nation. Some time must pass before affairs in PERSIA will be sufficiently restored to allow of any considerable export of raw silk from thence ; however this is abundantly made up to us by the supplies we receive from other countries. The balance of our RUSSIAN trade is usually about a million of rubles^a in favour of that empire. We import annually about two millions of RUSSIAN commodities, and export to the value of one in our own ; the advantages by this act are still increased in favour of RUSSIA, and ought to give us the greater weight with them in the political scale.

I thought it best in the prosecution of this work, after the perusal, and with the consent of those who were most interested, to introduce several of the ~~most~~ papers I received in the course of my correspondence, of which ~~there~~ there are none of a private nature. This authentic method creates some repetitions, which however I have as much as possible avoided. ~~Some~~ of these papers, as they relate to the opening of this trade, have been ~~printed~~ printed, and published at different times in detached pieces,

^a 220,000 l.

of which some were extremely incorrect, and none of them in any historical order.

Secrecy, or reserve in commercial affairs, is often necessary; had this trade subsisted, the circumstances of it ought, I think, to have been kept private, for reasons of interest; but now the same reasons, joined to the duty we owe to posterity, seem equally to require a preservation of the memory of it. The public indeed has a right to be informed by what means we have lost this branch of our commerce, after it had received such distinguished parliamentary protection.

I intended to have wrote a treatise on the CASPIAN trade only; but this work, for reasons maturely considered, now becomes enlarged beyond my original design. With regard to my own adventures in PERSIA, they had naturally a place in my journal, or rather compose it: a great part of them have a necessary connection with the trade, and constitute the most amusing incidents in this work. As to the conversation which I had with the PERSIANS, considering the distance of place and time, the revolutions and mortalities which have succeeded, and the subject of them, which wholly relates to NADIR SHAH; I concluded the concealment of their names, where nothing was said in secret, might appear as an absurd caution, rather than a religious regard to the duties of society.

To illustrate the subject, I have introduced a chart of the CASPIAN sea, with which captain WOODROOFE presented me on his return from thence. This chart I esteem very correct, and an improvement of that which PETER the GREAT ordered to be made by VANVORDEN, with regard to the soundings, and also the coast, as well as the eastern parts of that sea, where WOODROOFE was sent by the king of PERSIA to make the most minute observations. I have also made such extracts from captain WOODROOFE's journal as I thought any ways material, and which from my own experience I have reason to believe are very true. If we should ever navigate the CASPIAN again, they may be serviceable to us as traders, or if they prove of any use to the RUSSIANS, I shall receive an additional pleasure.

The maps of the RUSSIAN dominions bordering on TARTARY were bestowed on me by general TATTISCHEFF, who commanded the RUSSIAN forces on these frontiers. They were made some years after the account which Mr. ELTON gives of himself; but being relative to it, I had a double motive to make use of them. Other maps which I have yet seen of independent TARTARY are extremely defective: but it is more amazing that a country so much frequented as PERSIA, should not be yet laid down with more exactness than it is. I speak not only of the northern parts, but of the country in general; for we perpetually find places of consequence mentioned in historical accounts, which in maps are blanks, or at best very erroneously placed.

The journals to KHIEVA through the parts of TARTARY on the eastern side of the CASPIAN sea, is of undoubted authenticity, as well as of that on the western coast; the former was related to me by one who made the journey, and confirmed by another of the same company; and the latter is the real rout of the RUSSIAN embassy in 1746, of which I received an exact map.

Writing may transmit a picture of a man's mind, but the pencil only can give us an idea of his person; I have therefore introduced the portraits of those great personages of whom I make particular mention in my journal; nor have I spared any other embellishments, which I imagined might contribute to the satisfaction of the public.

The part of these volumes which consists of a journal of travels, renders it next to impossible to avoid being the hero of my own story, as the occasions occur so often to mention my own actions and sentiments; and indeed the nature of journals renders egotisms unavoidable. I have endeavoured as much as possible to divest myself of prejudices, and from a consciousness of wishing well to mankind, have not been fearful of offending; though by a comparison of customs or opinions, my sentiments may sometimes have the air of satyr: but it is certainly by comparison only that the beauty or defects of things appear.

When I was in PERSIA my curiosity led me to collect several anecdotes concerning the famous usurper NADIR SHAH : I had the fortune to experience such marks of his clemency, as the most polite CHRISTIAN countries can produce few parallels. This afforded me an opportunity of entering into the character of this extraordinary person ; and as I found no regular and continued historical account of him, I resolved to use my own papers, with the addition of such as I could procure here and in RUSSIA. The proper basis of such a work, seemed to be the revolutions of PERSIA during this century, till the time in which he came to act so dreadful a part on the stage of life ; this period takes in near thirty years, and includes the unhappy reign of HUSSEIN, and the invasion of the ARGHANS. The account which we have hitherto had of this matter is imperfect : I should not however have launched so deep, but that I found a FRENCH piece lately published, the author^b of which has taken great pains in collecting the best materials. The original writers of transactions in the EAST have a peculiar propensity to the marvellous : and EUROPEANS also, who have not been on the spot, are apt to give in to the same absurdity. Thus I have endeavoured to rectify, as well from my own personal observation, and anecdotes, as from the general reason of things. It ought however to be remembered, that the genius of the EASTERN nations necessarily gives their history the air of romance. To convey an idea of the PERSIAN government, of which we have many intimations in the sacred writings, I have prefixed to that volume a chronological abridgment, which, in one view, takes in the most material of the numerous revolutions from the foundation of that antient monarchy.

^b M. CLAIRAC.

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O F T H E

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^a This is a mistake, it ought to have been 1739.

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P A R T I.
 T H E
 EARLIEST ACCOUNTS
 O F T H E
 CASPIAN TRADE,
 FROM 1553 TILL THE AUTHOR EMBARKS
 ON THE CASPIAN SEA IN 1743.

C H A P. I.

Attempts made by the first ENGLISH adventurers towards opening a trade through RUSSIA into PERSIA, from 1553 to 1581. Letters wrote by EDWARD VI. and queen ELIZABETH on this subject; with some particulars relating to the CASPIAN trade in those days.

AS I have embarked in a design to write an historical account of the late BRITISH CASPIAN trade, which is interwoven with a multiplicity of interesting and amusing circumstances; it will not, I think, be foreign to my subject to trace matters from the earliest times, and exhibit in a summary way the attempts formerly made towards establishing a commerce of this kind, with the difficulties and interruptions it met with till the year 1738, at which period the ensuing narration properly commences.

The opening a trade over the CASPIAN sea to PERSIA, has ever since the discovery of ARCHANGEL by the ENGLISH, been considered as capable of producing so many advantages to this nation, that attempts were made towards obtaining a share in it, so early as the very establishment of our RUSSIA company. With regard to the several events which happened to our first adventurers, though they are not the immediate subject of this relation, yet as they are visibly connected with, and explanatory of it, I shall give some few particulars with which the reader will have no reason to be displeased. For it cannot be a vulgar entertainment to the benevolent, whose hearts are capable of improvement from the examples of our generous ancestors, to learn WHEN and BY WHOM the discovery was first made that opened a way to the commerce which is the subject of these papers.

This amiable spirit of enterprize which animated our countrymen, first prevailed in 1553, being the seventh and last year of the reign of EDWARD VI. This prince then wrote his letter missive in GREEK, and several other languages, recommending Sir HUGH WILLOUGHBY and Mr. RICHARD CHANCELER, with their company, to the protection of the princes and rulers of the earth, but intended more particularly to those of the south east parts of the globe. Modern ages of refinement and superior knowledge of the world, have rendered such applications romantic, if not ridiculous; but this was not the case in those times, nor can we with any consistency withhold our commendation of that pious and simple, as well as military and commercial genius, on which our forefathers erected those monuments of knowledge, riches, and glory, which have been since carried to so prodigious a height. Upon these principles, the following letters must afford some pleasure to the intelligent and curious reader.

“ **E**DWARD the sixth, by the grace of GOD, king of ENGLAND,
 “ FRANCE, and IRELAND, &c. To all kings, princes, rulers,
 “ judges, and governours of the earth, and all other having any excellent
 “ dignitie on the same, in all the places under the uniuerfal heauen : peace,
 “ tran-

“ tranquillitie, and honour, be unto you, and your lands and regions, which
“ are under your dominions, and to euery of you, as is conuenient.

“ Forasmuch as the great, and almightie God, hath given unto man-
“ kind, above all other living creatures, such a heart, and desire, that e-
“ uery man desireth to ioyne friendship with other, to loue, and be loued,
“ also to giue and receiue mutual benefites: it is therefore the dutie of all
“ men, according to their power, to maintaine and increase this desire in
“ euery man, with well deseruing to all men, and especially to shewe this
“ good affection to such, as being moued with this desire, come unto
“ them from farre countreis. For howe much the longer uoyage they
“ have attempted for this intent, so much the more doe they thereby de-
“ clare that this desire hath bene ardent in them. Furthermore also, the
“ examples of our fathers and predecessors doe invite us hereunto, foras-
“ much as they haue euer gently and louingly intreated such as of
“ friendly minde came to them, as well from countreis neare hand, as
“ farre remote, commending themselves to their protection. And if it be
“ right and equitie to shewe such humanitie toward all men, doubtlesse
“ the same ought chiefly to be shewed to Marchants, who wandering a-
“ bout the world, search both the land, and the sea, to carry such good
“ and profitable things, as are found in their countreis, to remote regions
“ and kingdomes; and againe to bring from the same, such things as they
“ find there, commodious for their own countreis: both as well, that the
“ people, to whom they goe, may not be destitute of such commodities
“ as their countries bring not forth to them, as that also they may be par-
“ takers of such thinges, whereof they abound. For the God of heauen
“ and earth, greatly providing for mankind, would not that all things
“ should be founde in one region, to the ende that one shoulde haue
“ neede of another; that by this meanes friendship might be establish-
“ ed among all men, and euery one seeke to gratifie all. For the establish-
“ ing and furtherance of which uniuersall amitie, certaine men of our
“ realme, moued hereunto by the saide desire, have instituted and taken
“ upon them a uoyage by sea into farre countreis, to the intent that be-

“ tweene our people and them, a way may be opened to bring in, and
 “ carry out marchandizes, desiring us to further their enterprize. Who af-
 “ senting to their petition, haue licensed the right valiant and worthy Sir
 “ HUGH WILLOUGHBY, knight, and other our trustie and faithfull ser-
 “ vants, which are with him according to their desire, to goe to coun-
 “ treies to them heretofore unknowen, as well to seeke such things as we
 “ lacke, as also to carry unto them from our regions, such things as they
 “ lacke. So that hereby not onely commoditie may ensue both to them and
 “ us, but also an indissoluble and perpetual league of friendship be esta-
 “ blished betweene us both, while they permit us to take off their things,
 “ such whereof they have abundance in their regions, and we againe
 “ grant them such things of ours, whereof they are destitute. We there-
 “ fore desire you kings and princes, and al other to whome there is any
 “ power on the earth, to permit unto these our servants, free passage by
 “ your regions and dominions: for they shall not touch any thing of
 “ yours unwilling unto you. Consider you that they also are men. If
 “ therefore they shall stand in neede of any thing, we desire you of all
 “ humanitie, and for the nobilitie which is in you, to aide and helpe them
 “ with such things as they lacke, receiving againe of them such things as
 “ they shall be able to give you in recompence. Shew yourselves so to-
 “ wards them, as you would that we and our subiects should shewe our-
 “ selves towards your servants, if at any time they shall passe by our re-
 “ gions.

“ Thus doing, we promise you by the God of all things that are con-
 “ tained in heaven, earth, and the sea, and by the life and tranquillitie of
 “ our kingdomes, that we will with like humanitie accept your servants,
 “ if at any time they shall come to our kingdomes, where they shall as
 “ friendly and gently be entertained, as if they were borne in our domi-
 “ nions, that we may hereby recompence the favour and benignitie which
 “ you have shewed to our men. Thus after we have desired you kings
 “ and princes, &c. With all humanitie and favour, to entertaine our well-
 “ beloued servants, we will pray our almightie God, to grant you long
 life,

“ life, and peace, which never shall haue end. Written in LONDON, which
 “ is the chiefe City of our kingdome, in the yeere from the creation of the
 “ world 5515, in the month of JIAR^a, the fourteenth day of the
 “ month, and seventh yeere of our raigne.”

The fleet sent out upon this discovery, in consequence of the king's letter, consisted of the BONA ESPERANZA, the EDWARD BONAVENTURE, and the BONA CONFIDENTIA, all under the Command of Sir HUGH WILLOUGHBY, as captain-general. It was this gentleman's fate, in company with the crew of the BONA ESPERANZA, to be frozen to death the same year in LAPLAND; but RICHARD CHANCELER, who commanded the EDWARD BONAVENTURE, had the happiness to make a discovery of ARCHANGEL, from whence he was conducted to Mosco, and there received with singular marks of distinction by the great duke IVAN WASILOWITZ, who accepted the offer of commerce, and returned a favourable answer to the king's letter.

The next material incident was in 1555, when a treaty with the great duke, sometimes called emperor of RUSSIA, was made; by which he granted ample privileges to the ENGLISH merchants trading to RUSSIA; and the same year, king PHILIP and queen MARY honoured them with a charter. The next year OSEP NAPEOFF, the RUSSIAN ambassador, came into ENGLAND. In 1557, ANTHONY JENKINSON passed through RUSSIA into BOKHARA, which he was very quickly obliged to leave; the king of SAMARCAND having invaded that country. He found that the PERSIAN trade lay most on the side of SYRIA, and the frontiers of TURKEY. After variety of fortunes and difficulties, which have a very remarkable analogy with those of the time of which I am now writing, he returned home by way of CASAN on the VOLGA, in 1560, having first had the honour of hoisting the red cross of St. GEORGE, or the royal banner of ENGLAND on the CASPIAN sea.

^a JIAR is the month of february.

In 1561, being encouraged by the merchants adventurers, the same JENKINSON went into PERSIA, having procured a letter from queen ELIZABETH, now in the third year of her reign, to the Shah, TÆHMAS, the king of that country, which, for its singular spirit and simplicity, I also beg leave to insert.

“ ELIZABETH, by the grace of GOD, queene of ENGLAND, &c. To
 “ the right mightie, and right uictorious prince, the great SOPHIE,
 “ emperor of the PERSIANS, MEDES, PARTHIANS, HYRCANES,
 “ CARMANARIANS, MARGIANS, of the people on this side, and be-
 “ yond the river of TYGRIS, and of all men and nations between the
 “ CASPIAN sea and the gulph of PERSIA, greeting, and most happie
 “ increase in all prosperitie.

“ By the goodnes of the almightie God, it is ordayned, that those people,
 “ which not onely the huge distance of land, and the invincible widenes
 “ of seas, but also the uery quarters of the heauens doe moste farre sepa-
 “ rate and sette asunder, may neverthelesse through good commendation
 “ by writing, both ease, and also communicate between them, not onely
 “ the conceiued thoughts, or deliberations, and gratefull offices of huma-
 “ nitie, but also many commodities of mutual intelligence.

“ Therefore, whereas our faithfull, and right well beloved servant AN-
 “ THONIE JENKINSON, bearer of these our letters, is determined, with
 “ our license, favour, and grace, to passe out of this our realme, and by
 “ GODS sufferance to travel even into PERSIA, and other your iurisdiction-
 “ ons: we minde truely with our good fauour, to sette forward, and ad-
 “ uance, that his right laudable purpose: and the more willingly, for that
 “ this his enterprise is grounded upon an honest intent, to establish trade
 “ of merchandize with your subiects, and with other strangers traffiking
 “ your realmes.

“ Where-

“ Wherefore, we have thought good, both to write to your maiestie,
 “ and also to desire the same to vouchsafe at our request, to grant to
 “ our saide servant, ANTHONIE JENKINSON, good pasports, and safe
 “ conducts, by meanes, and authoritie whereof, it may be free, and lawfull
 “ for him, together with his familiars, servants, cariage, merchandize,
 “ and goods whatsoever, through your realmes, dominions, jurisdictions,
 “ and prouinces, freely, and without impeachment, to journey, goe, passe,
 “ repasse, depart, and tarry so long as he shall please, and from thence to
 “ returne, whensoever he or they shall thinke good. If these holye duties
 “ of entertainment, and sweete offices of naturall humanitie, may be wil-
 “ lingly concluded, sincerely embraced and firmly obserued, betweene us,
 “ and our realmes, and subiects, then we doe hope, that the almightie
 “ God will bring it to passe, that of these small beginnings, greater mo-
 “ ments of things shall hereafter spring, both to our furnitures and ho-
 “ nors, and also to the great commodities and use of our peoples: so it
 “ will be knowen, that neither the earth, the seas, nor the heauens, haue
 “ so much force to separate us, as the godly disposition of natural hu-
 “ manitie, and mutuall beneuolence, haue to ioyne us strongly together.
 “ God grant unto your maiestie, long and happie felicitie in earth, and
 “ perpetuall in heauen. Dated in ENGLAND, in our famous citie of
 “ LONDON, the 25. day of the month of Aprill, in the yeere of the
 “ creation of the world 5523, and of our lord JESUS CHRIST, 1561,
 “ and of our raigne the third.”.

Having procured an introduction into PERSIA, JENKINSON returned home without any remarkable success. In 1557 the TURKS conquered the western coasts of the CASPIAN sea, and, in a great measure, prevented the advancement of that commerce which the merchants naturally flattered themselves would happen, in consequence of the favourable decree obtained by JENKINSON from ABDALLAH KHAN, then king of SHIRVAN and HIRCANIA, which last we now call GHILAN; but SHIRVAN was then the residence of our factory. Several ENGLISH subjects were employed in this traffic, of whom one THOMAS ALCOCKE was murdered in PERSIA.

After-

Afterwards CHRISTOPHER BURROUGH went into PERSIA in 1579, and returned home in 1581. He built a vessel on the VOLGA at NIEZANOVGORODE, in which he transported several kinds of merchandize as far as BAKU. At NIEZABAD his vessel was stranded, and great part of his cargo lost. At DERBEND he sold a part of his goods to the TURKS, and bought another vessel to bring home his returns of raw silk; but either through want of experience, or constrained by necessity, he came to RUSSIA so late as the month of november, which occasioned his ship being cut to pieces by the ice: the cargo however was saved in a boat, which floating out to sea with the ice, and being in great danger of perishing, was at length frozen up. The crew left the boat and her cargo, and went in search of assistance, but losing their way their lives were much endangered by hunger, as well as by a shower of arrows from a flying party of NAGAI tartars. At length they had the good fortune to bring their cargo safe to ASTRACHAN, and thus ended the BRITISH CASPIAN commerce.

Occasional voyages have been since made by BRITISH subjects, under the RUSSIAN protection in the close of the last century, but not with any view of establishing a trade, so that I shall pass them over in silence, as not material.

C H A P. II.

Monfieur DE THOU's remarks upon the ENGLISH trade into PERSIA in the days of queen ELIZABETH. FREDERICK duke of HOLSTEIN's embassy in 1633. Antient RUSSIAN and ARMENIAN trade over the CASPIAN. PETER THE GREAT marches an army into the northern provinces of PERSIA; and endeavours to establish a large trade with that country.

TO corroborate the authorities already mentioned, I must beg leave to insert a passage concerning this subject, from the celebrated Monsieur DE THOU, who after relating the establishment of a company in LONDON to trade to MUSCOVY, adds, “ That the profits of that company were immense, by reason that in queen ELIZABETH's reign the ENGLISH had the exclusive privilege of importing all manner of foreign commodities into RUSSIA. By this privilege they were encouraged to visit more carefully the several provinces of that vast empire, which was the means of their discovering, that by ascending the DWIENA they might transport goods as far as WOLOGDA, and from thence in seven days by land to YERISLAW, from which place they might sail down the VOLGA, in thirty days and nights to ASTRACHAN.---Encouraged by this success, the ENGLISH built a ship to navigate the CASPIAN sea, which they found full of shallows. After crossing the CASPIAN they entered into MAZANDERAN, and the deserts of KHORAZAN, also to the extremity of MEDIA, and proceeded as far as TAVRIS and CASBIN. Such happy beginnings gave them reason to hope that they should discover the way to CATHAY^b, but the war which broke out between the TURKS and PERSIANS, hindered them from pushing on their discoveries, and defeated their most sanguine expectations.”

^b The countries to the eastward of KIEVA and BOKHARA.

In 1626, sir ROBERT SHIRLEY was sent ambassador from the ENGLISH court to ABAS THE GREAT, king of PERSIA. The honourable impressions which the PERSIANS early entertained of this nation, may be deduced from the declaration made to that ambassador by this potent prince, the most renowned of the PERSIAN kings, viz. "That he wish'd
 " the christian princes would not wage war against each other, for he was
 " sensible, their common enemy the TURK took great advantages from
 " thence; tho' by the many defeats he had given the TURKS, he had con-
 " vinced the world of the superiority of the PERSIAN arms.---That he
 " would deliver in GAMBROON ^c 10,000 bales of silk, and take the value
 " in ENGLISH cloth for which if he could not find a market in his own
 " kingdom, he would dispose of part to his neighbours; for he should
 " be greatly pleased to deprive the TURK of the yearly customs which
 " he received from the PERSIAN kiervans ^d, which go to the foreign
 " markets in ALEPPO; a profit which he knew to be so considerable,
 " that the janizaries were supported by it, and consequently that it sup-
 " plied his enemies with force to fight against him.—That he esteemed
 " the king of GREAT BRITAIN as the head of the worshippers of
 " JESUS CHRIST, and should be extremely glad of his friendship." It must be remembered, that both the PERSIANS and TURKS did in those days receive such advantages from their commercial intercourse, that by mutual agreement caravans were suffered to pass unmolested, during the long and inveterate wars which subsisted between those two nations.

The FRENCH formed a design of opening a trade from ARCHANGEL over the CASPIAN sea, in the beginning of the last century, as well as in this, of which I shall have occasion to speak; but it does not appear that they carried either into execution.---This indeed is certain, that FREDERICK duke of HOLSTEIN in the year 1633, sent a very pompous and expensive embassy to Shah SHEFIE. After enduring many

^c Supposed to be meant bales of seven batmans of 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. ENGLISH, not 25 batmans, as now in use.

^d The most correct writing is kiervan, commonly called caravan; but as this last word is so well adopted with us, I shall prefer it.

hardships and sufferings, the embassadors were shipwrecked on the western coasts of the CASPIAN sea; and being landed in PERSIA they also met with a variety of no less remarkable disasters. I do not find that this embassy had any effect with regard to the raw silk of the northern provinces of PERSIA, though it may be presumed that the duke had formed a scheme of obtaining an ample supply of this valuable commodity, for his own manufactures in HOLSTEIN.

After the RUSSIAN grand duke ALEXIS MICHAELOWITZ had recovered ASTRACHAN out of the hands of the TARTARS, we find a large quantity of ENGLISH and DUTCH cloths bought by the RUSSIANS and ARMENIANS in ARCHANGEL, for what they called the ASTRACHAN trade.---For when this place fell into their hands, being so advantageously situated, it soon became a considerable mart, the TARTARS from several parts of those vast countries which surround it, resorting thither for EUROPEAN commodities. Their trade was carried over the CASPIAN into PERSIA, in those wretched vessels which the RUSSIANS at that time built on the VOLGA; for PETER THE GREAT was then in the infancy of his power, and the EUROPEAN manner of building ships had not as yet been introduced into RUSSIA.

For a great length of time we do not find that the RUSSIAN navigators went farther than NIEZABAD, from whence they exported the silk of SHIRVAN.---This trade was however frequently interrupted, both on the VOLGA, and on the coast of the CASPIAN, by the KOOBAN and NAGAY TARTARS, as well as by the COSSACKS and RUSSIAN pirates.---SHAMAKEE, the capital of SHIRVAN, on the western coast of the CASPIAN, was the residence of the RUSSIAN merchants, where they drove a considerable trade.---But the LESGIES having invaded PERSIA, and plundered SHAMAKEE in 1712, YEVREINOFF, a RUSSIAN merchant, lost near 200,000 crowns. This accident so discouraged the RUSSIAN traders, that they almost quitted the field to the ARMENIANS, who were more enterprising in commerce, as well as more resolute in defending their property.

But how great soever the encouragements this nation might have from the PERSIANS, we had not less from RUSSIA, in consequence of the services that nation had received from us, and the natural connection we had with it.---The czar PETER thought none had so good a right to a commerce through his country to PERSIA as the ENGLISH, and had conceived hopes of making it considerable enough to engage our attention.---His solicitude in pursuing this scheme was so great, that he published a decree in 1718, permitting all foreigners, as well as his own subjects, to import raw silk into his dominions from PERSIA, or from any of the countries to the eastward of RUSSIA; but I could never learn that this had any effect, because foreigners thought the conveyance dangerous, if not impracticable, and none but ARMENIANS or RUSSIANS were settled in the northern parts of PERSIA, with a view to carry on this trade.

TÆHMAS, the lawful heir of the PERSIAN diadem, being driven into KHORASAN by the invasion of MAHMUD* and his AFGHANS, after the death of his father sultan HUSSEIN, who was slain by those rebels; he invited PETER THE GREAT, in 1722, to come to his assistance.---The czar accordingly made prodigious preparations, and marched a great army along the western coast of the CASPIAN, with which he proceeded in person as far as DERBEND.---It is more than probable that so wise a prince would not have undertaken such an expedition, but in pursuit of his favourite plan, of directing the course of the silk trade through his country.---Indeed he had been flattered into a persuasion that the LESGEE TARTARS would submit to him; but on the contrary they harrassed the RUSSIAN army exceedingly, and rendered their march along the coast as dangerous as it was fatiguing.---Beside the western coast of the CASPIAN, the czar took possession of great part of GHILAN; but the peasants of that country neglected their silk, so that very little of this commodity could be procured from them. The warmth and dampness of GHILAN, together with the unwholesome fruits, rendered that province the grave of the RUSSIANS; for which reason the empress ANNE very prudently con-

* The son of MIR VAEZ, chief of CANDAHAR.

sent to evacuate the country in 1734, without drawing any advantage from it.

To return to PETER THE GREAT. A few months before his death he requested in a particular manner of an ENGLISH merchant^f, then on his departure for ENGLAND, to treat with the merchants in LONDON, about opening a trade through his country to PERSIA; but this prince did not foresee all the difficulties attending the undertaking, though he was sensible of many of them.---His death however put an end to the enquiry at that time; and the apprehensions the BRITISH merchants then conceived of the dangers which the trade would be exposed to, proved a hindrance to the attempt, till the year 1738, when an unexpected incident happened, which opened a new scene of commercial adventures.

C H A P. III.

Mr. ELTON's proposal in 1738, to the ENGLISH factors in St. PETERSBURG, to open a trade through RUSSIA into PERSIA.---Mr. ELTON's employment in the RUSSIAN service, in 1735, till his journey into PERSIA in 1739.

SUCH was the situation of affairs, with regard to the CASPIAN commerce, when Mr. JOHN ELTON, who had been bred to the sea service, made a proposal in 1738, to some of the BRITISH factors in St. PETERSBURG, to carry on a trade through RUSSIA into PERSIA, by way of the CASPIAN sea. As this gentleman makes a considerable figure in these papers, the reader, in all probability, will be curious to have some account of him, and of the motives which induced him to engage in this under-

^f MR. RICHARD MAINWARING.

taking.---I shall therefore, to gratify so reasonable a curiosity, insert the following account, extracted from that which he gave of himself to the BRITISH merchants, at the time of his making this proposal.

In the beginning of the year 1735, Mr. ELTON was sent by the court of RUSSIA to assist in the ORENBURG expedition in the rank of a sea captain.---This expedition was commanded by general WASSILLIE NEKIETISH TATTISCHEFF, and was intended to establish an effectual barrier against the TARTARS, and, in some measure, to ascertain and cover the south east frontiers of the empire, by building fortifications, and making small settlements on the rivers SAMARA, and YAEIK; and, at the same time, to open a communication betwixt the city of SAMARA on the river VOLGA, cross the STEP^a quite to SIBERIA, the distance of about 800 ENGLISH miles. These fortifications are at several distances from 20 to 40 RUSSIAN wersts, according to the maps inserted, with garrisons of 100, 200, or 300 men; but these settlements are not yet all made^b.

This it was presumed would give a check to the inroads of the neighbouring TARTARS, particularly the KIERGEESE, and, in time, become a means of civilizing them.---It was also imagined, that a safe road through their country to the great and lesser BOKHARA, might be discovered from some of these new settlements. In order to accomplish this end, it was resolved that captain ELTON should be sent to explore and examine the lake ARAL, which lies to the eastward of the CASPIAN; but he could never penetrate thither, being prevented by the intestine broils which then broke out among the BASKIERKIE TARTARS, who though they have been reputed subjects to the empire of RUSSIA above a hundred years, yet, within that period, have frequently rebelled. So that Mr. ELTON being disappointed in this design, employed himself whilst he continued

^a The common name in RUSSIA for a desert country.

^b The reader will observe what countries border on these settlements, by the two charts, N^o II. and III. annexed, which are part of a manuscript map, but being of a very large size, I have divided it into three.

in the RUSSIAN service, during the ORENBURG expedition, in laying down some part of the great rivers, BELLA, KAMA, VOLGA, and YAEIK, and several considerable rivers that fall into them; and in drawing a geographical map of the south east frontiers, from the springs of the YAEIK, which rise out of the mountains on the confines of SIBERIA.---He traced that river to the city of YAEIK, through its course of near 600 ENGLISH miles; and from YAEIK, to the city of SAMARA, which is 150 ENGLISH miles, all through a desert.

In this manner he spent four years, which afforded him a constant opportunity of conversing with the different sorts of roving TARTARS, who inhabit those vast and uncultivated countries that lye betwixt BOKHARA and the western boundaries of SIBERIA; and likewise with the SARTS, who are civilized trading TARTARS, and live in BOKHARA, and in the other cities to the eastward.---Of these there are considerable numbers, who annually cross the STEP, from the cities of KHIEVA and BOKHARA, as well as from TORCUSTAND, TASHKUND, KHOJEND, &c. to some of the new RUSSIAN settlements.---There were many YAEIK COSSACKS during this space under his command, who were taken prisoners in the unhappy expedition of prince BECKAWITZ, which I shall have occasion to mention more particularly hereafter, and who had been slaves several years in BOKHARA. From the conversation he had with those people, he conceived a strong notion, that if a safe road could be struck out to those cities, a very advantageous trade might be carried on with them, and great quantities of woollen goods vended.---But at length he found it was absolutely impracticable to cross the STEP from any of those new settlements on the YAEIK to KHIEVA¹, TORCUSTAND, TASHKUND, &c. on account of the perpetual excursions of the KIERGESE, KHARAKHULPACKS and KHIVINSKIE TARTARS, who inhabit the STEP, and are continually plundering each other.---He concluded therefore that the only safe and easy passage to BOKHARA, lay down the river VOLGA, and across the CASPIAN to ASTRABAD, or to some other port in the south east bottom of that sea.

¹ Commonly wrote KHIVA. I endeavour to adapt the orthography to the true pronunciation.

Having thus contracted a strong inclination to visit BOKHARA, he returned to PETERSBURG, in January 1738, and quitted her imperial majesty's service with some disgust, not having been promoted as he expected. Immediately upon his taking this step, he began to entertain thoughts of going amongst the black KHALMUCKS, to the eastward of KHIEVA, from whence gold and other precious commodities were brought into EUROPE. ---These people had their ambassadors at that time at the court of St. PETERSBURG, who flattered some foreigners with hopes of meeting with a kind reception in their country. This design, which I suppose was looked upon as a little extravagant, did not take place; however he still persisted in his views of making some new and profitable commercial discovery. After some time he brought his project to bear, for having cultivated a good understanding with the BRITISH factors in St. PETERSBURG, and entered into a close conjunction with Mr. MUNGO GRÆME, a young SCOTSMAN, they obtained credit, and a small cargo of goods proper for KHIEVA and BOKHARA.---With these they set out the beginning of the next year upon this expedition, of which as it is remarkable, abounds with very curious incidents, and contains many useful particulars relating to the subject of these papers, I shall give a succinct narrative of it, faithfully extracted from his own journal.

C H A P. IV.

Mr. ELTON's journal from Mosco till his arrival at RESHD.

“ WE left Mosco the 14th of March 1739, and travelled 240
 “ wersts^k with sledges to MUROM, a city situated on the north
 “ bank of the river OCCA.---This river is very considerable, and falls into

^k A werst is $\frac{2}{3}$ of an ENGLISH mile.

“ the VOLGA at NIEZANOVGORODE. The ice was yet subsisting, but
 “ full of holes, and rotten ; however as it was then a hard frost, clear and
 “ moonlight, we ventured to traverse it at midnight, and got safe over.
 “ From thence we proceeded about 160 wersts to the city ARSAMAS, here
 “ we found the rivulets much swelled with the melting of the snow, and
 “ the ice broken up, so that we could not continue our journey till the wa-
 “ ters abated, and it was convenient to travel with waggons on wheels,
 “ with which we had a fair opportunity to provide ourselves. The latter
 “ part of our journey proved as tedious to us, as it was fatiguing to our
 “ horses, being frequently obliged, by the overflowing of the waters, to
 “ leave the main road and go far about. Two of our horses died with fa-
 “ tigue, and the rest were greatly harrassed. We arrived at ARSAMAS the
 “ 21st, and took up our quarters in an adjacent village.

“ The 4th of April we provided ourselves with waggons and fresh carri-
 “ ers, and finding the waters almost drained off the land, we departed for
 “ SARATOFF.—Our course being to the south east, travelling began to be
 “ pleasant, the summer advanced, and the roads grew every day better on
 “ the STEP, where we found great plenty of wild ducks, snipes, heath-
 “ cocks, and other birds, of which we shot more than enough to supply us,
 “ and lived wholly on game. But there was yet no grass on the STEP, so
 “ that during our four days travelling over it, we were obliged to carry hay
 “ and corn for our horses : however we should have found it very agreeable,
 “ but that one or other of us was constrained to be continually on the watch,
 “ for fear of a surprize. There are houses called ZAIMORAS, built for the
 “ accommodation of travellers in winter, about 20 wersts distant. In these
 “ cottages we were forced to take up our lodgings, water in other places
 “ being very scarce. These ZAIMORAS are harbours for rogues, as well as
 “ for honest travellers, which obliged us to be more than usual on our guard ;
 “ neither could we put any confidence in our waggoners. We had only two
 “ RUSSIAN servants with us, so that we divided ourselves in the night into
 “ two watches, a method which we afterwards continued all the way down
 “ the VOLGA.

“ April the 15th. We arrived at the city of SARATOFF, and waited on the
 “ WEYVODE¹; we found great difficulty to get quarters, the town having
 “ been burnt about a year before. As the ARMENIANS, whom we were in
 “ hopes to have found here, had failed two days before; we were much
 “ distressed how to get a passage, no vessel being obtainable but large boats
 “ which were bound down the VOLGA with meal, and might probably
 “ be a month in their passage to ASTRACHAN. The large lotkas^m and ca-
 “ noes, which used to be here in great numbers, were either gone or going
 “ on the sturgeon fishery, and could not be either hired or purchased on any
 “ terms. Thus we were under the strongest difficulty imaginable how to
 “ get to ASTRACHAN time enough to secure our passage over the CAS-
 “ PIAN.

“ While we were under this dilemma, a vessel arrived with passengers
 “ from SAMARA, and being informed that there was a lotka belonging
 “ to her, bad as she was, we determined to buy her. The reader will
 “ easily comprehend what she was, by the inconsiderable price of three
 “ rubles and an half, which we gave for her. It required two days to pre-
 “ pare her for the voyage; in the mean time we engaged five hands to go
 “ with us to ASTRACHAN. The third day we put our goods and part of
 “ our baggage and provisions on board; but the far greatest part of the latter
 “ we were forced to take out again to be sent after us by the first opportu-
 “ nity, for there was only room for our oars, and two of us to sit in the
 “ stern. When we all got into the boat, being now ten in number, she swam
 “ so deep that we were extremely irresolute whether to proceed in her or
 “ not. But sensible of the singular advantage of joining the ARMENIANS,
 “ who were gone before us, desirous also to cross the CASPIAN in the same
 “ vessel with them, and persuaded that if we missed this opportunity, we
 “ might lose half the summer before another vessel sailed for RESHD, or
 “ that arriving there late in the season, we might be forced to winter in GHI-
 “ LAN; we used our utmost expedition in dispatching all things for our de-
 “ parture, and resolved to proceed with her. On the security of our little

¹ The chief magistrate, who acted as governor.

^m Boats so called.

“ cargo

“ cargo all our hopes of opening a trade depended ; and to arrive at ASTRACHAN with our goods damaged, was the same as not to arrive there at all. These difficulties made us forget the dangers, to which we were exposed from a party of pirates, who we were informed hovered about ZOLOTOVA. We had fire arms more than sufficient, and not hearing that these robbers were as yet provided with them, we made no question of our capacity of defending ourselves in case they should attack us.

“ April the 20th. We set sail, and left SARATOFF, but were detained some hours every day by contrary winds, which blew fresh ; this obliged us to go very near the entrance of ZOLOTOVA inlet, which on a sudden brought us in sight of a party of at least 40 persons, who were on the bank with six large boats. We instantly stood to our arms, and demanded who they were, they answered that they belonged to NISNANOVGORODE, and were going to ASTRACHAN. We rowed down about a mile lower, and went ashore, but before we had well landed, the crew of one of the suspected boats put off, and came directly down to us ; but as we kept our people under arms, she held on her way down the VOLGA. We met with many alarms of the like kind in our passage, sometimes from the RUSSIANS, sometimes from the KHALMUCKS ; and the winds being often contrary, and our boat so very deep laden, we were frequently obliged to make fast to the shore, by which means it was a fortnight before we reached ASTRACHAN, where, as may be very easily conceived, we arrived thoroughly fatigued ; since there was no room to lye down in the boat, and to sleep sitting was almost as bad as being without sleep ; besides, the danger of being surprized, permitted us to take at the most only broken slumbers.

“ May the 4th, being at ASTRACHAN, we secured our boat, and, after taking our rest, landed our goods and baggage. Here we found the ARMENIANS whom we so much desired to join ; they intended to load their goods one of the vessels belonging to the crown, which was to sail for RESHD in three weeks. In this interval we informed ourselves of the nature of

“ the PERSIAN trade, and how it was carried on by the RUSSIANS, as well
 “ as the ARMENIANS. The latter suspecting our design were very shy in
 “ giving us information; and as we easily perceived this, we could not rely
 “ on what they said. They acknowledged however, that the trade from
 “ ASTRACHAN to PERSIA had hitherto been free and open; that foreign
 “ merchants importing goods into PERSIA, might carry them to what mar-
 “ ket they liked best, and dispose of them to whom they pleased; but that
 “ this year all goods brought to RESHD were obliged to be sold there; and
 “ that the SHAH’s son would not permit any one to buy them, except his
 “ own merchants; for although they might keep their goods, if they did
 “ not like the price which those merchants offered, yet they were not al-
 “ lowed to carry them to any other market, or permitted to sell them to any
 “ other person; and that the SHAH’s son had engrossed all the raw silk to
 “ himself, so that this commodity was to be procured only of his mer-
 “ chants.

“ Things being thus circumstanced, we determined to proceed directly
 “ from ASTRACHAN to KHIEVA, and thence to BOKHARA, for which
 “ places the goods we had with us were very proper. Here was a vessel
 “ bound for cape KARAGANSKOI, on the east side of the CASPIAN, from
 “ whence, by traversing the STEP, in about ten days we might arrive at
 “ KHIEVA, and proceed from thence to BOKHARA. Two RUSSIAN fac-
 “ tors intended to make this voyage, as well as several KHIVINSKIE TAR-
 “ TARS, who came in the same vessel from cape KARAGANSKOI the year
 “ before.---We were desirous to see BOKHARA, and from thence to come
 “ home through PERSIA, thinking ourselves secure of selling our goods
 “ there for a considerable profit, and in the right road at the same time of
 “ gaining a tolerable acquaintance with a country so little known to EU-
 “ ROPEANS, and of carrying on a trade in which we chiefly placed our
 “ hopes. But we found the vessel old and crazy, and were told, that in
 “ passing the STEP to KHIEVA, we should run the greatest hazard of being
 “ plundered and sold for slaves: for though the KHAN of the TARTARS
 “ should, on notice of this vessel’s arrival, send a small escort to meet and
 “ protect

“ protect the caravan, yet this was a slender security, since as the TARTARS
 “ are crafty and subtle, and wonderfully skilled in stratagems, he might at the
 “ same time send a much stronger party to plunder it. But what prevailed
 “ on us most to desist from this expedition, was the certain intelligence we
 “ had of the PERSIANS invading that country; so that had we arrived safe
 “ at KHIEVA and BOKHARA, there could be but little hopes of our return-
 “ ing home by the way of PERSIA; and thus the principal end of our
 “ journey would have been defeated. We now therefore turned our eyes
 “ directly towards PERSIA, though even on that side we had but a gloomy
 “ prospect, and observing that the ARMENIANS shipped off goods for RESHD,
 “ it encouraged us to run the same risk, as without some risk nothing could
 “ be done.

“ May the 23d. Being informed by the lieutenant, who was the com-
 “ mander of the admiralty, that a vessel belonging to the EMPRESS was on de-
 “ parture for RESHD, we immediately put our goods and baggage aboard her,
 “ and proceeding down the VOLGA, the next day we arrived at YERKIE.
 “ A midshipman, who was the commanding officer there, gave us the best
 “ quarters he could procure. The houses in that place are very mean, ex-
 “ cept that belonging to the admiralty, which consists of four rooms, where
 “ four midshipmen were lodged. We arrived at YERKIE five days before
 “ the ARMENIANS, and were forced to remain there four days longer, be-
 “ fore they had loaded their goods, and the vessel could be put into a condi-
 “ tion to sail.

“ June the 3d. Having left YERKIE in fair weather and a calm, we
 “ drove with the stream over the bar. After a passage of 14 days, we ar-
 “ rived safe in ENZELLE road, and the next day got over that bar, and en-
 “ tered the haven.

“ The next day we warped over ENZELLE lake, and came to PERRI-
 “ BAZAR, a small village on the south bank of the lake. Here the PER-
 “ SIAN custom-house officers had their station, and all the goods design-
 “ ed for RESHD are landed.

C H A P. V.

Mr. ELTON's journal continued, from his arrival at RESHD till his obtaining a decree of RIZA KOULI MYRZA, the regent of PERSIA, in favour of the BRITISH merchants.

“ **J**UNE the 21st. We landed our goods and baggage, and after they had
 “ been visited by the custom-house officers, we proceeded directly with
 “ them to RESHD, which is eight ENGLISH miles distant. The goods were
 “ lodged in the custom-house, and remained there about three days, in which
 “ time they were opened, viewed, valued, and delivered to us; the duty
 “ was 5 per cent. on their valuation, the amount of which they left at our
 “ pleasure to discharge when we thought fit. We were obliged to take up
 “ lodgings in a very indifferent caravanserai; indeed the best of them are very
 “ mean, the rooms having no light but from the door, so that they appeared
 “ like the cells of a jail in our own country. But at length we procured a
 “ house, in a situation so pleasant that it seemed a heaven to us. Our great-
 “ est concern now was, in what character to act, being such entire strangers,
 “ and the first ENGLISHMEN that were known to have come hither over
 “ the CASPIAN on account of trade. As it was most agreeable to our
 “ inclinations, so it was our primary intention, to live privately, and re-
 “ turn home unobserved; but this we found to be a scheme absolutely
 “ impracticable, for the JOULFA ARMENIANS* at ASTRACHAN, as well as
 “ those who came over in the same vessel with us, being much alarmed
 “ at the notions which, through jealousy and fear, they had formed of our
 “ design, had acquainted every body who we were, particularly the gover-
 “ nor of the province of GHILAN, whom we were well assured they had en-
 “ deavoured to prejudice against us. In this situation we laboured to pro-
 “ cure the very best information we could, of the disposition and temper
 “ of the PERSIANS, and determined to act in our proper character as mer-
 “ chants. This resolution being once formed, to prevent his sending to en-
 “ quire

* Inhabitants of JOULFA near ISFAHAN.

“ quire after us, we waited on the MUSTAPHA, who commanded the city in
“ his absence. We informed him that we were ENGLISHMEN, come with
“ a small cargo of ENGLISH cloth, to see how it would sell in GHILAN, and
“ to buy raw silk ; that if, upon the experiment, we should find it answer,
“ our design was to engage largely in the trade, and establish a factory in
“ GHILAN ; that as one of us was a seaman^o, as well as merchant, it was
“ proper to take a survey of the CASPIAN, that we might know if it was
“ navigable, and how far we might venture our goods on it ; also to enquire
“ if the vessels that now traversed the CASPIAN were to be trusted, or whe-
“ ther we should be obliged to have vessels of our own.

“ To which the MUSTAPHA^p replied, that the SHAH was a great encou-
“ rager of trade, without doubt, would favour our design ; that we
“ might depend on indulgence and protection in all things we could reason-
“ ably desire ; and that he would immediately make a report of us to the
“ VIZIR^q, who was in the country. The favourable manner in which,
“ our project was received, gave us great pleasure ; however we thought
“ it necessary to pay our respects to the VIZIR himself, as soon as possible.

“ June the 27th, Having provided ourselves with horses, we set out for
“ LAHIJAN, a city about 50 wersts to the eastward of RESHD, where the
“ VIZIR had a country seat, the heats being much more moderate there than
“ at RESHD. It was late in the evening when we arrived at LAHIJAN. Our
“ guide and interpreter, who was a PERSIAN that spoke RUSS, carried us di-
“ rectly to the CALENTAR^r, whose eldest son received us very civilly. When
“ the CALENTAR came home, he repeated the compliments which his son
“ had made us, ordered supper, and appointed us an apartment in his house.
“ After supper we retired, and were followed by the CALENTAR's eldest son,
“ who brought two of his countrymen with him. Finding that they drank

^o Here Mr. ELTON first made a discovery of what he ought in all prudence to have concealed.

^p Signifies a writer ; there are of different orders.

^q Vizir is the next officer to the governor.

^r Town-clerk.

“ strong liquors, and had excellent lemon-juice, we treated them with punch,
“ which lasted till midnight, at which time our brandy was near expended ;
“ for we did not expect to find any admirers of strong liquors among the na-
“ tives of PERSIA.

“ June the 28th, About sun-rise we waited on the VIZIR, having previously
“ sent our present, as no person in that country appears before a great man,
“ for the first time, without a gift of some kind or other. He received us
“ very kindly, bidding us welcome ; and immediately chairs were brought
“ us to sit down. Our interpreter informed him who we were, and on
“ what account we came into PERSIA, and begged in our names the favour
“ of his protection. He answered, that as we were strangers, so he reck-
“ oned us his guests ; and therefore had we not come about any particular
“ business, it was his duty to do all in his power to serve us : that as to our
“ design, he would talk to us about it, when he came to RESHD, and then
“ he would forthwith make a report to the SHAH, who he was assured would
“ not fail to shew us favour. He entertained us with coffee, tea, and sweet-
“ meats, but excused himself that he could not ask us to dine with him that
“ day, because he was to go immediately to RESHD ; however he desired that
“ we would rest ourselves with the CALENTAR, who would be very glad of
“ our company. The house of the VIZIR stood at the west end of a large ob-
“ long court, of green turf, enclosed with a wall, a quarter of a mile in
“ circumference. The east end of the house was a large covered gallery,
“ in which is a fountain, and from whence we had the command of a coun-
“ try that would have afforded an excellent landskip, the prospect to the
“ eastward and the adjacent lands, being interspersed with mountains, woods,
“ and vales, so that nothing could be more delightful. At the farther end of
“ the gallery sat the VIZIR, on each side of him several PERSIANS of distinction,
“ who, smoking their calcan, observed a profound silence. The VIZIR had
“ the command of a 1000 men : in the absence of the governor he has a
“ guard of 100 men, whom he ordered to be drawn up under the gallery,
“ in two lines facing each other, intending it as a compliment to us.

“ We then returned to the CALENTAR’s house, with whom we were
 “ now become in some measure acquainted; and retired to our apart-
 “ ments when we pleased. Curiosity to see us encreased the number
 “ of his guests: Among several persons of note there came three astrolo-
 “ gers, who were dressed in white, with large turbants of the same co-
 “ lour. The PERSIANS to this day are great lovers of astrology, and pay
 “ a profound respect to the professors of it, relying much on their predic-
 “ tions; we shewed them a particular regard, and the more as we ap-
 “ prehended they were sent by the VIZIR, on purpose to give their opinion
 “ of us. Our interpreter, without our knowledge, had informed them
 “ that JOHN ELTON^f was a proficient in astronomy, which induced one
 “ of them to send us, by way of present, a PERSIAN Kalender very fair-
 “ ly written. The VIZIR having ordered his servants to kill a deer, of
 “ which there are great plenty in the neighbouring mountains, at noon
 “ they returned with a fat buck, on part of which we supped that night.

“ Next morning we took leave of the CALENTAR, and returned to
 “ RESHD, not without being much incommoded by the heat, otherwise
 “ this would have been a very pleasant journey. On every side we saw
 “ groves of all kinds of fruit trees, and gardens abounding with water-
 “ melons, which were now in season. The number of small trenches,
 “ that convey running water to the rice fields, yield a very refreshing
 “ sight in those extreme heats, and frequently allayed our thirst.

“ July the 1st, This afternoon we waited on the VIZIR, and repeated
 “ to him the view of our coming into PERSIA, upon which we had
 “ a long discourse with him; the result was, that with regard to the
 “ goods we now brought with us, the SHAH’s merchant would buy them,
 “ and give as much as any other person; and if we pleased we might go
 “ to the SHAH’s son at MESCHED, and negotiate our own affairs; but we
 “ had already intimated that so long a journey did not suit with our present

^f It must be observed, that this journal, though more immediately given by J. ELTON, is wrote in the plural as from him, and his companion GRÆME also.

“ situation : he then hinted to us, that if we would draw up a petition,
 “ explaining what those privileges were which we desired, he would
 “ directly forward it to the SHAH’s son, who he assured us would not he-
 “ sitate to grant a decree in our favour. Having so fair an opportuni-
 “ ty, and finding the PERSIAN trade would answer, we immediately
 “ embraced the VIZIR’s offer, and returned him our thanks, telling him
 “ that we would draw up a petition as soon as possible, and lay it before
 “ him for his approbation.

“ After taking our leave of the VIZIR, we went to the SHAH’s merchant,
 “ with whom we discoursed for a long time. He enquired particularly a-
 “ bout the nature of our trade, whether the company of ENGLISH mer-
 “ chants, who traded to St. PETERSBURG, was the same that traded to IS-
 “ FAHAN, by way of EAST INDIA. We answered all his questions to
 “ satisfaction, and informed him of what had passed in our conversation
 “ with the VIZIR, and our intention of sending a petition to the SHAH’s son
 “ at MESCHED, to desire his protection, and a free trade into his domini-
 “ ons. At this he expressed great satisfaction, and observed, that as our
 “ petition related to trade, it would be referred to his master, the SHAH’s
 “ principal merchant, who is his treasurer and a great favourite, to whom
 “ he would write particularly concerning us ; at the same time he assured
 “ us of his readiness to do all the good offices in his power. We thank-
 “ ed him, and added, that as we intended to return very soon to ASTRA-
 “ CHAN, it would be of singular advantage to us to have our business
 “ speedily dispatched.

“ The next day we drew up a petition in ENGLISH, of which we pro-
 “ cured a translation into the PERSIAN language, in the best manner we
 “ were able ; the following contains the several articles.

TO RIZA KOULI MYRZA, regent of PERSIA.

The petition of J. ELTON and M. GRÆME, in behalf of the BRITISH company of merchants.

I. “ **T**HAT the BRITISH company may navigate the CASPIAN, and
 “ at all other times, without restraint, sail with merchandize
 “ to and from any of the SHAH’s ports on that sea.

II. “ That they may at all times import merchandize into any part of
 “ the SHAH’s dominions in PERSIA, INDIA, OR BOKHARA, paying such
 “ duty only on importation as the subjects of PERSIA usually pay; and
 “ invest the produce in raw silk, or any other commodity of the SHAH’s
 “ dominions, paying such duties on exportation, as the subjects of PER-
 “ SIA pay.

III. “ That they may have liberty to hire or buy houses or warehouses
 “ in any part of the SHAH’s dominions, and there dispose of their goods
 “ to the best advantage, without being liable to any other duty than what
 “ was first paid on importation.

IV. “ That the company may have all possible protection for their
 “ persons and effects, in every part of the SHAH’s dominions, and leave
 “ to depart thence freely at all times, as their occasions shall require.

V. “ That the company will be ready at all times to contract with
 “ the SHAH’s merchants for any quantity of cloth for cloathing the PER-
 “ SIAN army, or any other use, the SHAH’s merchants agreeing for the
 “ price, and delivering patterns for such cloths. That when the said
 “ cloth shall be imported according to contract, if the SHAH’s merchants
 “ find any of them inferior to the pattern, they may reject them; but for
 “ what they shall receive, they are to pay the company ready money.
 “ That whatever cloths are refused, the company may sell them in any
 “ part of the SHAH’s dominions, on the best terms they can.

“ The company will be at all times ready to contract with the SHAH’s
 “ merchants for any quantity of any other sort of goods ; and they desire
 “ that no delays may be made on the part of the SHAH’s merchants, in
 “ receiving goods for which they have contracted.

VI. “ That if they shall contract with private PERSIAN merchants for
 “ any certain quantity of goods, and a dispute shall arise about the de-
 “ livery or payment of the same, the governor of that province shall de-
 “ cide the difference ; but if the company shall not chuse to abide by
 “ the decision of the governor, that then they may have leave directly
 “ to appeal to the SHAH himself.

VII. “ That if any of their ships shall arrive at any other of the Shah’s
 “ ports besides RESHD, and they shall not be furnished with PERSIAN
 “ money enough to discharge the duty of such goods as they import,
 “ then the receiver of the customs of such port shall take a bill of ex-
 “ change on the company’s house at RESHD, for the amount of such
 “ duty.

VIII. “ That when the company shall have paid duty on goods im-
 “ ported, the said goods shall not be liable to any farther duty on any
 “ pretence whatsoever, although such goods are carried from the place
 “ where they are landed, to any other part of the SHAH’s dominions.

IX. “ That goods imported by the company, not for the SHAH’s use,
 “ but designed to be sold in the inland parts of his dominions, may not
 “ be liable to be wholly unpacked by the custom-house officers, but only
 “ so far opened as may satisfy them there is no fraud designed, and
 “ that the contents of the bales are really such as they are reported to
 “ be.

X. “ That they may have a broker appointed to attend them, who, if
 “ required, may be a witness betwixt them and any person they may con-
 “ tract with, or sell goods to ; also for any other such use.

“ We

“ We humbly beg that this our business may be speedily dis-
 “ patched, that we may return with our report ; and if,
 “ through the short time we have had to draw up this Pe-
 “ tition, we have forgotten any material articles, we hum-
 “ bly desire we may obtain them next year.

Signed and sealed } J. ELTON.
 M. GRÆME.

“ When this petition was translated, we presented it to the VIZIR and
 “ also to the merchant, who approved of it ; we informed them at the
 “ same time that we had nothing but a gold repeating watch of curious
 “ workmanship, worthy of the regent’s acceptance. They both thought
 “ it proper to send the watch as a present with the petition ; therefore
 “ having prepared fair copies in our own and the PERSIAN language, we
 “ delivered them to the merchant, together with the repeating watch, and
 “ a plain gold one for the regent’s treasurer. On the 4th of July they
 “ were all sent forward to MESCHED.

“ The few goods we had brought with us, we sold to the regent’s
 “ merchant, who bargained with us very fairly, and gave us as good a
 “ price as we could have obtained of any of the private merchants who
 “ valued them.

“ The regent, after the example of his father, had entered into very
 “ oppressive measures, by buying up all EUROPEAN goods, as well as raw
 “ silk, making himself the only merchant in PERSIA. Complaints being
 “ made to him of the pernicious consequences of this policy by the CA-
 “ LENTAR OF RESHD, who was deputed by the people of that city, he
 “ ordered him to be strangled, under pretence that by such representations
 “ his authority was contemned ; however, this project wounded the PER-
 “ SIAN merchants in a most sensible manner, and could not therefore, in
 “ the opinion of the wisest heads, be of any long duration.

“ A month

“ A month and seven days being expired since we forwarded our pe-
 “ tition, and the season drawing near for the departure of the last ships
 “ from PERSIA to ASTRACHAN, we began to be impatient for an answer.
 “ We represented to the VIZIR the necessity we were under of returning
 “ to RUSSIA in the autumn, otherwise we must lose a whole year. The
 “ VIZIR replied, that one of us at least ought to stay, to do honour to
 “ the regent’s decree; and dropt several expressions, intimating the dan-
 “ ger himself should be exposed to, if he permitted us to depart. He de-
 “ sired that Mr. ELTON should remain, and that he would send Mr.
 “ GRÆME post by land to the RUSSIAN frontiers, and provide him a safe
 “ convoy at the SHAH’s expence. Whilst this matter, so interesting to
 “ us, was in agitation, the 15th of August a courier arrived with a de-
 “ cree, which we received with much satisfaction. We presented the
 “ courier with a complete PERSIAN habit, which, according to the cus-
 “ tom of the country, he wore in honour of us, and, in return, he in-
 “ sisted on our servants acceptance of three gold ducats. The decree was
 “ conceived in the following terms.

The decree of RIZA KOULI MYRZA.

“ OUR high commandment consists in this, that we have condes-
 “ cended to grant the petitioners the contents of their humble
 “ petition; and be it KNOWN to the most excellent Begler Begs, most
 “ honourable governors and commissioners of our empire of IRAN
 “ which resembles paradise; the country of BALKH, and its dependencies.

“ Whereas some honourable ENGLISH merchants have arrived here from
 “ the empire of RUSSIA, we have given them liberty, and hereby allow
 “ them to land their goods, with all freedom, in any of our ports of the
 “ CASPIAN, and from thence to carry them to any market of our em-
 “ pire, particularly to our provinces of KHORASAN, HERAK, FARS,
 “ VAUSIER, RODSHAUN, VEZID, KHERMAN, BALKH, ANHIHOBAD,
 “ STRABRAN, and to the banks of the river AMU, to the confines of

“ BADDUKHSAN, CABUL, COSBIN, PSTAGNE, to the empire of INDIA,
 “ and to the banks of the river ATTOK : And that they be permitted
 “ and indulged to pursue their journies with their merchandize, without
 “ the least interruption or disturbance, we have ordered all the subjects
 “ of our empire to give them all reasonable assistance. When they
 “ shall have determined at any port or place to open their goods, and ex-
 “ pose them to sale, they may at all times do so without interruption ;
 “ and what remains unfold, they are left at the liberty to transport them
 “ where they please, in vessels or on loads. Upon such vessels or carriages
 “ on which their goods shall be loaded, the customary duty only shall be
 “ taken, and by no means any more shall be exacted from them.

“ If these ENGLISH merchants desire to buy up and export any of the
 “ commodities of the empire, in that they shall meet with no manner of
 “ hindrance, but shall find the same indulgence as any other merchants
 “ whatsoever. When their vessels or merchandize shall happen to arrive at
 “ any port or place where there shall be no ENGLISH consul, or ENGLISH
 “ house, or though there shall be an ENGLISH house, yet if they have
 “ no inclination to land their goods, no force shall be used to oblige
 “ them to land them, nor shall they, under any pretence, be detained,
 “ after paying the usual duty, and taking a receipt or discharge for the
 “ same. If it should happen, that they have no money ready to pay the
 “ duty on goods they shall import into any other port or place besides
 “ RESHD, then they may give an assignment on their house at RESHD.
 “ If they shall have occasion to hire, or buy vessels, for carrying off, or
 “ bringing on shore their goods, the commanders of our ports are here-
 “ by commanded to give them all reasonable assistance therein. If these
 “ merchants desire to sell their goods out of their own quarters, houses,
 “ or warehouses, we give them full power so to do ; and let none have
 “ the assurance to interrupt them, under pretence that the goods have
 “ not been regularly viewed by the custom-house officers ; but at the
 “ same time we expect they will not offer goods to sale, that have not been
 “ regularly reported at the custom-house, to the injury of our revenues.

“ If the ENGLISH merchants desire to hire, buy, or build houses at
“ RESHD, or in any other port or place, in that we order them to have
“ all reasonable assistance, but the inhabitants of such places shall not be
“ constrained to part with their houses, against their inclination; yet
“ they shall treat the ENGLISH with all imaginable civility and respect.

“ If any of the goods they shall import, be thought proper by our com-
“ missaries for ourself, such may be taken by them for our use, at the
“ same price as they would be sold to other people, our commissaries pay-
“ ing ready money, and they shall not be obliged to part with, or de-
“ liver goods, without ready money; and in such payments let none dare
“ to give them the least trouble, under pain of our highest displeasure.
“ Whatsoever goods they shall bring, that shall not be thought proper for
“ our use, they have liberty to sell them to whom they please, without
“ hindrance or delay; and these the ENGLISH merchants have leave to ship
“ off, and carry to what place they shall think most convenient; and if
“ any differences happen in trade, and they shall come to hearing or trial,
“ the commissaries of the place are ordered to give immediate sentence
“ without partiality.

“ In whatsoever port the ENGLISH merchants shall pay their duty,
“ there they are to have a written discharge, in which shall be set forth,
“ for what goods they have paid duty, and the amount thereof, that
“ they may not be liable to pay duty for them again, in any other port
“ or place. The custom-house officers are not to break open and unpack
“ their bales, but to take the merchant's word for the contents of them,
“ that they may sustain no damage. In whatever province the ENGLISH
“ merchants shall arrive, our most excellent Begler Begs, and other our
“ honourable commanders, are hereby ordered to shew them all imagin-
“ able respect, nor to allow or suffer any person whatsoever, to affront or
“ molest them. And seeing the petitioners are only acquainted with the
“ EUROPEAN language, and cannot confer with our subjects without an in-
“ terpreter, it is necessary their brokers should be men acquainted with both
“ languages.

“ languages. If they desire such interpreters, though they are christians,
 “ they have leave to make use of them without restraint.

“ The petitioners are received under our most gracious protection : the
 “ watch which they sent was received ; and as a mark of our favour, by
 “ the bearer hereof, we present them with 50 rubles : and we hereby
 “ command our most high trusty treasurers and registers of our empire,
 “ to register this our high decree, and put it in execution, under pain of
 “ our highest displeasure.

“ Written at MESCHED in the Shumafnel Saneuf 1152 years^f.

() The place of the seal of

RIZA KOULI MYRZA.

C H A P. VI.

Mr. ELTON returns to St. PETERSBURG. His farther proceedings in establishing the CASPIAN trade, till the delivery of his memorial to the honourable Mr. FINCH.

IN the preceding extract from Mr. ELTON's journal, the reader will, without question, observe that the regent's decree was in every respect as full and clear as could possibly be desired; and tho' I believe some latitude was taken in the translation of it, yet it was the regent's meaning to give all possible encouragement to the trade proposed. As to paying ready money for goods taken for the use of the crown, it was never practised in our time; it was called ready money, but it generally proved a laborious task, and required some time to recover it; and as to contract-

^f August 1739.

contracting for goods on patterns previous to their arrival, it is not practised in PERSIA.

The 50 crowns sent by the regent as a present, has no air of grandeur, but it was discovered after some time, that the execrable wretch who was entrusted with the gold repeating watch, had delivered only a mean one of silver.

Mr. ELTON having received the decree, presented it to the governor; who received it standing, in the most respectful manner, putting it first up to his forehead, with both his hands, according to the manner of the PERSIANS. The whole company rose up at the same time, and when the governor had again taken his seat, he read the decree, and gave it to the VIZIR for his perusal. He desired likewise that he might have a copy thereof, in order to communicate the same to all whom it concerned, and enter it also on the public register. At the same time he insisted that Mr. ELTON should remain in GHILAN, from a presumption that the regent would make very particular enquiries concerning him and his partner. Mr. ELTON represented that his staying there would frustrate the ends of the decree which the regent had given him; because his employment required him to repair forthwith to St. PETERSBURG, in order to settle matters with his constituents. Accordingly leaving Mr. GRÆME, he departed the 22d of August for RUSSIA, and after meeting with tedious delays, and some unkind usage during his quarentine at the mouth of the VOLGA, he arrived in St. PETERSBURG about the end of January 1740.

The success he had in PERSIA procured him a kind reception from the ENGLISH factors, who after consulting their principals in LONDON, desired he would present a memorial to his majesty's minister at the court of RUSSIA, the substance of which will appear from the following extracts,

Extracts of a memorial delivered by J. ELTON, to the honourable Mr. E. FINCH, his majesty's minister at St. PETERSBURG. Dated in St. PETERSBURG, July 1740.

“ **T**HE northern provinces of PERSIA produce the greatest quantity, and the best sort of raw silk; and from thence the southern provinces, and the silk manufactories at MESCHED, as well as those in TURKEY, are supplied. The provinces most abounding in silk are GHILAN, the principal city in which is RESHD; SHIRVAN, the capital of which is SHAMAKIE; ARAN¹, of which the chief city is GANJA: the two former of these provinces are on the south west shores of the CASPIAN sea, and the latter is adjacent.

“ Since NADIR SHAH's accession to the throne of PERSIA, he has made MESCHED, the capital of KHORASAN, his favourite city, and consequently the seat of the PERSIAN empire; so that by the extraordinary privileges with which he has endowed that capital, and by other measures that he hath taken to aggrandize it, he has in some measure drained ISFAHAN of its inhabitants.

“ RIZA KOULI MYRZA, regent of PERSIA, and eldest son to NADIR SHAH, hath established his residence at MESCHED for some years past, during his father's absence in INDIA; in which time he hath taken the city of BALKH, and cleared the frontiers of KHORASAN from the TURKUMANS and OUSBEG TARTARS, who used frequently to infest them. 'Tis presumed likewise that the city of BOKHARA has by this time submitted to the PERSIANS.

“ The seat of the PERSIAN empire being thus removed so near to the CASPIAN, for MESCHED is but an easy journey from the port of ASTRABAD, is, without doubt, a very lucky circumstance for our merchants, who by that means are enabled to supply it with EUROPEAN commodities, particularly with woollen goods, which is an article

¹ ARAN is generally wrote ERIVAN.

“ of very great consequence; as all the PERSIANS, from the highest to
 “ the lowest, esteem and prefer woollen cloaths to their own cheaper silk-
 “ en manufactures, insomuch that they never wear hose of any sort but
 “ such as are made of woollen cloth”.

“ To supply the capital city of PERSIA, and the adjacent provinces,
 “ with woollen goods and other EUROPEAN commodities, is not the only
 “ motive that should determine the BRITISH merchants to establish their
 “ principal mart at MESCHED. The consideration of the advantageous
 “ situation of that city, ought to carry their views much farther; for it
 “ lies most commodiously to answer the demands of the neighbouring
 “ parts of TARTARY. For whoever considers the great extent of
 “ both the BOKHARA’s, the kingdoms of TANGUT and THIBET, to-
 “ gether with the vast tracts of land that border upon them, must at
 “ the same time see that they contain many great and populous cities;
 “ even their uncultivated lands are inhabited by millions of people, who
 “ are fond of EUROPEAN commodities: from whence we must conclude,
 “ that a very advantageous trade might be carried on with them through
 “ MESCHED; for caravans come to this place from all the cities in the
 “ great and little BOKHARA, and from several of the eastern cities of
 “ PERSIA, also from CABUL, KANDAHAR, and the northern frontiers
 “ of INDIA. And without all question, when those cities are certain of
 “ finding at MESCHED plenty of all the sorts of EUROPEAN goods that
 “ they want, and at the same time an increased demand for their own
 “ commodities, their caravans must quickly become more rich, and there-
 “ fore more numerous; by which means alone the BRITISH merchants,
 “ without carrying their goods further than MESCHED, will be able to
 “ push their commerce to the utmost limits of the extensive countries
 “ abovementioned.

“ That the BRITISH merchants may command this BOKHARA trade,
 “ whenever they please, is obvious to a degree that cannot be said to re-

“ When they wear hose they are made loose in the manner of boots, tho’ they do not use them in riding; but wove socks is the common clothing of their feet.

“ quire

“quire any proof. They have nothing to do but to send their goods from
“St. PETERSBURG, and from thence, partly by land, and partly by water,
“to ASTRACHAN, where they may embark them to cross the CAS-
“PIAN sea, to the port of ASTRABAD, in the south east bottom of the
“CASPIAN; and from thence there is but a little way by land to MES-
“CHED: this will be safer, more easy, and almost as expeditious as send-
“ing goods from LONDON to St. PETERSBURG, because the CASPIAN
“is a much safer navigation than the BALTIC. But the success of all de-
“pends intirely on the BRITISH merchants having their own vessels to
“navigate the VOLGA and the CASPIAN, for reasons which it would be
“improper to mention here.

“The BRITISH merchants cannot have any formidable rivals to con-
“tend with, or to apprehend in this trade; for the eastern provinces of
“PERSIA, both the BOKHARA's, and the adjacent countries, can be no
“otherwise supplied with EUROPEAN commodities, than through the
“RUSSIAN empire, and by the method beforementioned of resorting to
“the city of MESCHED.

“On the strictest enquiry I could make in GHILAN, I could not find
“that any ENGLISH woollen goods, either by way of EAST INDIA,
“or TURKEY, ever reached to this old mart, and new capital of PER-
“SIA. The woollen goods which the ARMENIANS import into GHI-
“LAN, either by the way of TURKEY, or the empire of RUSSIA, are all
“DUTCH cloths, and but few of these are sent to MESCHED; so that the
“trade from LONDON cross the CASPIAN to this city, might, in the
“course of a few years, be made as considerable in regard to the con-
“sumption of our woollen manufactures, as any one branch of commerce
“we have at present. It is also to be scarcely doubted, that the BRITISH
“merchants, if they resolve in earnest to enter on the trade to BOKHARA,
“will find their account in it, much more than in that which they now
“carry on from LONDON to the empire of RUSSIA. Indeed this may be
“easily proved; for at MESCHED and the BOKHARA's their woollen goods
“would yield a much better price, and much greater profit would arise
“from

“ from their returns. In this trade they would sell all their goods for ready
“ money; whereas in RUSSIA the BRITISH merchants are obliged to give
“ long credit, which not only consumes a part of their profit, but subjects
“ them annually to contract bad debts, for large sums.

“ With regard to the trade to the BOKHARA's, it is a most favourable cir-
“ cumstance that MESCHED stands so very commodiously with respect to the
“ provinces of GHILAN and SHIRVAN, from whence the returns for goods
“ sold at MESCHED may be made in raw silk, to the amount of almost
“ any sum. Nor can it be doubted, but that when our merchants come
“ to be acquainted with the BOKHARA's, and the cities to the eastward,
“ they will find other valuable commodities there, such as gold, precious
“ stones, bezoar, musk, &c. in which they may invest their returns, in
“ case the produce of the northern provinces of PERSIA should prove in-
“ sufficient. Hence it will follow, that after they have established them-
“ selves at MESCHED, they will obtain the cloathing of the whole PERSI-
“ AN army, by contracting with the SHAH's principal merchant, and
“ supply all those vast and populous countries abovementioned with wool-
“ len goods; and this because no nation, but the people of GREAT BRI-
“ TAIN, can supply them with woollens in such plenty, nor at so easy a
“ rate, and at the same time afford to give so good a price for their raw
“ silk, and other commodities with which that country abounds. All this
“ the PERSIANS, as well as the ARMENIANS, are apprized of; and 'tis
“ this which so much engages the attention of the one, and alarms the
“ fears of the other. This consideration also no doubt prevailed on the
“ regent so easily to grant us the privileges I obtained, in favour of the
“ BRITISH merchants last year, which he confirmed by his decree. Soon
“ after I left GHILAN, the ARMENIAN patriarch strongly solicited the re-
“ gent in behalf of his people, to reverse that decree; but his solicitation
“ had a contrary effect, for the regent confirmed it, and sent orders the
“ second time to the governor of RESHD to shew the strictest regard to it
“ in all points.

“ The BRITISH merchants can never be supplanted in this trade, so long as they secure a passage for their goods through the empire of RUSSIA, and a freedom of navigation on the CASPIAN, both which it will be the interest of the sovereign of RUSSIA, to grant to the subjects of GREAT BRITAIN.

“ It may therefore be humbly presumed, that it will be thought reasonable by the legislature of GREAT BRITAIN, to give all necessary powers to us. For it seems impossible to strike out any new branch of trade to any part of the world, capable of vying with this in the advantages which it promises. Both the silk and woollen manufactures would certainly reap great benefit therefrom; and moreover very profitable returns might be made in gold, jewels, cotton, fine wool, and other valuable commodities.

“ Further, the BRITISH EAST INDIA company have for above five years past abandoned ISFAHAN, to which city, in all that space of time, they have not sent one bale of woollen goods, and, as we are informed, they have no thoughts of sending any more for the future. The DUTCH likewise, who still remain at ISFAHAN, send but a very inconsiderable quantity of goods to that city; for the trade which it formerly enjoyed, is transplanted to, and centers in MESCHED, which is at too great a distance from the PERSIAN gulf, or eastern ocean, for either the BRITISH or DUTCH EAST INDIA company to send goods thither round the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

“ It is also more than probable, that when the BRITISH merchants shall have established themselves in the MESCHED and BOKHARA trade, it will in a few years become a more beneficial article to GREAT BRITAIN than the TURKEY trade ever was. In this, a greater quantity of woollen goods may be vended at a better price, and to countries to which the BRITISH commerce hath never yet reached, nor ever can be extended by any other channel than that now proposed; besides, the very same commodities which the TURKEY company now import
“ into

“ into GREAT BRITAIN, not to mention any new articles, may be brought
 “ from MESCHED a great deal cheaper, and with much greater advantage
 “ to the nation.

“ In particular, the commodiousness of the roads between MESCHED,
 “ GHILAN, and the northern provinces of PERSIA, will enable the RUS-
 “ SIA company to import raw silk much cheaper than the TURKEY mer-
 “ chants. They can buy it up at the first hand in the very provinces
 “ where it is produced, whilst the TURKEY merchants must buy the
 “ same at second hand from the TURKS and ARMENIANS, who bring it to
 “ ALEPPO, CONSTANTINOPLE, and SMYRNA, where they sell it at a great
 “ advance. And it must be observed, that the eastern provinces of PER-
 “ SIA produce but a very inconsiderable quantity of this commodity. Be-
 “ sides, the SHAH's principal merchant in RESHD refused to supply the
 “ TURKS and ARMENIANS, who came last year to buy up silk in GHI-
 “ LAN, with any quantity, unless they paid 20 per cent. above the price he
 “ then sold it at to those who exported for RUSSIA; and he had positive
 “ orders to sell no silk for exportation to TURKEY, if he could find any
 “ other market for it*.

“ The PERSIANS, who have a settled aversion for the TURKS, are well
 “ informed of the advantage which the TURKISH empire derives from its
 “ being the principal market for PERSIAN silk; and have therefore been en-
 “ deavouring to prevent it for more than an hundred years past. They are
 “ likewise well apprized, that the only way to succeed in this design, is to
 “ encourage the BRITISH merchants to come and settle in GHILAN, by
 “ which means they hope in time to divert the channel of trade for GHI-
 “ LAN silk, which now runs through the TURKISH dominions, and to
 “ turn its current through the empire of RUSSIA. Could this be once
 “ effected, it would not only be of singular advantage both to the empires
 “ of RUSSIA and PERSIA, with regard to their trade, but it could not fail
 “ of considerably distressing the TURK, who is the common enemy of

* Two circumstances which I could never hear confirmed, nor ever thought were true.

“ both these empires. If the TURKS and TURKISH ARMENIANS are denied the exportation of GHILAN silk for TURKEY, or obliged to purchase it on such unequal terms, we must expect, either that the TURKEY company will no longer import any PERSIAN silk at all, or that they will not be able to sell what they import, but at a very extravagant price. This is a circumstance which deserves attention, should the RUSSIA merchants be opposed in the importation of PERSIAN silk into GREAT BRITAIN, either by the TURKEY company or any other.

“ As the BRITISH merchants can at present have no better information; I shall venture to hint briefly at the method they ought to take to establish themselves in this valuable trade to the BOKHARA's, and to the north eastern provinces of PERSIA.

“ It is necessary they should build at CASAN one or two vessels of about 180 tons, or somewhat less, for the navigation of the CASPIAN sea, which vessels may be manned by half BRITISH and half RUSSIAN seamen; and they must also have a few large boats on the VOLGA. These vessels and boats will be no burthen to the BRITISH merchants in carrying on this trade, because they must pay the same freight for the mean RUSSIAN vessels which cross the CASPIAN. And if in the fancy of this commerce, the BRITISH merchants should not send goods enough to freight such vessels, they may find sufficient employment to maintain them, by carrying goods and passengers on the CASPIAN, from one part of PERSIA to another.”

“ The only difficulty seems to be in procuring liberty to build such vessels; but as it will be impossible to carry on a trade to MESCHED, or even to GHILAN without them; it is submitted, if the merchants ought not by all means, and as soon as possible, to apply for such liberty.

* This first gave offence; the ENGLISH ships should not have been above 60 or 70 tons.

42 REMARKS ON JOHN ELTON's MEMORIAL Part I.

“ The BRITISH merchants must likewise establish a house at MESCHED,
“ one branch of which should reside at RESHD, and the chief be invest-
“ ed with the title of consul to the king, and agent to the company; such
“ a character given to the chief of their house will have great weight with
“ the PERSIANS, and firmly establish the affairs of the new undertakers;
“ and it is the more necessary, as the EAST INDIA company have always
“ had their agent at ISFAHAN, and RUSSIA at present has her consul at
“ RESHD.

Signed JOHN ELTON. /

C H A P. VII.

Remarks on Mr. ELTON's memorial. A short view of the trade between PERSIA and TURKEY. The difference between that and the new trade proposed by the way of RUSSIA to PERSIA.

THIS pompous memorial promised a great deal too much, considering how little experience the author had of the subject he undertook to treat of.

Nothing is more natural than for men to be charmed with the creatures of their own brain, and to receive that as solid reasoning which flatters some favourite passion. Mr. ELTON having thus found his way to GHILAN, and laid the foundation of a commercial intercourse with that province, worked himself into the persuasion that he had discovered a quite new trade, which the ARMENIANS either knew nothing of, or were incapable of conducting. This however was far from being the case; for they frequented MESCHED in the reign of SHAH ABAS, and supplied it with EUROPEAN commodities from ISFAHAN, TAVRIS, and also from the

the coast of the CASPIAN. There is a yet a large CARAVANSERAI built by SHAH ABAS for the use of the ARMENIANS, who are settled here in great numbers; and had there been any prospect of such advantages, as Mr. ELTON imagined, they would not have wanted abilities, or means to make use of them.

I shall have occasion to explain this matter more fully hereafter, and will only observe at present, that if Mr. ELTON had been acquainted with the extreme distress of PERSIA, in consequence of NADIR's usurpation, and with the unhappy condition of the countries bordering on the east and south east of PERSIA, there could not have been the least room for such sanguine expectations.

It is not improbable that the regent of PERSIA consented the more readily to Mr. ELTON's proposals of bringing merchandize from ENGLAND to GHILAN, because the SHAH's merchant resided at that time in this province, and MESCHED stood very conveniently between the TURKS, with whom the PERSIANS were at war, and that part of INDIA which was lately conquered by the PERSIANS; but this was not the only reason, for he knew very well, that by increasing the places of importation, and the number of importers, he would be enabled to buy the manufactures of EUROPE so much the cheaper. As to the trade between the northern provinces of PERSIA and TURKEY, Mr. ELTON certainly was too sanguine. The expence of carriage through RUSSIA was then computed to be 17 per cent. cheaper than by the rout of TURKEY; but according to the best calculations I could ever obtain, I found the difference to be no more than 4 per cent. and if the freights from SMYRNA and ALEPPO were moderate, it would come still lower. As there are no caravans of merchandize sent from PERSIA to TURKEY, for account of our factors in SMYRNA and ALEPPO, this computation of the carriage can be taken only from the ARMENIANS, and the charge thereof must vary according to the circumstances of those countries as to war or peace.

44 REMARKS ON JOHN ELTON'S MEMORIAL Part I.

It must be confessed, that reasonings *post factum*, argue rather our experience than our wisdom: and whilst we are biased by our interest and the desire of gain, we seldom have either leisure or inclination to examine things to the bottom. It is no wonder then that the RUSSIA company, in consequence of the agreeable account which Mr. ELTON gave, and the sanguine hopes they had entertained, should fall into some mistakes.

The trade between PERSIA and TURKEY had been for the greatest part carried on by the ARMENIANS, of whom, as far as I could learn, there are not less than 10,000 settled in TURKEY; these are employed chiefly by the ENGLISH, FRENCH, and DUTCH merchants residing in CONSTANTINOPLE, SMYRNA, and ALEPPO. They have long distinguished themselves as the most acute traders in all ASIA, and carry to market the products of the EAST, returning those of EUROPE.

The wars and hereditary enmity of the TURKS and PERSIANS had often obstructed this commerce between PERSIA and TURKEY, and at length forced most of the ARMENIAN traders into the channel of RUSSIA, cross the CASPIAN sea: but should PERSIA recover herself again, so as to produce any considerable quantity of silk, it is more than probable that the ARMENIAN subjects of the GRAND SEIGNIOR, who live in and about TAVRIS and ERZERUM, will come in for a large share of that branch of commerce.

The ordinary rout for a caravan from RESHD to SMYRNA is to ARDEVILLE 5 days, to TAVRIS 10 days, to ERZERUM 12, from thence to SMYRNA 43, in all 70. The rout to ALEPPO is from RESHD to CASBIN, HAMADAN, SHUSTER, BAGDAT^w, ALEPPO, and is upon the whole about ten days less than to SMYRNA. There is yet a shorter road to ALEPPO, but it is ill supplied with water. ALEPPO from SMYRNA is reckoned 40 days; a day's journey being computed at 25 ENGLISH miles, the tract of seventy days already mentioned, is 1750 miles, or 2230

^w BABYLON.

Chap. VII. RELATING TO THE CASPIAN TRADE. 45

werfts: and from ASTRACHAN to St. PETERSBURG they reckon 2200 werfts, as the annexed map more particularly describes. The reader will please to observe, that this map was not shown to the house of lords, as erroneously said, but to such peers only who entered deepest into the subject. It now stands corrected according to the best intelligence I could procure in PERSIA.

It must be observed, that the ARMENIANS are subject to many arbitrary impositions, when they travel through the GRAND SEIGNIOR'S dominions, but they enjoy the indulgence of trading from one great city to another, much more than is practicable in RUSSIA; they are also subject to inconveniencies in RUSSIA, when the governor of ASTRACHAN happens to be rapacious, or the RUSSIAN consul in GHILAN insolent and oppressive; the entire direction of the RUSSIAN navigation on the CASPIAN being in the hands of the latter.

There are many of the ARMENIANS who acknowledge subjection to RUSSIA, and are therefore entitled to so much the greater countenance in that country; but what must give the RUSSIANS a preference in the esteem of the PERSIANS, is the mutual interest they both have in depriving the TURK of the advantages arising from the PERSIAN commerce, which has been so considerable as to enable him to keep a great number of forces on foot, and has often turned the scale in his favour.

From GHILAN to ASTRACHAN, allowing for quarantine and other contingencies, may be reckoned 30 days, from thence to ZARITZEN 10, from thence to MOSCO 35, from thence to St. PETERSBURG 20, in all 95, which is many days longer than the rout to TURKEY, upon a moderate computation. Moreover, according to the usual course of the seasons, the only proper times to set out for ASTRACHAN, are the months of May, June, and July, for the summer caravans, and January for the winter.

This must necessarily create delays, and often prevent the timely exportation from St. PETERSBURG; nor can it be imagined but that the shipping of the silk on the CASPIAN, and in the summer time again on the VOLGA, and again on the BALTIC, must be attended with considerable expences and inconveniencies. We have found the charge run to 34 per cent. on the invoices from LONDON, delivered to the factory at RESHD, and on raw silk delivered in LONDON, duties and all charges paid, about 36 per cent. on the invoice.

Mr. ELTON's propofals certainly merited great regard, and the more as they were calculated to obtain a confumption for our cloth, in those provinces of PERSIA, which for some time had hardly seen any of it, except a few thin GLOUCESTER cloths, imported by our factors in SMYRNA and ALEPPO, and thence brought into PERSIA by the ARMENIANS: formerly indeed our coarse cloths were sent to ARCHANGEL, as I have already mentioned, from whence the ARMENIANS and RUSSIANS carried them to ASTRACHAN, and part of them into PERSIA.

Mr. ELTON was also entitled to a kind reception, not only from the BRITISH merchants, but from the RUSSIAN court, as his project seemed equally beneficial to both nations. PETER THE GREAT was wont to give considerable premiums to the authors of any commercial schemes; but that custom had been long neglected. However, as the BRITISH nation was in esteem at the court of St. PETERSBURG, we found no difficulty in obtaining leave to build a ship at CASAN for the CASPIAN navigation.

Favourable as our design appeared to the RUSSIAN interest, yet, whatever was the cause, it was not without the utmost importunity that we obtained permission to build a second ship for the same purpose.

Mr. ELTON set out upon an acquaintance with the old accounts of this trade, and with the treaty of commerce concluded in December 1734, between the crown of GREAT BRITAIN and RUSSIA, whereby provision was made for carrying on a trade from GREAT BRITAIN, through the

RUSSIAN dominions, into PERSIA; and he had now occasion to make a fresh appeal to it, by producing the eighth article of that treaty, which is as follows.

“ It is agreed, that the subjects of GREAT BRITAIN may bring into
 “ RUSSIA all sorts of goods and merchandize, and carry them through
 “ the dominions of RUSSIA, by the shortest and most convenient way to
 “ PERSIA, paying 3 per cent. ad valorem, in rix dollars, for the duty and
 “ transit of said goods, and no more under any pretence whatsoever;
 “ and precise orders shall be given for settling the rate, so that the ENG-
 “ LISH merchants may at all times have carriage or transports ready, which
 “ shall be furnished them at a reasonable price; likewise that they may
 “ bring all sorts of goods and merchandize from PERSIA, and carry
 “ them through RUSSIA with the like freedom and conveniency, paying
 “ only 3 per cent. ad valorem, in rix dollars, after the manner which is
 “ usual in the custom-house of RUSSIA; and, in order to prevent all
 “ frauds on the part of the RUSSIAN officers, the BRITISH merchants shall
 “ declare the goods which they design to pass to or, from PERSIA, at the
 “ first place they shall arrive in RUSSIA, and they shall be received and
 “ admitted by their bill of loading, policy, or register, and according to
 “ their declared value, on which a duty of 3 per cent. shall be paid, with-
 “ out opening or unpacking the goods, farther than is absolutely necessa-
 “ ry to satisfy the RUSSIAN officers, that the goods specified by the bill,
 “ policy, register, and no other are contained in the packs or bales, in
 “ which the goods are made up: but if the officer has reason to suspect
 “ the goods are not declared to their full value, within 20 per cent; in
 “ that case he may take the goods and dispose of them, paying the mer-
 “ chants the value declared, with 20 per cent. over, without any deduc-
 “ tion. When the officer has made his visit, which shall be made
 “ without any vexation or injury to the goods or package, he shall seal
 “ with leads the packs or bales in which the goods are; he shall also
 “ number and mark them, and give the merchants a certificate of their
 “ having paid the duty; and by that certificate, the seal being marked
 “ and

“ and numbered, they shall pass through RUSSIA, to, and from PERSIA,
 “ without any let or molestation: but in case the merchants do not pass
 “ all or any of the bales through RUSSIA, according to the declaration,
 “ or break the seals, and take out any of the goods in RUSSIA, if there
 “ be any reason to suspect that the same has been done contrary to the
 “ plain meaning and intent of this article, he shall be fined, and pay
 “ the full declared value of such bale or pack that is wanting, of which
 “ the seal has been broken.”

It may appear a little strange that such careful provisions should have
 been made for a trade through RUSSIA into PERSIA, at the same time
 that a commerce of this kind seems to be prohibited by the act of na-
 vigation; which says, “ That no goods or commodities of the growth,
 “ production, or manufacture of any country shall be brought to the
 “ BRITISH dominions, from any place except from those ports where
 “ the said goods or commodities can only, are, or usually have been,
 “ first shipped for transportation, and from no other places or countries,
 “ under the penalty and forfeiture of all such goods, &c.” from whence
 it was concluded, that without an act of parliament, PERSIAN silk could
 not be introduced into ENGLAND, except from GAMBROON, by the EAST
 INDIA company, or from the ports in the LEVANT by the TURKEY
 merchants.

C H A P. VIII.

Further steps taken by Mr. ELTON. Representation made to his majesty by the commissioners of trade, in consequence of the papers transmitted by the honourable Mr. FINCH to his grace the duke of NEWCASTLE. Opposition made by the EAST INDIA and TURKEY companies. Remarks on the declining state of the latter; and several public remonstrances on this subject.

NOtwithstanding the difficulties mentioned, Mr. ELTON was not prevented from delivering to the honourable Mr. E. FINCH, besides the memorial already recited, two papers containing an account of the privileges, regulations, and indulgencies necessary to be obtained from the RUSSIAN court, for the management of this new trade. Mr. FINCH accordingly transmitted these papers to the duke of NEWCASTLE, his majesty's secretary of state, who by the order of the king laid them before the commissioners of trade; and they in November of the same year made the following representation.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

May it please your majesty,

“ **I**N obedience to your majesty's commands signified to us by his grace
 “ the duke of NEWCASTLE, one of your majesty's principal secretaries of state, in his letter dated the 16th of September last, we have
 “ taken into our consideration two papers put into the hands of Mr.
 “ FINCH, your majesty's minister at St. PETERSBURG, by captain ELTON,

“ Containing a proposal for opening a trade by the BRITISH merchants
 “ in RUSSIA, to those parts of PERSIA which are adjacent to the southern
 “ ern coasts of the CASPIAN sea. And do find,

“ That captain ELTON’s papers do contain a propofal to the RUSSIA
 “ company, for fupplying MESCHED, the prefent capital of PERSIA, and
 “ the countries adjacent, with all forts of woollen goods to a far greater
 “ degree, and at much eafier rates than they are now vended there: and
 “ for invefting our returns to GREAT BRITAIN in the beft raw filks, and
 “ other commodities produced in thofe countries, near 50 per cent. cheaper
 “ than at prefent by the way of TURKEY.

“ The method captain ELTON propofes for carrying on this trade, is
 “ for the merchants to fend their goods from GREAT BRITAIN to St. PE-
 “ TERSBURG, and from thence, partly by land, and partly by water
 “ down the VOLGA to ASTRACHAN; there to be fhipped and carried crofs
 “ the CASPIAN fea to ASTRABAD, on the fouth eaft coaft of the faid fea,
 “ from whence by land carriage to MESCHED is not quite 14 days jour-
 “ ney for a caravan.”

“ Captain ELTON, in fetting forth the many advantages this trade
 “ muft neceffarily be attended with, obferves amongft other things, that
 “ after the RUSSIA merchants fhall have eftablifhed themfelves at MES-
 “ CHED, they will not only have it in their power to fupply many ex-
 “ tensive and populous countries with woollen goods, but may alfo in
 “ time come to cloath the whole PERSIAN army.

“ Having on this occafion been attended by Sir JOHN THOMPSON, go-
 “ vernor of the RUSSIA company, and alfo by feveral of the principal
 “ merchants concerned in that trade; we communicated to them captain
 “ ELTON’s project, and have received their opinion in writing on the fub-
 “ ject matter thereof, wherein they inform us,

“ That the great and many advantages which will accrue to this kingdom,
 “ by fo cheap and eafy a conveyance of the manufactures thereof in this

“ It is at leaft 26 days journey.

“ channel

“ channel of trade, appeared to them so manifest, that they humbly con-
 “ ceived this proposal deserved the utmost attention and encouragement.

“ That a trade through RUSSIA to PERSIA is certainly practicable, for-
 “ asmuch as the same is at present carried on by the ARMENIANS be-
 “ tween HOLLAND and PERSIA, through the RUSSIAN dominions.

“ That this branch of trade, which will consist principally in the ex-
 “ portation of woollen goods and importation of raw silk, must be of
 “ singular benefit to this kingdom; as it will be a means of sending the
 “ manufactures of our own produce in the easiest manner to market,
 “ and of bringing home the first materials of another great and beneficial
 “ manufactory, vastly cheaper than they can be had in any other manner.

“ That by authentic accounts transmitted to them, the charge of bring-
 “ ing raw silk from PERSIA to St. PETERSBURG, by means of the water
 “ carriage, will be very inconsiderable inproportion to the land carriage
 “ from GHILAN in PERSIA, to ALEPPO or SMYRNA, the only ports in
 TURKEY for exportation to ENGLAND.

“ That the Sophy of PERSIA, from an inclination to distress the TURKS,
 “ his natural enemies, and to favour the RUSSIANS, may possibly pro-
 “ hibit all trade with TURKEY, provided he can have a sufficient de-
 “ mand for his silk through RUSSIA; in which case, unless this channel
 “ should be opened to us, we should be intirely deprived of that com-
 “ modity.

“ That since the commencement of the war with SPAIN, PERSIAN silk
 “ is advanced very much, and, if the war continues, may still be higher,
 “ and must always on any rupture with FRANCE or SPAIN, be exposed
 “ to the like difficulty, which can only be remedied by opening ano-
 “ ther channel, and having the choice of two ways to supply the king-
 “ dom with that commodity.

“ That the FRENCH do now chiefly supply TURKEY with woollen goods, and gain upon us in that trade every day, and probably do and may, through them, supply great part of PERSIA; whereas by this easy conveyance, we shall be enabled to undersell them, and carry our woollen manufactures into all parts of PERSIA cheaper than they can.

“ They conclude with observing, that the only objection that occurred to them against opening this trade, was the present act of navigation, by which they apprehend themselves debarred that liberty; and as the restrictions of that act make it necessary for them to apply to parliament, they humbly hoped, that considering how beneficial this trade will be to the kingdom, and that they can have no private views, nor any exclusive trade from the rest of his majesty's subjects (any person having a right to be made free of their company for five pounds) they should meet with encouragement, in their intended application to parliament, for an exemption from that clause in the aforesaid act of navigation, from whence the present impediment arises.

“ Whereupon we humbly beg leave to represent to your majesty, that it appears to us, as well from captain ELTON's papers, as from the representation of the RUSSIA company, and our discourse with them thereupon; that this scheme, for opening a new branch of trade to PERSIA through RUSSIA, may be very beneficial to this kingdom, and may deserve your majesty's royal protection; but as no steps can be made therein till the company shall have applied to parliament, for an exemption from the above-mentioned clause in the act of navigation, (whereby no goods or commodities that are of foreign growth, production or manufacture, can be brought from any place or country, but only from those of the said growth, production, or manufactory, or from those ports where the said goods and commodities can only, or are, or usually have been first shipped for transportation) we shall at present only observe to your majesty, that when the said application

“ shall

“ shall be made, the advantages or inconveniencies that may attend this
“ channel of commerce, will be thoroughly weighed and discussed.

All which is most humbly submitted.

Whitehall, Nov. 11.
1740.

Sign'd M. BLADEN.
R. PLUMER.
JA. BRUDENELL.
AR. CROFT.

Captain ELTON's proposal having thus met so favourable a reception in ENGLAND, as well as in RUSSIA; some members of the EAST INDIA company began to be alarmed, as if the scheme was practicable, in the extent which Mr. ELTON apprehended, and consequently might prove an invasion of their charter.

The trade to EAST INDIA thro' RUSSIA and PERSIA, was however considered by the majority of that company as a chimerical project; and as their trade to the gulph of PERSIA, was known to be not only remote from the CASPIAN, but differing also in kind, (for THEY could not export the raw silk of GHILAN, nor the RUSSIA COMPANY the wool of CARMENIA) their fears did not run very high.—But the TURKEY company, was in general extremely alarmed, and pleaded against this proposed trade very strenuously, objecting that it would be a violation not only of their charter, but of the act of navigation, so long esteemed the bulwark of the BRITISH commerce. And tho' they never had any factory established in the northern provinces of PERSIA, yet the trade carried on from thence to ALEPPO and SMYRNA by the ARMENIANS, had in a great measure centered in their company, by the purchases which their agents were wont to make of those ARMENIANS. They attempted to corroborate their arguments, by urging an exclusive right, as established by the sanction of that custom. The RUSSIA company, on the other hand, insisted that when the act of navigation was made, it was not imagined that a safe passage could be obtained through the RUSSIAN domi-

dominions into PERSIA; which was now found not only practicable, but for the interest of the nation to be attempted. That their charter is more antient and extensive than either that of the EAST INDIA or TURKEY companies; and they should think it strange if they were excluded from a right of trading to the dominions of PERSIA, which are actually mentioned in the body of their charter. The contest however ran very high, and whilst the TURKEY merchants employed all their interests to prevent a bill passing in favour of the proposed trade, the RUSSIA merchants attacked the exclusive privileges of the TURKEY company; urging that they were detrimental to the national interest, and that our trade to TURKEY had decayed very much for these seven years past, chiefly owing to those privileges, together with the arbitrary and improper manner in which the trade itself was conducted. They also urged the declarations of several of their own members, who in the year 1718, had complained to the house of commons, of the partial and unnational manner in which the trade was managed. These complaints had been made by Sir PETER DELME, JOHN LOCK, RALPH RADCLIFFE, JAMES LOCK, EDWARD RADCLIFFE, JOHN HANGER, esquires, and Sir JOSEPH EYLES, who then delivered a memorial to the effect as follows.

“ **T**HE complainants admit that the company have long carried on
 “ their trade to TURKEY, sometimes by private, sometimes by ge-
 “ neral ships; they desire only to remind the honourable committee, that
 “ by the whole tenor of the old records produced by the company, it
 “ appears that they themselves have frequently thought the delay of ship-
 “ ping to be of such dangerous consequence, that if their ships departed
 “ not annually, liberty was given to each and every member, to export
 “ his own goods, in such manner and by such means as he should think
 “ proper. The complainants think it unnecessary to enter into a consider-
 “ ation of the state of trade, fifty or a hundred years ago, or whether
 “ the DUTCH or the FRENCH had any trade in those days; they desire to
 “ come to the present times, and to consider what methods the company
 “ have pursued since the conclusion of the last wars, and the alterations
 “ they

“ they have lately made ; and it appears that they have carried on, what
“ is usually called an open trade ; that is, by such ships as the respective
“ members did appoint to export their cloth, and the cloth of such
“ other members as might please to load upon them, to depart at such
“ seasons of the year, as were found to be most convenient, which was
“ usually in autumn, or by christmas.

“ Accordingly the last cloth ships did depart about that season of the
“ year in 1717, and many members of the company expecting the trade
“ would continue to be carried on in the same manner, proceeded in
“ buying and finishing cloth, as usual, for the year 1718.

“ But on the 26th of March 1718, they resolved, that if any mem-
“ ber should send cloth to TURKEY in any other manner, they would
“ levy 20 per cent. on such member's cloth in TURKEY ; adding, that
“ they would consider of general ships on the 23d of October following,
“ and not before : and in their own preamble they give this remarkable
“ reason for their alteration, that it was in order to raise the value of
“ ENGLISH manufactures abroad, and silk at home, hereby evidently de-
“ monstrating their private advantage, that of the nation consisting more
“ in a large consumption, than in a large price ; as the one may beat our
“ neighbours out of the trade, whilst the other must necessarily give
“ them a share in it. Now although many members thought this a great
“ hardship, yet did they acquiesce, in full expectation, that at the time
“ prescribed, they should be permitted to export their cloth in the com-
“ pany's own way.

“ But on the 6th of November, they resolved to adjourn the further
“ consideration of shipping for two months longer, and this made that
“ evident which was before suspected, that they really intended no ship-
“ ping at all : whereupon a representation of this grievance was made to
“ the ministry, who became so sensible of this extraordinary way of
“ proceeding, so highly interfering with the common good, that Mr. se-
“ cretary

“cretary CRAGGS sent for the company, and desired them to re-consider
 “this matter ; which the company did in a general court, assembled on
 “the 4th of December, when they resolved, that they would chuse ships
 “for the immediate exportation of cloth, on the 8th of January follow-
 “ing, and appointed a committee to attend Mr. secretary with this re-
 “solution. But when the 8th of January came, they, by a majority of
 “one vote only, instead of chusing ships, ordered only a survey of ships,
 “and a report to be made. On the 22d of January, they resolved, that
 “they would, in proper time, chuse ships, but not to depart before the
 “1st of July next: now, the 1st of July was generally understood to
 “mean winter, and in that case it would have completed two years
 “prohibition of trade.

“This irregular and uncertain proceeding of the company, was the
 “cause that your complainants thought the interposition of this honour-
 “able house of commons most proper to their relief, in the exportation
 “of that great quantity of cloth, which has been so long locked up,
 “to their own and the nation’s prejudice.

“And they humbly offer the following reasons for it, that the com-
 “pany’s charter does not warrant them in such a prohibition or re-
 “straint of trade; nor will WESTMINSTER-HALL warrant their levying
 “twenty in the hundred upon their members estates ; besides, such re-
 “straint cannot be for the common good of the woollen manufactures of
 “this kingdom, but evidently the contrary, as it necessarily encourages
 “the FRENCH and DUTCH trade to TURKEY.

“Nevertheless it is granted, that there was cloth remaining unfold, and
 “particularly at ALEPPO ; but most of it would have been long since
 “disposed of, were it not for an understanding between the managers
 “here and in TURKEY, in order to raise the price of cloth abroad, and
 “that of silk at home.

“This restraint may be also a great cause why so much wool is sent
 “to the FRENCH, they having a vent to TURKEY, whilst we have none;
 “and

“ and to prevent the exportation of woollen goods to TURKEY at this
“ critical juncture, when no more can be sent either to OLD or NEW
“ SPAIN, is of the greatest moment; so that the complainants hope, that
“ such members of the company as have a right to trade, will meet no
“ obstruction.

“ As to the objection, that the trade has been over-driven; will not that
“ in the nature of the thing, reduce the exportation, as far as may be
“ needful, without a forcible restraint? It is strange that a majority of the
“ company, some of whom are not at all concerned in the trade, and
“ others but little, should have more regard to the welfare of their largest
“ trading members, than they have for themselves and the nation.

“ Our legislature never thought that over-driving the trade to PORTU-
“ GAL, SPAIN, or ITALY, was a sufficient reason to trust those traders
“ with a power of restraining it at their pleasure.

“ It must be allowed, that the present situation of affairs has made a
“ great alteration in almost every thing; low interest raises land, enlarges
“ trade, reduces profit; and therefore these members, contrary to the rea-
“ son of things, desire that cloth may be bought the cheaper at home,
“ and sell the dearer abroad; likewise that silk may be bought the cheaper
“ abroad, and sell the dearer at home.

“ In the mean while, the FRENCH and DUTCH are encouraged to sup-
“ ply their woollen trade abroad, and their silk manufactures at home;
“ and our own manufacturers, both in wool and silk, are in a great mea-
“ sure deprived of their employments: the TURKS also at this very time
“ carry on a cloth manufacture of their own.

“ There can be no doubt, but the speedy exportation of what is now
“ provided, will be a greater encouragement towards the buying more
“ cloth, than the detaining it can be, in as much as most of this must
“ be sold, before another supply can follow it: but were it otherwise, it

“ is presumed, that those who have industriously laid out their estates in
 “ cloth ought not to be hindered, for the sake of those who have neg-
 “ lected and it is probable, that the complainants are as likely to buy
 “ more cloth, as any other member whatever.

“ Although the company have frequently practised this way of trading
 “ by general ships, yet it has often occasioned misunderstandings be-
 “ tween the members themselves, and also between the members and
 “ manufacturers. Two instances may be offered; one upon the like occa-
 “ sion with this. Some members made application to king CHARLES in
 “ council; the company was heard, and pretended many difficulties: the
 “ king himself asked the question, whether there might be any members,
 “ who notwithstanding what was alledged, were willing to trade; and it
 “ was answered there might. Then, said the king, they shall trade, and
 “ ordered the trade to be opened.

“ The other was a complaint of the manufacturers to the house of
 “ commons, upon a delay of shipping, when an annual export for TUR-
 “ KEY, in summer for ALEPPO, and in winter for SMYRNA and CONSTAN-
 “ TINOPLE, would have probably been enacted by law, had not the
 “ company, by large promises of doing the thing, prevented it.

“ Now, whether this pretended power to stop trade be warrant-
 “ able, or whether it has been exercised for the common good,
 “ is humbly submitted to this honourable committee?”

It is natural to imagine that such bold and explicit declarations as these, would be productive of enquiries into the state of the TURKEY company; and it was accordingly debated very warmly in both houses of parliament, whether it would not be for the interest of the nation to leave the commerce to TURKEY free and open, as the PORTUGAL and SPANISH trades are.

A fair conclusion could not indeed be drawn from this memorial, for tho’ several errors were committed twenty three years before, it did not follow that

that the TURKEY company still pursued false maxims, destructive of that trade by which so many had been enriched. Upon the whole, this company had not so great reason to be alarmed at the proposal of the CASPIAN trade; for the quantity of raw silk produced in the PERSIAN dominions, and brought into ENGLAND by way of RUSSIA, was, and probably would have been, very short of that which is imported from TURKEY: and though some of our woollens had found their way into the western parts of PERSIA from TURKEY, the quantity of late years had been but small; the goods used there being mostly FRENCH and DUTCH, as already mentioned.

The TURKEY company however was really in unhappy circumstances, as appears from the following memorial, given in a little before this time, complaining of the progress of the FRENCH in the LEVANT trade.

“ To his grace the duke of NEWCASTLE, his majesty’s principal secretary
“ of state.

“ **T**HE governor and company of merchants of ENGLAND trading
“ to the LEVANT seas, having lately received from his majesty’s
“ ambassador at CONSTANTINOPLE, an account of the great increase the
“ FRENCH have made in their cloth trade to TURKEY, and the encouragement given to it by the public, with observations on the prejudices
“ derived to our ENGLISH cloth, and the danger there is of losing that
“ branch of our trade; they think it their duty humbly to lay the same
“ before your grace, and to annex an account of the FRENCH importations of cloth into TURKEY; together with a state of the BRITISH woollen manufactures in those parts for some years past.

“ All the FRENCH woollen manufactures for the LEVANT, are made in
“ LANGUEDOC, and managed by the province under the approbation of
“ the court. Besides particular manufactories, there are about twelve
“ which have been built by the province. In each of these there are conveniences for perfecting, even to the embalming, 1000 cloths of about

“ 40 yards each, yearly; and the province lets these manufactories rent
 “ free, upon an engagement annually to make 300 only of these cloths,
 “ and allows five livres for every such cloth.

“ We have the same source of materials, if the public would give any
 “ help and encouragement to preserve so valuable a trade.” And the am-
 bassador adds; “ As the trade to the LEVANT has been a deposit of your
 “ country in your hands, you will not suffer it to perish there (tho’ with-
 “ out any mismanagement of yours) without calling for help.” He
 says further, “ That in the station he is in, he thought himself obliged
 “ to give us this information, as well in regard to the trade, as to his
 “ majesty and the public.

“ The FRENCH import at CONSTANTINOPLE and ALEPPO about 12000
 “ cloths yearly; and at each of these places there have been for several
 “ years past, and still remain large quantities of ENGLISH cloth unfold,
 “ occasioned by so large an importation of FRENCH cloth; particularly
 “ at ALEPPO in February last (after the company’s ship came away from
 “ SCANDEROON) about 5000 ENGLISH cloths remained there unfold, at
 “ CONSTANTINOPLE above 4000 cloths, and at SMYRNA above 3000
 “ cloths.

June 28, 1739.

WILLIAM DUNSTER, deputy-governor.

This was soon followed and confirmed by a second memorial, as fol-
 lows:

“ To his grace the duke of NEWCASTLE, his majesty’s principal secre-
 “ tary of state.

“ **T**HE governor and company of merchants of ENGLAND trading
 “ to the LEVANT seas, had the honour to lay before your grace,
 “ on the 28th June 1739, a representation of the great increase the
 “ FRENCH have made in their cloth trade to TURKEY, and the encou-
 “ ragement

“ ragement given to it by the public, with observations on the preju-
 “ dice derived to our ENGLISH cloth, and the danger there is of losing
 “ that branch of trade.

“ The said company having lately received advice from Sir EVERARD
 “ FAWKENER, his majesty’s ambassador, of advantages since obtained by
 “ the FRENCH from the PORT, do think it their duty to lay the same
 “ before your grace.

I. “ A reduction of their custom upon cloth, from 40 to 30 dollars
 “ the bale of 20 pieces.

II. “ A total abolition of the duty called messataria, which is two dol-
 “ lars and one sixth of a dollar per bale of cloth, and one and half
 “ per cent. ad valorem, upon all goods sold by weight.

“ Those advantages obtained by the FRENCH in TURKEY, with the
 “ great encouragement given them by their government, encrease our
 “ apprehensions of not being able to cope with them in the cloth trade,
 “ without assistance from this government.

London, Sept. 9.
 1740.

WILLIAM DUNSTER, deputy-governor.

These papers being laid before the commissioners of trade, they made
 the following report.

“ To their excellencies the lords justices.

“ May it please your excellencies,

“ **I**N obedience to your excellencies command, signified to us by Mr.
 “ STONE, in his letter of the 15th of September, we have taken
 “ into consideration the two memorials from the governor and compa-
 “ ny of merchants of ENGLAND trading to the LEVANT seas, delivered to
 “ his grace the duke of NEWCASTLE, one of his majesty’s principal se-
 “ cretaries

“cretaries of state, setting forth the disadvantages the ENGLISH trade lies
 “under, by the encrease of the FRENCH cloth trade to TURKEY; and
 “also the treaty of commerce lately concluded between the OTTOMAN
 “PORT and FRANCE, whereupon we humbly take leave to represent to
 “your excellencies,

“That we have been attended on this occasion by MR. DUNSTER, Deputy-governor of the said company, and by some of the principal merchants trading to the LEVANT seas, and having had some discourse with
 “them, they informed us,

“That their trade lay under many considerable disadvantages, which
 “had occasioned a very great decrease thereof for some years past. By
 “the many encouragements given in FRANCE to the woollen manufactures, the FRENCH were enabled to undersell them, at the several ports
 “in the LEVANT; by means of which great quantities of BRITISH cloth
 “exported to TURKEY remained unsold in their houses in that country.

“That the company is at a very high expence, to the amount of
 “8000 l. a year, in maintaining the ambassador his majesty sends to the
 “PORT, as well as consuls, and other public officers in that country,
 “which in the present low condition of their trade, they are not able to
 “support.

“That they apprehend if a bounty was to be allowed on the exportation of cloth to the LEVANT (which might include SPAIN, when a
 “trade shall be again open with that crown, and also ITALY) and the
 “duty on TURKEY silk and grograms imported into GREAT BRITAIN,
 “lowered; it might be a means, not only of relieving them in their present difficulties, but might enable them to continue the expence of the
 “public ministers at the PORT, and to carry on this valuable branch of
 “trade with advantage; whereas at present it labours under a large debt,
 “contracted by the said company, which they have no hope of paying,
 “while it continues in this drooping condition.

“As

“ As to the treaty lately concluded between the OTTOMAN PORT and
 “ FRANCE, which we had communicated to them, they acquainted us
 “ that they did not so clearly see what advantages were given thereby to
 “ the FRENCH; but as there was a tariff to be settled, in consequence of
 “ this treaty, they should be better judges when they should see the said
 “ tariff, of which they expected some further account from the ambassa-
 “ dor at the PORT.

“ But we must beg leave to observe to your excellencies, that we very
 “ much question whether the expedients they propose be practicable; and
 “ we cannot take upon us to determine, whether the parliament will come
 “ into any act for reducing the duties on TURKEY silks and grograms, or
 “ for granting a bounty on the exportation of woollen manufactures, but
 “ more especially for a partial bounty.

“ We must likewise represent to your excellencies, that having asked
 “ the said merchants whether it would not be for their service, that his
 “ majesty's ambassador at the PORT should be instructed to apply for the
 “ obtaining all the advantages granted to any other nation, they seemed
 “ to decline it, on account of the encrease of expence, such application
 “ must be attended with; and as no other expedient hitherto has occur-
 “ red to us, that might be effectual in the present case, we must content
 “ ourselves with stating to your excellencies the matters of fact as they
 “ appeared to us upon our discourse with the said merchants.

All which is most humbly submitted.

Whitehall, October 9,
 1740.

MARTIN BLADEN.
 R. PLUMER.
 JA. BRUDENELL.
 R. CROFT.

C H A P. IX.

An act of parliament obtained for the CASPIAN trade. BRITISH factors sent into the north of PERSIA. The RUSSIAN ministry alarmed at Mr. ELTON's entering into the service of NADIR SHAH.

WHATEVER reasons at that time prevented the TURKEY company from receiving such national encouragement as they seemed to think necessary, it was one popular argument in favour of the proposed trade to PERSIA, that it would not stand in need of such assistance, and would be free to every subject on the common terms of the small fine or contribution of five pounds. The encrease of the foreign consumption of our woollen manufactures, and the introduction of raw silk on the easiest terms, were also reasons of the most persuasive kind, to bring the parliament to a resolution in favour of it. Several members of the RUSSIA company were called to the bar of the house of commons, particularly Mr. ROBERT DINGLEY, and Mr. ROBERT CRAMMOND, who managed the point so well, that the arguments produced by the TURKEY company, had no longer any weight.

The national benefit being therefore apparent to both houses of parliament, an act was passed that sessions as follows.

“ **W**HEREAS by letters patent, dated at WESTMINSTER the 26th of fe-
 “ bruary, in the first and second years of the reign of king PHILIP and
 “ queen MARY, their majesties did give and grant to certain persons therein men-
 “ tioned, by the name of merchants adventurers of ENGLAND, for the discovery
 “ of lands, territories, isles, dominions, and feignories unknown, and not be-
 “ fore their late adventure or enterprize by seas or navigation commonly fre-
 “ quented, the sole privilege of trading to the dominions and territories of the
 “ emperor of RUSSIA.

“ And

“ And whereas the liberties, powers, and privileges granted by the said letters patent, were afterwards, by an act of parliament made in the eighth year of the reign of queen ELIZABETH, confirmed to the said merchants, and their successors, by the name of the fellowship of ENGLISH merchants for discovery of new trades (now commonly called the RUSSIA company;) by which the said fellowship are to have the sole privilege of trading to and from the dominions and territories of the emperor of RUSSIA, lying northwards, north-eastwards, and north-westwards, from the city of LONDON; as also to the countries of ARMENIA MAJOR OR MINOR, MEDIA, HYRCANIA, PERSIA, or the CASPIAN sea:

“ And whereas by an act made in the tenth and eleventh years of the reign of king WILLIAM the third, to enlarge the trade to RUSSIA, any subject of this realm hath a right to be made free of the said fellowship, paying for such his admission five pounds and no more:

“ And whereas by an act of parliament passed in the twelfth year of the reign of his late majesty king CHARLES the second, entituled an act for encouraging and increasing of shipping and navigation, it is amongst other things enacted, that no goods of foreign growth, production, and manufacture, which by the said act are to be brought into ENGLAND, IRELAND, WALES, the islands of GUERNSEY OR JERSEY, or TOWN OF BERWICK UPON TWEED, in ENGLISH OR other shipping navigated in such manner as therein is mentioned, shall be shipped or brought from any other place or places, country or countries, but only from those of the said growth, production or manufacture, or from those ports where the said goods and commodities could only, or were, or usually had been first shipped for transportation, and from none other places or countries, under the penalties of the forfeiture of all such goods, as also the ship in which they are imported, with all her guns, furniture, ammunition, tackle, and apparel, to be divided and recovered, as in the said act is directed, with proviso that the said act shall not extend, or be meant, to restrain and prohibit the importing of any of the commodities of the STREIGHTS OR LEVANT seas, in ENGLISH built shipping, and navigated as therein is directed, from the usual ports or places for lading them within the said STREIGHTS OR LEVANT seas, or the importing any EAST INDIA commodities, loaden in the like shipping, and so navigated from the usual place or places for lading of them, in any part of those seas, to the southward and eastward of CABO BONA SPERANZA, although

“ the said commodities be not of the very growth of the said ports or places respectively :

“ And whereas at the time of passing the said act last-mentioned, it was not usual to bring to this kingdom raw silk, and other goods and commodities of the growth, produce or manufacture of PERSIA, through the dominions and territories of the emperor of RUSSIA :

“ And whereas it may be of great advantage to this kingdom to open a trade to and from PERSIA through RUSSIA, by promoting the consumption of the woollen and other manufactures, goods, and commodities thereof, if raw silk, and other the goods and commodities of the growth, produce, and manufacture of PERSIA, be permitted to be imported into this kingdom from RUSSIA, in return for such woollen and other manufactures as shall be exported from hence into RUSSIA, and from thence carried into PERSIA, and not otherwise; be it enacted, by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the 24th day of June, 1741, it shall and may be lawful to and for any person or persons free or to be free of the said fellowship of ENGLISH merchants, for discovery of new trades, commonly called the RUSSIA company, exclusive of all others, to bring and import into this kingdom, in BRITISH built shipping, navigated according to law, from any port or place, of or belonging to the CZAR or emperor of RUSSIA, raw silk, or any other goods or commodities of the growth, produce, and manufacture of PERSIA, (provided such manufacture be made of the growth or produce of PERSIA) being purchased by barter, with woollen or other manufactures, goods or commodities exported from GREAT BRITAIN TO RUSSIA, and from thence carried into PERSIA (gold and silver in coin or bullion excepted); or with the produce arising from the sales of such manufactures, goods, or commodities so exported to RUSSIA, and carried into PERSIA as aforesaid, and not otherwise; upon paying or securing the customs and other duties, now payable for the same, by any law now in force, according to such rules, methods, and directions, and in the same manner and form, and with such allowances, abatements, discounts, and drawbacks, and under such penalties, forfeitures, and disabilities, as are by law prescribed and practised on the importation of the like goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of PERSIA, imported into this kingdom, from any port or place in the LEVANT
“ seas,

“ seas, by any person or persons free of the LEVANT or TURKEY company; any
 “ thing in the said recited act, made in the twelfth year of the reign of king
 “ CHARLES the second, to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

“ And be it further enacted, that no silk or other produce, commodities, or
 “ manufactures of PERSIA, shall be imported into GREAT BRITAIN through RUS-
 “ SIA, by virtue of this act, unless the importer or importers thereof do take an
 “ oath, or, being of the people called Quakers, a solemn affirmation, before the
 “ collector, customer, or comptroller of his majesty’s customs, (who are here-
 “ by impowered to administer the same) at the port or place of importation,
 “ that, to the best of his or their knowledge and belief, the silk and other the
 “ produce, commodities, or manufactures of PERSIA, contained in his or their
 “ entry or entries, was or were really and truly purchased by barter with woollen
 “ or other manufactures, goods, or commodities exported from GREAT BRITAIN
 “ to RUSSIA, and from thence carried into PERSIA, (not being gold or silver in
 “ coin or bullion) or with the produce arising from the sales of such woollen
 “ or other manufactures, goods or commodities so exported as aforesaid, and not
 “ otherwise; and in default of taking such oath or affirmation, all such silk or
 “ other the produce, commodities, or manufactures of PERSIA, so imported
 “ from RUSSIA, shall be liable to be seized and forfeited, in like manner as if
 “ the same had been imported contrary to the said act, made in the twelfth year of
 “ the reign of his late majesty king CHARLES the second, intituled, an act for en-
 “ couraging and increasing of shipping and navigation.

“ Provided always, and be it further enacted, that nothing in this act contain-
 “ ed shall extend, or be construed to extend, to the permitting the using or wear-
 “ ing, in this kingdom, any wrought silks, or other the goods or commodities
 “ of the manufacture of PERSIA, mentioned in the act passed in the eleventh year
 “ of the reign of his late majesty king WILLIAM the third, intituled, an act for
 “ the more effectual employing the poor, by encouraging the manufactures of
 “ this kingdom, which may be imported by virtue hereof through RUSSIA; but
 “ the same act, and every clause therein contained, so far as the same relates to
 “ the importing the said goods into the port of LONDON only, and to the entry
 “ thereof, and payment of the duties, and putting the same into proper ware-
 “ houses, and exporting them on security, and to the seizing and prosecuting
 “ those goods, and dividing the produce of such seizures, and keeping proper
 “ accounts thereof, and subjecting the persons concerned to penalties and disabi-

“ ties, for breach of the said act, shall be practised, and be of full force and effect for the purposes aforesaid, as if the said act, and the several clauses therein contained, were particularly, and at large, repeated and set down in the body of this act.

“ And be it further enacted, that if any question, dispute, or doubts shall arise, whether any of the goods or commodities to be imported by virtue of this act, be of the growth, produce, or manufacture of PERSIA, or not, or were imported contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, and the same shall, for that reason, be seized as forfeited, the proof thereof shall be incumbent on the importer or claimer, and not upon the officer or informer; and the commissioners of the customs, if they see sufficient cause, shall and may direct the officer of the customs, who made the seizure, to proceed in the prosecution thereof, or not; and judgment thereupon shall be given for recovery of the forfeiture.

“ And it be it further enacted, that if any action or suit shall be commenced against any person or persons, for any thing done in pursuance of this act, the defendant or defendants in such action or suit may plead the general issue, and give this act, and the special matter, in evidence, at any trial to be had thereupon; and that the same was done in pursuance and by authority of this act; and if it shall appear so to have been done, then the jury shall find for the defendant or defendants; and if the plaintiff shall be nonsuited, or discontinue his action, after the defendant or defendants shall have appeared, or if judgment shall be given upon any verdict or demurrer against the plaintiff, the defendant or defendants shall and may recover treble costs, and have the like remedy for the same, as defendants have in other cases by law.

“ Provided also, that any thing in this act contained shall not extend, or be construed to extend, to hinder or deprive the corporation of the united company of merchants of ENGLAND, trading to the EAST INDIES, from having and enjoying all and every such powers, privileges, franchises, benefits, matters, or things, as do or shall belong to them, or which they could or might enjoy in any manner of ways, if this act had not been made; any thing in this act to the contrary notwithstanding.

“ And

“ And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that this shall be adjudged and deemed to be a public act, and shall be judicially taken notice of as such, by all judges, justices, and other persons, without specially pleading the same.”

The RUSSIA company now prepared to send factors into GHILAN, and with them a considerable quantity of cloth, and other woollen goods. This enterprize required, in a more peculiar manner, great unanimity. The ARMENIANS were already fixed in the CASPIAN commerce; and it is natural for people who have long enjoyed the sole possession of any thing, to reason themselves into a persuasion that they are the only rightful proprietors of it, and consequently that they do themselves but justice in employing all their skill and industry to oppose those who pretend to share with them. The RUSSIA company was very early apprized of what they were to expect from the ARMENIANS; it would have been therefore their interest to establish one house only in GHILAN, in order to prevent the jealousy and discord, which are but too frequent in our factories abroad, and which might be apprehended in so remote and lawless a country as PERSIA. However, as a presage of future disasters, several of the most considerable RUSSIA traders, either from a jealousy which they had entertained of those who had given Mr. ELTON the first countenance in this enterprize, or from a more judicious suspicion of ELTON himself, declined throwing their effects into his hands, but sent Mr. JAMES BROWN, Mr. MARTIN KYCK VAN MIEROP, and Mr. RICHARD WILDER into GHILAN, who arrived there in 1742, with cloth and other manufactures to a very considerable value. Mr. ELTON was not a little mortified at this step; however the first of the two BRITISH ships built at CASAN, and now completed, was put under his direction. Being also powerfully supported by large consignments of cloth, and other proper goods, he went into PERSIA².

They are but ill acquainted with life, who do not know that it is chequered with evil, and the pleasures and advantages of it alloyed with

² See WOODROOFE'S journal, chap. 22, and 23.

their contraries. I have already observed, that Mr. ELTON had been employed in the RUSSIAN service, and was bred a seaman. He had many abilities, but wanted some talents that were requisite on the present occasion.

No sooner was he arrived in GHILAN, than a quarrel ensued between him and the RUSSIAN consul ARAPOFF. Whether this was owing to Mr. ELTON's being deficient in that skilful moderation, so essential to the good conduct of commercial affairs, I will not pretend to say; ARAPOFF appeared to me a very honest and discreet man: this however is most certain, and in ELTON's favour, that very soon after his arrival in PERSIA, captain WOODROOFE, who commanded the first BRITISH ship built for this trade, was treated by the RUSSIAN secretary at DERBEND, with great cruelty, as will be fully related hereafter.

Ambition had certainly a share in Mr. ELTON's resolutions; for he immediately entered into the service of NADIR SHAH, as superintendent of the PERSIAN coast of the CASPIAN, with design to build ships in the EUROPEAN manner, if it should be found practicable. The news of this soon reached the factors of St. PETERSBURG, but in a very obscure and imperfect manner. It gave them however some concern for the security of their effects, and still more for the offence, which they easily foresaw would be taken by the RUSSIAN court.

C H A P. X.

The author's voyage to RIGA. A description of ELSINEUR, the Sound, and the forts that guard this passage.

IN February 1743, I accepted the offer of a partnership in Mr. DINGLEY's house at St. PETERSBURG; in consequence hereof I was made acquainted with the CASPIAN trade, which was then in its infancy, and the object of the sanguine hopes of several of our most considerable merchants. From that time I indulged a desire of seeing PERSIA, a country so renowned for great and memorable events both in antient and modern history.

In April following I embarked in the river THAMES on board an ENGLISH ship bound for RIGA. The several wrecks which then appeared in the sands and shallows on the east coast of ENGLAND, gave me but melancholy impressions of the danger of a sea life. We had severe weather for the season, and the ship being very old and crazy, rendered my situation by no means agreeable. It is perhaps hard to say if the motion a ship, or the smell of tar is most apt to create the sea sickness; when this sickness is extreme, certainly nothing but the acutest distemper can exceed it: gentle acids, and cooling foods are the greatest relief.

It was now the beginning of May, yet the winds in the north sea were extremely cold. The BALTIC is seldom clear of ice till the middle of that month, and the winds which pass over it are generally piercing. At length we arrived in the SOUND. This STREIGHT is about two ENGLISH miles broad; the castle of KRONENBURG, on the DANISH side, guards the entrance. * ELSIMBURG is on the opposite side, on the SWEDISH continent. In some winters this passage is frozen up.

The duty paid here at different periods of time, has varied very much; it is now near 3 4ths per cent. upon most kinds of goods, and it is said to amount to 70,000 crowns^a. The original of this duty was to defray the charge of light-houses and buoys, which the DANES fixed at proper places, for the safety and convenience of navigators; thus they easily procured the consent of the several princes and states who traded into the BALTIC, to which this is a more important pass, than GIBRALTAR is to the MEDITERRANEAN. In times of war vessels of moderate burthen have passed the greater BELT at the back of ZEALAND; though the navigation here is more precarious, and the STREIGHTS of NEWBERG are also very narrow. In 1644, and the following year, the HOLLANDERS passed the SOUND in merchant-men as well as ships of war, though the SWEDES, with whom they were at war, were then possessed of both sides of the passage.

The cannon now mounted in KRONENBURG castle are large, and probably much bigger than they were in those days; but a sufficient depth of water, a leading gale, and intrepid mariners might easily surmount any obstacle to be found there, should necessity require the trial. This castle projects into the water, and is so far detached from the town as to enjoy an open and delightful prospect, and by its buildings, extent, and verdure within the walls, is rendered an agreeable place^b.

The consuls of ENGLAND, FRANCE, HOLLAND, and SWEDEN, reside in the town. Mr. FENWICK, the ENGLISH consul, received me very politely. ELSENEUR is a neat little town, watered by a spring in the east part of it; and the streets being in some places lined with trees, have an agreeable effect. The neighbourhood of the SWEDES makes the DANISH garrison strict in the examination of all who come into the town. COPENHAGEN is distant from hence about 20 ENGLISH miles.

^a Lately increased to 100,000 crowns, of 5 s. 6 d. the DANES having wisely taken the precaution to instruct some of their custom-house officers in the RUSSIAN language, the duties being demanded on the goods specified on the clearances in RUSSIA.

^b The works I am told are lately enlarged, and made more formidable than at the time I saw them.

The remarkable piety of the DANISH nation appears even amongst the common foldiers. I observed with great pleasure their good order and discipline. When the guard was mounted, they made their addresses to the supreme being, in a regular manner *. The DANES are said to maintain 30,000 men. They have a small trade to CHINA; our masters of ships are sometimes supplied by that nation with CHINA goods, but of late years these are not only much advanced in price, but very bad in quality. This is also a little magazine of wine, brandy, and such commodities as are used by the merchant ships. The boats employed in this road are very broad and shallow, and though the sea sometimes runs high, they live, as the seamen term it, in a surprizing manner.

From ELSINEUR we weighed, and passed by COPENHAGEN, the royal palace of which forms a magnificent prospect from the water. The sea here is often very clear and transparent. Hence we passed by BORNHOLM, which affords an agreeable prospect in serene weather, but in the close of the season is a great object of terror to mariners; few ships navigate this sea from November to April. Soon after we descried the coast of COURLAND, which affords a sandy and inhospitable prospect.

Having gentle breezes, in a short time we made the bay of RIGA. As it was now the end of May, it is not easy to conceive how pleasant the BALTIC sea is, and how much the scene was changed for the better. Tho' a maritime life had no utility, yet sailing in fair weather might induce many to practise it, who desire to enlarge the scene of their pleasures. Here we were obliged to lighten our ship, by throwing out part of the ballast, that she might not draw above 11 feet water, being the depth usually found on the bar.

* A practise so little imitated in some of the polite nations, that one hardly ever sees it at church, but when he is going to execution for desertion, or worse crimes. It was remarkable in the late war, that when all the different nations which composed the confederate army were performing their daily devotions, the * * * * soldiers only, seemed to have no sense of the being of God.

After a tedious passage of 26 days, it was no small pleasure to go ashore; but by no means agreeable to be carried as a prisoner to the castle of DWENAMUND, where I was kept above an hour in the company of common foldiers, and under secretaries, who are but a small remove from common foldiers.

RUSSIA being then at war with SWEDEN, I was questioned if I had any passport. They saw that I was a merchant from ENGLAND; I produced letters of recommendation from monsieur NARRISKIN, then the RUSSIAN minister at the court of LONDON, to count BESTUCHEFF, the great chancellor of RUSSIA, and also to count LESTOCK¹; and yet they made great difficulties concerning the want of a passport, which it is not usual to bring from ENGLAND. Petty officers in the RUSSIAN service, often conjure up difficulties, out of a religious regard to the letter of their orders; but the master of the ship no sooner made the ORDINARY COMPLIMENT, than we were received by the officer on duty as the friends of his sovereign. From thence I went by land about half a day's journey to RIGA.

¹ The same who was afterwards disgraced.

C H A P. XI.

The author is detained at RIGA, by order of the governor. Description of that city and its trade. An account of DORPT and NARVA, with the trade thereof. The author arrives at St. PETERSBURG.

IT was about the 20th of May when I arrived at RIGA. The weather was as hot as ever I remember it, during many years abode in PORTUGAL; for the sun leaves the horizon only three or four hours, and its reflection continues even great part of that time, so that, tho' the dews fall, neither the earth, nor consequently the air, has time to become temperate.

Here I was received by the BRITISH factors with great kindness and marks of regard, particularly by Mr. THOMAS SPENCER and his brother. These gentlemen are distinguished by their affluence and generosity. They gave me a hospitable reception, which was the more pleasing, as I found myself reserved for the honour of being a state prisoner. I produced the most indubitable credentials, the same I have already mentioned; and also letters of recommendation to the ENGLISH factors in RIGA, by all which it appeared I was an ENGLISH factor going to reside in St. PETERSBURG. But the governor having received orders that no person should proceed from thence without express leave from the court then residing in St. PETERSBURG, he would not give me a passport, and I was obliged to wait there for seventeen days. Such is the jealousy which the neighbourhood of the SWEDES creates in time of war.

I spent this time as agreeably as a garrison and its confines would permit, but not a little mortified and surprized with the extreme heat. I was assured, that after the melting of the snow, the earth being impregnated with the nitre which the snow contains, sometimes brings to maturity, in six weeks, the rye which has lain in the ground during the winter;

ter; and that wheat has been sown and reaped within the same time: the truth of which I should have disputed, if it had not been asserted by persons of undoubted veracity.

This city, which had now a considerable garrison of RUSSIAN forces, was built about the year 1190, when this country first received the knowledge of CHRIST. It is the metropolis of LIVONIA, a place of great consequence, situated in the latitude of 57, on the north east of the DWENA, which runs into the gulph of RIGA. It was taken from the SWEDES by PETER THE GREAT in 1710, after a siege of three months, in which time the SWEDISH garrison, by famine, the plague, and the sword, were reduced from 12000 to 5000 men; and of the burghers and inhabitants there died about 60,000. Several houses have yet marks of the bombardment; the gallantry of the SWEDES in defending this place, was in some measure rewarded by the superior genius of PETER THE GREAT, who granted the town a very honourable capitulation, which has been ever since religiously observed. The magistracy preserve the civil power, according to their antient immunities; and the keys of the town gates are deposited with them every night. The burghers have the sole right of buying of the POLISH and RUSSIAN merchants; and consequently the ENGLISH factors, and other foreigners, can buy only of the burghers: the latter, by this exclusive privilege, might be much enriched; but by excessive high living, and making their trade a kind of stock-jobbing, numbers of them of late years are become bankrupts. Besides the corporation of burghers, which has the management of the city affairs only, the crown has a court under the RUSSIAN laws. This takes cognizance of the assessments for quartering of soldiers, and other matters relating to the government. There is also a provincial court for the affairs of the province, considered as distinct from the city.

The river DWENA generally closes about the end of November, and opens again near the middle of March; so that this town has the advantage of St. PETERSBURG, the NEVA being there closed about six weeks longer.

longer. When the ice breaks up, it often comes down in such large pieces, and with so vast a weight, as to remove points of land, and form banks, which sometimes remain for several years. This renders it impossible for any standing bridge to be built over the river, an inconveniency which is removed by a bridge of rafts and boards, during the summer season; so that they walk even with the surface of the water. About 300 vessels can conveniently lay and take in their loading to the depth of nine feet water. Larger ships load in a creek not far distant, where there are seven fathoms water; and ships which cannot pass the bar, load below it, at a place called the BALDERA.

The chief commodities here, are hemp, flax, masts and timber. The quantity of the hemp is generally about 40,000 schipounds^c, which is brought down in struzes^d of 50 to 70 feet long, and 20 to 30 feet broad, made head and stern alike, and steered by oars of about 25 feet, of which there is one at the head, and another at the stern.

The POLANDERS bring a large proportion of these commodities, chiefly from the POLISH UKRAINE. The flax is brought from DRUANA and LITHUANIA, a great part of which they call DRUANA RAGITZER and LITHUANIA RAGITZER. The timber is from those parts of POLAND which border on TURKEY; great part of that which is fit for masts is two summers in its passage to RIGA. This place formerly exported vast quantities of corn for SWEDEN and other countries; but the system of politics in that country having been for some time repugnant to that of RUSSIA, the town has suffered the inconvenience of a prohibition.

RIGA has sometimes loaded annually near 500 ships, of which above 300 were from the UNITED PROVINCES; but as the trade of that country in general has been for some years on the decay, the number of DUTCH ships at this port has decreased; nor indeed has the timber, in which great part of the trade consisted, been so essential to those pro-

^c 6400 tons.

^d Flat bottomed boats

vinces, since they have found that stones will make a more lasting fence against the inroads of the sea.

They measure here by the ell, of which 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ is equal to a yard ENGLISH. Their foot of 12 inches, is equal to 11 inches ENGLISH. Their weights are

1 ounce	} is {	2 loot.
32 loot		1 pound of 16 ounces.
20 pound		1 lispound.
20 lispound		1 schippound.

And they generally reckon 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Ct. ENGLISH to a schippound.

Liquors are sold by the stoop, of which three are equal to an ENGLISH gallon.

The money current here is rix dollars alberts, equal to 80 farthings.

2 farthings = 1 mark.

20 marks = 1 ört.

4 orts 1 rix dollar, alberts.

This mark is an imaginary species of money, but they have another kind of mark of 6 grofs, by which some commodities are bought.

The farthings are POLISH as well as SWEDISH coin.

The merchants keep their accounts in rix dollars ^s and grofs, 90 grofs to a rix dollar.—But the tradefinen keep their accounts in rix dollars of 40 marks.

The houses here are made steep in the roof, for the better carrying off the water, which is very penetrating when the snow melts. In this they

^s Generally worth 5 s. 6 d. according as the exchange is on AMSTERDAM.

excel the RUSSIANS, who have still greater occasion to provide against the like inconvenience. The cellars are used as magazines for flax, and other goods; and the entrance, or first apartment, in most houses, is the coach-house, by which you must pass to the parlour and dining-room. The houses have seldom above two stories, and the streets are narrow. GERMAN is the language of the people of RIGA, but the peasants in the neighbourhood, and other parts of LIVONIA, speak UN-DUTCH, a dialect entirely differing from the GERMAN.

My partner in St. PETERSBURG, having procured a passport for me, I provided myself with a sleeping waggon^b, and on the 7th of June I took post for St. PETERSBURG. The soil about RIGA is sandy, but, after some distance, the country becomes more pleasant. In some places it is champaign, in others the hills diversify the scene. It abounds in wood and corn land, and is well watered. The post horses are exceeding bad, but as the stages are short, and the houses clean, this inconvenience is supportable. The ordinary stations for the posts are PHAR, at the river AA, GARBIN, KUKATZ and DORPT, in all about 230 wersts.

DORPT stands on a plain, and is watered by the river EMBECK, which runs into the lake PEIPIUS. The country on the side towards RIGA presents a most delightful prospect. Its trade consists mostly in corn and flax, of which considerable quantities are sent to RIGA. The people here pretend, that every third year their wheat degenerates into rye; an opinion that probably has taken its rise from an unskilful cultivation of the land, which may cause the size and substance of the grain to be greatly diminished. 'Tis perhaps from the same reason reversed, the HUNGARIANS pretend, that in some parts of HUNGARY the earth is naturally so fruitful, and probably so well nourished by cultivation, that, after three years, rye becomes wheat; but neither of these pretended facts was it my

^b These are made of leather, resembling cradles, and hung upon braces.

business to dispute. DORPT has the appearance of a superb heap of ruins. Here are the remains of a castle which PETER THE GREAT took from the SWEDES in 1704, upon which occasion great part of the town was destroyed by fire. From hence the country near the road is cleared of wood, and in many places well inhabited. I travelled along the banks of the lake PEIPUS, which is said to abound in fish. It is 120 wersts long, and 60 broad, communicating with the lake PESCOV¹, the borders of which are famous for producing flax. From DORPT to FORMIA POSTERN 37, to RANDAFFPUNGERN 38, to PURRAW 34, to VAVARA 20, to NARVA 41 wersts.

Here I was received with great hospitality by Mr. THOMAS WINN, an ENGLISH merchant, who always distinguished himself by his great kindness to his countrymen who passed through this province, as well as for the integrity and exactness of his commercial correspondency, by which he has acquired a considerable fortune. NARVA, which is the capital of ESTONIA, is not a large town, but stands on a rising ground, is clean, and well fortified. Its trade consists mostly in flax and timber; of the first, about 220,000 poods^k are generally brought to market, part of it on the snow; but the greatest quantity is transported in spring, from PESCOV, through the lake PEIPUS. Two wersts above the town there is a cataract in the river NARVA, at which they are obliged to unload the barks.—HOLLAND, PORTUGAL, and several parts of the BALTIC, as well as ENGLAND, take off this flax; as the HOLLANDERS the greatest part of the timber. Formerly they loaded 300 to 400 ships annually, with this article only; but now the number is reduced to about 100. The exportation is limited by the RUSSIAN government to 120,000 balks^l, which are of 20 to 40 feet long, and 10 to 15 inches square. The ENGLISH generally demand the largest, and the HOLLANDERS the smallest kind. Every ton of shipping in measurement will take a load of timber, 50 solid feet being reckoned to a load.

¹ Vulgarly called the lake PLESKOW.

^k About 3,500 tons.

^l Firr trees.

The import here is about 15,000 lbs. weight of tobacco, and a small quantity of bale goods; but the greatest article is salt, of which they take near 100,000 poods^m, 180 poods being reckoned to the last, of two tons ENGLISH. There is no depth of water for ships of above 120 tons; so that larger vessels are obliged to lay in the open road, where they are often distressed by hard gales of northerly winds; but this evil is intended to be remedied by building a pier. This city is remarkable in story for the great defeat which the RUSSIANS met in the infancy of their military power, when 100,000 of them fled before a handful of SWEDES. This happened in the year 1700; and four years afterwards it was obliged to yield to the superior numbers and fortune of the RUSSIANS, who have held it ever since; and in consequence of the favour which was shewn it by the CZAR, the town enjoys its civil government, without labouring under any oppression.

From NARVA I departed for JAMBURG, on the river LUGA, over which there is a floating bridge; here also stands an old castle. From thence I proceeded to OSERTES, passing out of ESTONIA into INGRIA, where the road is mostly made of timber. The land within 20 wersts of St. PETERSBURG on the banks of the NEVA, is very marshy. From NARVA to St. PETERSBURG is 146 wersts, and the whole distance from RIGA 546ⁿ. Notwithstanding the several stops I made on the road, together with the bad post horses, I arrived the fourth day without much difficulty.

^m Above 1100 tons.

ⁿ 398 miles.

C H A P. XII.

The BRITISH factory at PETERSBURG alarmed by the complaints of the court of RUSSIA against Mr. ELTON. The author offers his service to go into PERSIA, and takes the charge of a caravan of woollen goods designed for that country.

I Arrived at St. PETERSBURG the 10th of June, a day somewhat remarkable to me, as being the same on which I landed at LISBON fourteen years before, when I first went abroad; but remarkable to many for the birth of a man, who might as well have not been born for any good he has done the world in general, or his unfortunate and deluded adherents in particular.

I was extremely pleased to find a city so open, airy, and regularly built in many places, with very good houses in the ITALIAN taste.

My reader will remember that I had formed a design of going into PERSIA, should any convenient occasion offer. The several intimations of the distressed condition of that country, had indeed made some impression on me, but not much abated my curiosity. Very few weeks had past before my partner, and other factors who were correspondents with Mr. ELTON, being alarmed with the complaints of the RUSSIAN court in relation to that gentleman, resolved, that one of them would make a journey into PERSIA. I then offered my service, which was accepted.

How far Mr. ELTON had carried the design of trading from GREAT-BRITAIN over the CASPIAN sea into PERSIA, and how well it had succeeded to his wishes, has been already related: but now we had reason to believe, that, not contented with the pursuit of commercial affairs, he had injudiciously engaged in the service of NADIR SHAH, to build ships on the CASPIAN after the EUROPEAN manner. This was not then acknowledged

Chap. XII. JOURNEY FROM ST. PETERSBURG, &c. 83
ed by ELTON, nor entirely credited by his friends in St. PETERSBURG, but was thought a sufficient cause to make an enquiry. Other reasons of jealousy also concurring, we applied to Sir CYRIL WYCH, at that time his majesty's minister at the court of RUSSIA, and he, by a memorial to the great chancellor's office, demanded a passport for me, which was granted.

I provided myself with a convenient sleeping-waggon, another for my clerk, and a third for my baggage, also a RUSSIAN menial servant, a tartar boy and a soldier: then having received such instructions as were necessary from the factors who were interested in this new commerce, and taken upon me the charge of a caravan of thirty seven bales of ENGLISH cloth, I prepared for my journey,

This caravan of cloth, making twenty loads, set out the 1st of SEPTEMBER. The 10th of that month I followed it, not without some painful apprehensions that though I might probably arrive time enough to obtain a passage over the CASPIAN into PERSIA, yet the caravan would be too late in the season.

I had an order for nine post-horses, and was determined to make what speed the conveyance of the several necessary things I carried with me would admit; but notwithstanding this order for the facility of obtaining such a number of horses, and greater dispatch, I hired COPEACHNICKS*. It is too much the custom in RUSSIA for officers or persons who travel with servants or soldiers, to treat the peasants with insolence. The first charge I gave my attendants, was, to avoid every occasion of dispute, and still more of oppression; that if any insult was offered to them, they should inform me, that I might judge in what manner it ought to be refuted.

* Peasants horses, for which they pay one copeck or a half-penny each week; whereas post-horses are but $\frac{1}{2}$ a copeck, and not so good.

The rainy and frosty season being already come on, I found the roads extremely bad, especially for about fifteen wersts. The adjacent country to ST. PETERSBURG, would be impassable but for the great care which is taken in mending the roads with timber and fascines. A peace being concluded with SWEDEN, we overtook great numbers of foldiers who were retiring to their winter quarters.

On the 11th we found the road better, though the ground about us was marshy, and little or no arable land appeared. We got this evening to PREESTAN, which is 123 wersts from ST. PETERSBURG. On the 12th we advanced thirty-six wersts to the river VOLCOFF, which it was necessary to pass. The banks of this river are very pleasant, part consisting of rich arable lands. It communicates with the lake LODOGA, vessels passing through this river to the canal, which runs into the NEVA; also with the lake ILMEN at NOVOGORODE from whence, by the river MSTA and TWERSA, it communicates with the VOLGA at the city UGLITZ.

The ferry-man finding that I was a merchant, began to be insolent. These boors usually entertain a contemptible notion of their own traders, compared with military people, which they extend to merchants in general. I could not help observing upon this, as upon many other occasions, the obstinate opinion which the peasants had imbibed of the little respect due to merchants, though this barbarity of manners wears off very fast amongst the politer part of the people. The delay and impertinence to which I found myself thus exposed, necessarily called on my soldier to exercise his cane, which soon brought my antagonist to his duty. As the road on the opposite side of this river was exceeding bad, we intended to have gone up to NOVOGORODE by water, but the wind blowing strong in our teeth prevented us.

The 13th, the darkness of the night, the hard wind and rain, and excessive bad road, obliged us to halt, and sleep in our waggons in the open field, especially as one of them remained till morning stuck in a bog.

We

We overtook a party of COSSACKS, who had served in the war against the SWEDES; one of them seized hold of my horses, but he soon dispelled my fears by informing me that he had discovered the horse he had lost three years ago, which proved to be the real case; he very civilly procured me another to the next stage, and we parted with mutual wishes of a good journey. From the VOLCOFF, we passed the MSTA, near NOVOGORODE, and thence came to BRONITZ on the 14th, which is 230 wersts from St. PETERSBURG. I now found the weather mild, which was a joyful circumstance to me, who had not been accustomed to autumn journeys in a rigorous climate. The road also was open and pleasant, which was some consolation for our being obliged to take this rout, the best road being under repair. The land in several places is dry and arable, and provisions so cheap, that good beef may be bought for the value of three farthings a pound, mutton and pork in proportion, and bread about one sixth part of its usual price with us in ENGLAND.

The RUSSIANS, though not the acutest lawyers, understand how to torture words, and make them say what was never intended: my PODEROSNOI^o, by some omission or ambiguity, now left me at the mercy of the post-masters, as it was so worded as to signify either post-horses or YAM-SHEEKS^o. We passed by KRESTIKOI, and went 40 wersts to ISACOFF. The 15th. Last night the axle-tree of my own waggon broke: the RUSSIAN vehicles, unless made by express commission, are very subject to such accidents. This day we arrived at VALDAI, where is a considerable monastery, situated on a little island formed by the adjacent lake: the town is the property of the monastery. The inhabitants are mostly the descendents of the POLES, who were brought here as prisoners in former wars, but the distinction is now almost lost. The dress of the women is neater, and their persons are more comely than in general those of the RUSSIAN peasants; but their excessive laughter, and painted faces, greatly diminish the external charms which nature has bestowed on them. The

^o Order for horses.

^o Horses for which 2 copecks a werst are paid in this place.

country is very hilly, and affords many pleasant prospects. VENUS seems to have had here a more peculiar residence from the several amorous songs which the RUSSIANS hold in great esteem, in relation to the scenes of delight which this place affords; though the more refined parts of love, are hardly to be found among the present inhabitants. Here we got horses for 14 copeeks a werst each horse.

The 16th. By noon we had advanced 99 wersts to VISHNEIVOLOCHIQUE: here we took horses for 130 wersts. The next day, passing over several branches of the MSTA and TWERSA, I got to TWERE, where I came up with my caravan of cloth. Great complaints were made by the ISWOSHICKS*, of the badness of the roads, insomuch that my fear of its not reaching PERSIA that year encreased; therefore instead of one horse to each load, I ordered two, and promised to divide something considerable among the carriers, if they exerted themselves to the utmost of their strength and ability.

And now we are upon this subject, before I proceed further, perhaps it may afford some gratification to the curious, to be informed in what manner caravans usually travel in this country.

C H A P. XIII.

The best manner of ordering caravans in RUSSIA, and how they are generally conducted.

IN RUSSIA, carriages for merchandize are drawn only by one horse. These vehicles are nine or ten feet long, and two or three broad, and are principally composed of two strong poles, supported by four wheels of near an equal size, and about as high as the fore wheels of our or-

* Carriers.

dinary coaches, but made very slight: many of the rounds of the wheels are of a single piece of wood, and open in one part for near an inch; and some of them are not shod with iron.

The first care is to lay the bales as high as the cart will admit, on a bed of matts of the thickest sort[†]. Besides the original package, which is calculated to stand the weather, the bales are usually covered with very thick matts, and over these other matts are laid, to prevent the friction of the ropes; lastly there is another covering of matts, in the want of raw cow hides, which are always best to defend the goods from rain, or from the snow, which, when it melts, is yet more penetrating. Each bale is sealed up with a leaden seal, to prevent its being opened on the road, or any of the goods vended in the country, that is, when they are intended for PERSIA.

In St. PETERSBURG, from whence the BRITISH caravans always set out, it is necessary to provide a WIPIS[‡], which must be carried to the custom-house of ASTRACHAN, and also passports for the people that attend the caravan. The manner of procuring horses is to agree with one or more PODERATCHICKS[§], who provide for the whole caravan, in the summer season at the rate of about one ruble a pood^{||}, for the carriage from St. PETERSBURG to ZARITZEN, which is near 1800 wersts; and in winter it is only 40 copecks[¶]. These waggons usually carry from 25 to 30 poods. On every agreement of this kind, the crown receives a duty of 10 per cent. but the carriers are not very scrupulous in regard to the declaration of the exact price.

As this duty is by agreement usually paid by the master-carrier, he takes out a CHAMATAVOI YERLIQUE[‡], and having part of the money advanced, he provides the carriers, and every thing necessary for the journey. And

[†] The RUSSIANS call these matts loobkas and sinofkas. [‡] A custom-house permit. [§] Miller carriers. ^{||} 36 lb. ENGLISH. [¶] Which is equal to 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ pence per stone of 14 lbs. ENGLISH, for 1200 ENGLISH miles in summer, but in winter not quite 8 pence per stone. [‡] A certain clearance so called.

here a ZAPIS² is of excellent use to keep these people in order, for by this they oblige themselves to watch the goods at night, and preserve them as much as possible from fire, water, and thieves; but in the last case little dependence ought to be made on them, either for courage or for arms. On this account the conductor of the caravan (who with us in the BRITISH trade was generally a foreigner) ought to take particular care of this registered bond; for the carriers being uneasy at the restraint it lays them under, will sometimes attempt to steal it from him while he is asleep.

Spring and autumn are very bad seasons for travelling, as my caravan at this time experienced. There is a law in force, made in favour of the carriers, by which any contract for transporting merchandize in the winter becomes null and void, if the roads are broke up by a thaw, and thereby rendered impracticable to travel in sledges, in which case the carriers have the liberty of taking out their horses, and leaving a caravan in any town they can most easily reach. The conductors of caravans generally chuse to lodge in villages, a few miles wide of MOSCO. If they come into the city, the goods must be housed in the GOSTINADWORE³, or pay three copeeks a load, the same as if they had been housed. There is no necessity to make any stay in this city, except to register the clearances, or to gratify the carriers, who are too fond of the spirit of 'corn to pass great towns without their fill of it.

At NOVOCHOPERSKAJA, a frontier garrison towards the DON COS-SACKS, they examine the CHAMATAVOI YERLIQUE, already mentioned; and the officers, in order to extort a present, usually make great difficulties; but when they are reminded, that according to the treaty of commerce with the BRITISH crown, and the EMPRESS's regulations of trade, a dollar is due for every hour of illegal detention, they soon became reconciled to the acceptance of a loaf of sugar, or a few bottles of brandy, and suffer the caravan to proceed.

² A registered bond.

³ Public warehouses.

The caravans generally set out about 12, both in the night and day, except in the heat of summer. In the winter between St. PETERSBURG and MOSCO, they usually travel 70 wersts in 24 hours^b; but from MOSCO to ZARITZEN, only 40 or 50 wersts: in summer their stages are shorter. Great part of the last mentioned road being through an uninhabited country, makes the carriers cautious not to jade their horses. Every time they set out, the conductor ought to count the loads. When necessity requires that the caravan should be drawn within fences, or into yards, the heads of the waggons ought to stand towards the door in a regular order, and a guard, who will keep a better watch than an ordinary carrier, should be set over it: for want of this precaution, whole caravans in RUSSIA have been sometimes consumed by fire. It is most eligible to stop in the field, where the usual method is to form the carriages into a ring, and bring the horses as well as the men within it, always observing to keep in such a position as best to prevent an attack, or repulse an enemy. The KHALMUCKS on the banks of the VOLGA are ever ready to embrace an opportunity of plundering and destroying passengers; therefore when there is any occasion to travel on those banks, which should be avoided as much as possible, an advanced guard of at least four COSSACKS is of great use; especially to patrol in the night; it is not often practised but I found it indispensably necessary when I travelled on those banks, as I shall have occasion to relate.

A hundred carriages take up two thirds of a mile in length, so that when no horseman is at hand to spread the alarm, the rear might be easily carried off. They have not even a trumpet, horn, or other instrument for this purpose; they trust in providence and think any care of this kind unnecessary, though the neglect has sometimes proved of fatal consequence.

By the time the caravans, which set out in the winter, usually arrive at ZARITZEN, the VOLGA becomes very dangerous; for which reason goods

^b 47 miles ENGLISH.

are housed there till the waters are open. From ASTRACHAN they seldom venture to travel on the ice after January. It must be observed, that to save the shipping season, either on the BALTIC or the CASPIAN sea, it is sometimes necessary to make loads only of 15 poods for a single horse, but the hire of the horses is then estimated near the same, as if it was 25 poods. Another way, which I experienced, is to hire double horses to 25 poods, which saves many days, and was the cause that my caravan got safe into PERSIA, when another, which set out a week sooner from St. PETERSBURG, wintered in ASTRACHAN.

It is necessary to send previous advice to ZARITZEN, that a vessel may be provided by the time you arrive there. Those vessels which carry 3000 poods^c, are as large as is consistent with safety and dispatch to go down the VOLGA to ASTRACHAN. They cost from 60 to 100 rubles^d, and, considering how ill they are put together, sometimes prove very dear. They require 15 or 20 hands to navigate them, of which half ought to be soldiers, in order to serve as a convoy against robbers, of which I shall have occasion to speak more at large.

I have been the more minute in this relation, as my intention is to preserve a remembrance of the manner in which this branch of commerce was conducted.

^c About 45 tons.

^d 12 to 18 l.

C H A P. XIV.

A description of TWERE, and of the great road made by the command of PETER the GREAT from St. PETERSBURG to MOSCO. The author arrives at MOSCO. A short description of that city.

TO return to TWERE. It is a very antient city, but of no beauty; the largest and best structure was then building for the use of the civil officers of the government. This place stands on both sides of the TWERSA, which runs into, or is rather a branch of the great river VOLGA. Another large branch of that river runs about south west to VOLODIMEROFF, and from thence northwardly for many miles, terminating in a little lake; so that in this place, as well as in many others, the VOLGA seems to be a rich mine of gold to the RUSSIAN empire.

TWERE is a great rendezvous for merchants who trade to the towns on the banks of the VOLGA; in the ordinary course of the year, here is not a depth of 20 inches water; yet in the months of April and May this river receives such vast floods from the melting of the snow, as raises the water to 10 or 11 feet. Large flat bottomed vessels of 200 tons take this opportunity of passing to and from ASTRACHAN, and other places; the trade to PERSIA being sometimes carried on by the same channel. They bring here great quantities of rock salt, caviare and fish; and carry back bale goods, corn, meal, and all kinds of groceries, performing the voyage in 16 or 20 days.

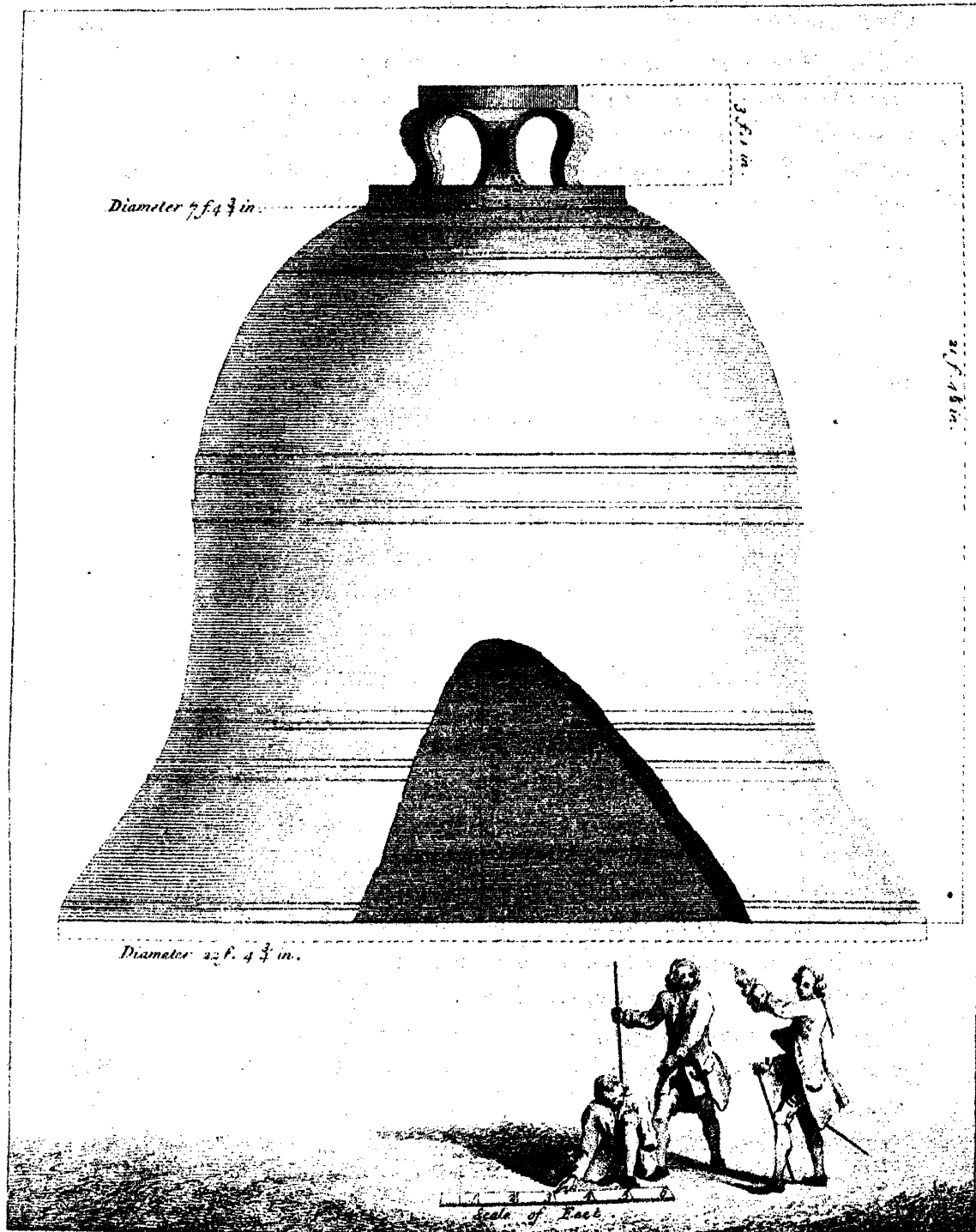
The 19th we arrived at KLIN, which is a very agreeable place, near a small branch of the river KLIASMA. Passing through PIESKIE, KLUSENSO, PETROWSKOI, and other small villages, we travelled 84 wersts, and the next day we arrived at MOSCO, the metropolis of the RUSSIAN empire.

Among other great works of that immortal prince PETER I. he caused a road to be cut from St. PETERSBURG, intending to make the whole distance of 734 wersts * in a direct line and perspective, but it is not entirely compleated, nor is the part performed, exactly on the original plan. Vast forrests of firs, birch, and other trees, were cut through, and a passage made over morasses, which till then was thought impossible to be accomplished. Immense quantities of timber were hewn down, ditches were made, and the earth thrown up and levelled, upon which strait firs, their surfaces being first made plain, were laid close to each other; these are supported by a foundation of the same kind of timber, and the ends in the center, for it is composed of two trees, and on both sides, are secured by cross timbers. This bridge or road of timber, is carried, according as the land requires it, for about 150 wersts. Formerly the timber way was much longer, but as the lands grow drier, it becomes the more unnecessary. Even for this extent of 150 wersts, allowing one tree with another to be 9 inches diameter, and the length 23 feet †, and supposing the foundation and sides to be only half so many more as the bridge is composed of, and the road to be 46 feet wide, here is an expence of 2,100,000 trees. But besides these, there are on the sides of the road, great quantities of timber cut down, which had never been used.

On my arrival I was received with great hospitality by Mr. JOHN TAMESZ, who by his skill and industry as a merchant and manufacturer, has acquired a great reputation. His fabric appeared as a little town, having about 400 looms, which employs more than 1000 hands in making sail-cloth, sheetings, ravenducks and drillings.

Mosco is in the latitude of 55, 40, and is built in some measure after the eastern manner, having not many regular streets, but a great number of houses with gardens. Its circumference is about 16 ENGLISH

* 487 miles ENGLISH. † They are from six to twelve inches diameter, being of different sizes, and in length twenty to twenty five feet. The road is the length of two trees broad.



The Great Bell at Mosco

miles. The river MOSKWA, which runs through it, and joins the OCCA near KOLUMNA, makes many windings, which add a very striking beauty to the city; but in the summer it is in several places shallow and unnavigable. The several eminences, groves of trees, gardens and lawns interspersed, form the most pleasing prospects, and enliven the imagination. The frequent dreadful fires with which this city has been afflicted^a, have hardly left houses to accommodate the empress's retinue^b without distressing her people; insomuch, that this princess has been prevented from taking that delight in it which the situation of the place affords. Besides, here are no palaces comparable to those of St. PETERSBURG, PETERHOFF and CZARSKOIZELO, the imperial palace in this city, being remarkable for scarce any thing else than its having thirty chapels, and a very lofty hanging garden: In many parts it appears rather like a prison than a royal palace. The number of churches and chapels in MOSCO, is hardly within belief: they are estimated above 1800, but many of them are very mean: most of the paintings were done when this art was in its infancy.

The most remarkable thing I saw, is the great bell, which is indeed stupendous, and surprizes equally on account of its size, and the folly of those who caused it to be made: but the RUSSIANS, for time immemorial have had a strange ambition of this kind. The bell in question weighing near 12327 poods^c, was cast in the reign of the late empress ANN: the sound of it rather amazed and deafened, than delighted the inhabitants. It cost a very great sum; for every one ambitious to contribute towards it, threw some gold or silver into the furnaces, which were four in number; these furnaces had cocks, which let off the metal into the mould. The geometrical dimensions are as in the plate annexed. This bell was now in a pit, over which it had been hung; but the beam which supported it being burnt, on occasion of a great fire, it gave way and the fall made a breach in it as expressed.

^a The account of the fire in May 1752 is immense, they mention 13000 houses, which is hardly credible.

^b The removal of the court to MOSCO occasions such a conflux of people, that I have been assured no less than 80,000 passports for MOSCO have been delivered in St. PETERSBURG in the space of a few months. ^c 443,772 lb. ENGLISH value at 3s. is 65,681 l.

The waters of the MOSKWA are not esteemed. In some seasons agues are predominant in this city, but in general the climate is good. Being in the heart of the empire it is the grand residence of that part of the nobility which is not obliged to follow the court; and it is particularly inhabited by the chief merchants and manufacturers. This city having for many ages frequently suffered by dreadful fires, which have swept away several thousand houses at a time, it would be amazing that they should still continue to build with wood, were it not that the cheapness of this kind of building, and the poverty of many of the inhabitants render it necessary. By a late decree of the RUSSIAN senate, the wood houses are limited to certain quarters of the city; in all other places they are ordered to be re-built with brick and stone¹. It is the custom in RUSSIA to build very fast, and without proper attention to the quality of the materials. Mosco has been more than once ravaged by the TARTARS and POLES; it yet shows many antient works of defence, but the present pacific state of this country renders the fortifications less an object of regard.

Before we leave MOSCO, it is necessary to observe that there remain many traces of the antient RUSSIAN customs, which are hardly to be seen in St. PETERSBURG, this last city being in some degree considered as another country: those who have a superstitious reverence for antiquity, look on it also with jealousy mixed with contempt, as being more modern than MOSCO. The RUSSIANS in general preserve a great share of the simplicity of their forefathers; they chuse the appellations of father and mother, as expressions of respect, as well as real affinity. Modern refinements which in some countries have rendered it unpolite for a son to call his father by that endearing name, is little known among them. In the politest correspondences of friendship or acquaintance, a man's christian name with that of his father's, as JOHN

¹ Mosco is said to have suffered, within these 20 years, the loss of above 30,000 houses. It is remarkable, that the fire which happened in 1752, in two hours time was carried to the extent of two ENGLISH miles.

the son of THOMAS, without any other addition, is deemed the most respectful address. My caravan being at length arrived, I gave the necessary directions, and hastened its departure.

C H A P. XV.

The author leaves MOSCO and pursues his journey; he enters TARTARY, describes the manners of the COSSACKS, and arrives at ZARITZEN on the banks of the VOLGA.

THE 24th of September, having repaired our vehicles, and provided such provisions as were thought necessary, we left MOSCO, at which time the weather was become more soft and pleasant. We travelled southward to STRELKOWA, NEIKITSKOI, BORISOWSKOI, and other small villages, not far from the western banks of the OCCA. The country is hilly, but abounding in arable lands, and adorned with a beautiful variety of groves. Here we met some SWEDISH prisoners returning to their own country.

The 25th at night we arrived at KOLUMNA, 80 wersts from MOSCO. This is one of the cities of the best appearance in this part of the world, having many stone and brick buildings, and a good wall: it has also several turrets of a very irregular figure, yet being covered with gilded tin, they make a good appearance. After passing the OCCA, I found the country very pleasant; their horses were now feeding on the rye just sprouting from the earth.

The 26th,* being advanced to PERISLAWL RJAZANSKOI, I found myself in another climate, for the harvest was not yet gathered in. The roads are for the most part very good; the country has not much wood, but is delightfully

fully watered. The poverty of the people is great, as appears by the houses of the peasants, which are covered with straw, in a manner that declares their ignorance even of thatching. Their language and dress had some remarkable difference from those of the more northern RUSSIANS. I was surprized to behold so fine a country, at the small distance of 200 wersts from the metropolis, with such an appearance of indigence: but some lords are such bad œconomists, that they defeat their own end, by not only refusing to assist their vassals, but in a great measure obstructing their industry, thro' a rapacious impatience of gain, before the peasants feel the sweets of their labour, a conduct which is naturally productive of indolence.

The 27th, the weather and the road continued extremely pleasant. Being informed that a gang of 60 robbers had the same day we passed the OCCA, committed several robberies on that river and its banks, we were solicitous to get forward as much as possible out of their reach.

The 28th, Rain coming on, obstructed our way so much that we could not travel above half so fast as in dry weather. We were now in an open fertile country, but the people so poor that many of their WESBES^{*} consisted only of one room, about five or six yards square, which is often destined to contain six or eight people of both sexes. The inhabitants, who are not numerous in these parts, are not very reserved with regard to the ordinary consequences of such cohabitations.

The 29th, having travelled 300 wersts from KOLUMNA, we arrived at KOSLOVE. This city has a wall of earth, and some wooden turrets, which served as a defence against the invasions of the TARTARS in former times. It stands on a little branch of the river VORONITZ, called LESNOI VORONITZ. Here we paid only half a copeek[†] a werst for each horse.

^{*} Cottages so called.

[†] A farthing.

The 30th, we travelled 70 wersts farther, to the city of TAMBOVE, which is a mean place. Here they demanded one copeck a werst for each horse; the peasants complained of the exactions of the officers and soldiers who had lately marched that way for ASTRACHAN and the PERSIAN frontiers.

October the 1st, we entered the STEP. The inhabitants who are nearest to it often manure some tracts of land, by burning the grass, which grows to a great length. In places which are not burnt, provender is found even in the winter season; for by scraping away the snow, the cattle feed on the half perished grass. We overtook a caravan of 40 loads of EUROPEAN goods, going to ZARITZEN, the property of ARMENIAN merchants. The 2d, we arrived at NOVOCHOPERSKAJA, the proper boundary of RUSSIA, on the river CHOPER, which falls into the DON. This place is the RUSSIAN frontier towards the DON COSSACKS; it is fortified with palisades, a dry moat, and a rampart on which some small pieces of artillery are mounted: it is almost surrounded by a pleasant grove of oaks; the adjacent country is very delightful, and the roads exceeding good. The 3d, we travelled most part of the night on the banks of the CHOPER, where there are several mills for corn; the country is very thin of inhabitants, and those only on the western banks. Leaving MICHAÏLOVE, we passed through GOROZANSK and KHOTOSKAJA, two COSSACK towns, and arrived the next day at URJUPIN, a COSSACK village, 100 wersts from NOVOCHOPERSKAJA. Here I found the people very clean, and well clothed: the women are gay and comely; their heads are adorned with a cap, rising from their forehead about eight inches, with two points in form of a crescent, and their shifts are ornamented with a red cross. Unmarried women wear their hair plated behind after the RUSSIAN manner.

The COSSACKS are a species of TARTARS: their name signifies freebooters; but in these parts they are civilized, and faithful to the RUSSIAN government, which by an excellent policy is indulgent to them; so that

they are ready when called on, to attend the RUSSIAN army, and bring with them usually each man two horses. Upon these occasions they are well cloathed, and accoutred at their own expence. They receive no pay, except in time of war, when they are actually employed, and then only six rubles a year, with provision and plunder; yet being exempt from taxes, they have no provocation to forsake their masters. They are a very gallant as well as sober people, and some of them are said to possess 1000 sheep, and 300 cows.

We saw little more for three days than land and sky, except some woods and mountains to the eastward, which gave pleasure in proportion to the absence of other objects. There are prodigious flights of blue pigeons; of which we killed as many as we could consume. The post huts on the STEP could not always supply us with a sufficient number of horses, so that where any inhabitants could be found within six or eight miles from the road, we were more than once obliged to send out for them. Passing the CHOPER and the DON, we advanced, in five days and nights, near 500^m wersts from URJUPIN, having met with very few inhabitants. At length we arrived at GRIGORISKOL, which forms a kind of peninsula. Here they take a great quantity of crawfish, especially in spring, at which time the flesh is most esteemed: when they are pounded and mixed with water, the eyes sink to the bottom. Quantities of these eyes are sent into TURKEY, and other countries, being well known to be used in medicines. Their houses, or rather huts, are built of oak plank; but so little provident are they of timber, that the bench I sat upon was hewn with an ax, and near three inches thick. Fish and fowl of all kinds are in great plenty. They marry very young; I had some discourse with a boy of fifteen, who was engaged to a girl of the same age.

The 9th. This morning we arrived under the lines which are thrown up from the DONⁿ to the VOLGA, for the distance of about 50 wersts. The ditch is near sixteen feet deep, but not made entirely square. There

^m 354 miles.

ⁿ Antient TANAIIS.

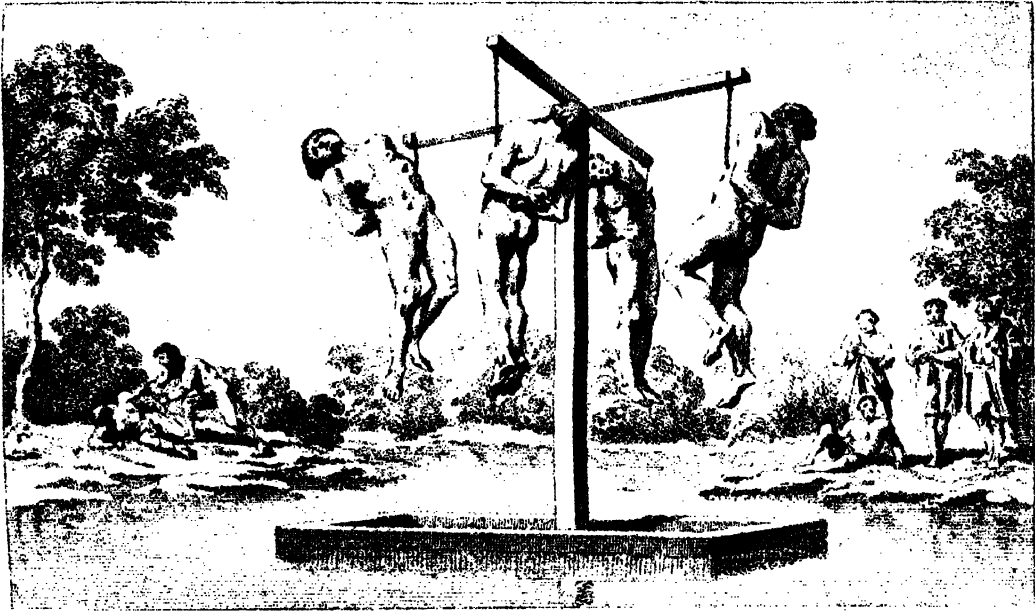
is a bank of earth near twenty feet high, with a strong timber rail towards the top. Sentry boxes are placed at certain distances, from which the guard can communicate an alarm to the chief garrison, ZARITZEN, which terminates the line on the western banks of the VOLGA. On this spot PETER the GREAT intended to join the DON and the VOLGA, and the canal was actually begun for that purpose. By this means a communication would have been opened with TURKEY, and the CZAR might have attacked that empire with ships built on the VOLGA, where the materials are in great abundance: but this undertaking proved very difficult from the hardness of the soil. Besides, as it was found practicable to build ships on the DON, this and other weighty reasons prevented the execution of this design.

The KOOBAN TARTARS were some years ago very formidable in this part of the world. The river KUMA^a which disembogues itself into the CASPIAN, now serves as a barrier to these people, who are kept in awe by the RUSSIANS. Not long since, they made incursions, and carried off the inhabitants of whole villages, with all their cattle; but they dare not make their appearance at present, except in small parties, who sometimes break through the lines and carry off horses, which is their grand allurements, as they serve for food as well as for ordinary uses.

Though the incursions of the TARTARS were generally mentioned as a trivial matter with regard to our new trade; yet the KHALMUCKS, a little before my arrival, had the boldness to rob a caravan, in which was a sum of copper money, belonging to the crown, intended for the garrison of ZARITZEN: they also killed and wounded several soldiers who guarded it.

The sun was yet warm, and the weather delightful. On the plains, near ZARITZEN, they feed dromedaries, which are not much unlike camels.

* The KAMA, with which this is sometimes confounded, runs into the VOLGA, near CASAN.



C H A P. XVI.

Remarks on the KHALMUCK TARTARS. A particular account of the pirates who infest the VOLGA. The nature of the vessels which navigate that river. The author's voyage down to ASTRACHAN.

ZARITZEN is situated in the latitude of $47\frac{1}{2}$, at the distance of 1042 wersts ^P from MOSCO, on a high bank of the VOLGA, of which it commands a delightful prospect. The buildings are mean, nor are there many inhabitants: the place is defended by a deep ditch, a rampart garnished with artillery, and a garrison of 3000 men.

In a deep valley, under the south side of this place, is an encampment of KHALMUCK TARTARS, who are in friendship with the RUSSIANS so long as they awe them by their power; for these barbarians do not keep

^P 688 miles.

their faith more inviolably than some politer nations. The KHALMUCKS have the same form of visage as the CHINESE, but more fierce and savage. These are dispersed tribes of those MUNGALIANS whom the CHINESE long since received as their conquerors. They are armed with bows and arrows, and feed on the flesh of horses, camels, dromedaries, and other animals, and eat the entrails of them, even when the beast dies of the foulest distemper. They throw their dead into open fields, to be devoured by dogs; of which many run wild, and some are kept for this purpose. If their bodies are thus devoured by any number exceeding six, they think honourably of the state of the deceased; otherwise he is a disgrace to his relations. I could not learn that they have any persuasion of the immortality of the soul; for the honour derived from the number of dogs which devour the body, rather seems to regard the reputation of the dead amongst the living, than any opinion concerning the happy or miserable state of the soul of the deceased.

They worship images, which generally consist of a small bit of wood about a palm in length; the upper part of it being rounded, is adorned with some rude marks to resemble human features; the figure being thus prepared is dressed up with a few rags. It is horrid to the imagination, that any creature bearing the form of human nature, should be sunk into such blindness, as to pay divine honours to so base a representation; though the difference of this and any other image-worship does not seem to be very great: their supreme deity is the DELLI LAMA. In fine weather and prosperous seasons, they caress these ragged deities, but treat them very ill when the contrary happens^a: and here it ought to be remarked, that the eye observes the externals of a religion, but to arrive at men's hearts is no vulgar task, especially where the ignorance of barbarous languages obstructs all familiar correspondency. The many violences committed by these barbarians, at length induced the RUSSIAN government to compel them to take up their habitations on the banks of

^a I have been well informed, that the PORTUGUESE seamen often give St. ANTHONY the lash, when the winds are cross to them.

the VOLGA, below ASTRACHAN, where they have a less field for robbery and murder, though here also they transgress, as I shall have occasion to relate.

Having letters of recommendation to KALZOFF, the commandant of ZARITZEN, I was kindly received; but upon such occasions it is necessary to present some FRENCH brandy, sugar, or the like, as an earnest for protection. Colonel BEAUSOBRE, and another FRENCHMAN, who was an officer in the RUSSIAN service, made acquaintance with me, and were extremely polite and obliging. News was just then arrived, that the inspector of the customs, attended by four soldiers, in coming from ASTRACHAN, had been murdered by the KHALMUCKS: these FRENCH officers however assured me I might go down the VOLGA without danger, because the TARTARS of every denomination were kept in subjection to the RUSSIAN government; and that the murder of the inspector and his men, was a consequence of their rashness in attempting to steal some of the KHALMUCKS children. I told them, that I was the more amazed at such an enterprize, as children two or three years old, had been offered me by the KHALMUCKS for two rubles a head.

The colonel hearing that I was going to PERSIA, spoke much of NADIR SHAH, who had given great alarms on that side, when he was last winter in the neighbourhood of DERBEND; inasmuch that a body of 18,000 RUSSIANS had been ordered to ASTRACHAN and KIZLAR. He observed further, that the cold was then so intense, that on some days 80 men died, many for want of brandy, and many for drinking too much, but the greater part by the unavoidable consequences of a laborious march in so rigid a season.

I now employed myself in procuring a proper vessel to convey my caravan to ASTRACHAN, and had the good fortune to find one which was just arrived with 400 bags of flower. The best proof that she could bear a burthen, was that of seeing her loaded. This however gave me no great satisfaction, for I was extremely shocked to see on what
flight

slight embarcations my friends were obliged to trust their valuable effects, in the navigation of a river full of shelves and trees, which accidentally falling into the water, sink, and become as dangerous as rocks, an experience which we had that very summer made by a rich cargo of silk that was much damaged, and in imminent danger of being intirely lost. The reader will imagine that 40 rubles^r cannot purchase a good vessel; however this price procured the best I could find. Their decks are only loose pieces of the bark of trees; they have no knees, and but few beams: hardly any pitch or tar is used; in place of it are long slips of bark, which they nail over the gaping seams, to prevent the loose and bad corking from falling out. Instead of iron bolts, they have spikes of deal with round heads. The method of keeping them clear of water, is by a large scoop which is suspended by the beam over the well-way, and through a scuttle at a proper height they scoop out the water with great facility. Notwithstanding these vessels appeared as so many wrecks, the trade carried on by means of them is very considerable. The ARMENIANS sometimes load goods on large barks of 2 or 300 tons, at the rate of 50 copecks per bale.

After giving the necessary instructions with regard to the convoy of my caravan, we prepared for our own voyage down the VOLGA; for this purpose we bought two boats, to be navigated each by five BOURLACKS^f and my own attendants, with an addition of six soldiers as a convoy. Tho' I had received such assurances of safety, prudence suggested to me that we could not gain, but might lose considerably by too much confidence; and experience confirmed this to me.

It was here I had first an opportunity of hearing the history of the VOLGA and CASPIAN pirates, particularly of those who commit murders and robberies on this great river. According to the fundamental law of the government in RUSSIA, the people are in a state of vassalage, and one man can call another his property by virtue of his purchase, or by a right

^r Eight pounds.

^f Watermen so called.

of inheritance. According to this law, no VASSAL can leave the lands of his lord without permission given, and signified by a passport, the term of which seldom extends above a year or two. When the time is expired, the vassal must return home, no matter how far off, or how great his poverty, to renew his passport and receive his lord's commands, unless by any particular indulgence, he can obtain a renewal of it by writing to his friends. These passports are generally registered in the towns or villages where the vassal resides, and great care is taken by the POLICE to see this executed: by this means, and likewise by making it necessary to take passports before they quit the place, the POLICE knows the condition and number of the inhabitants. A register is made also of foreigners residing in every place in the empire, who are obliged to make a report of themselves and their domestics. Hence it comes that there is no country in the world of such vast extent, where thieves and murderers can be more easily discovered, and where they are more frequently apprehended.

Among vast numbers of common people, it is not to be imagined, but by accident or wilful neglect, some of them will violate the law with regard to their passports; and being thus rendered obnoxious to punishment, the worst of them grow desperate; and though the numbers of such persons was much greater in less civilized times than the present, yet many to this day turn robbers by land and water, choosing the great rivers near vast tracts of uninhabited countries, where upon occasion they can the more easily escape. The severities of the masters of fisheries near the mouths of the YAEIK and VOLGA, also tempt their vassals to turn pirates; whenever they are warmly pursued, or distressed for a support, they run their vessels ashore, turn mahomedans, and put themselves under the protection of the PERSIANS. These robbers often go in gangs of 30, 40, and sometimes 80 persons, in row-boats which carry from 20 to 30 hands: they equip themselves with fire-arms, and their general practice is to board immediately; but where a fierce resistance is apprehended, they seldom attack.

The ARMENIAN merchants formerly sent their goods from ARCHANGEL to SARATOFF, and when the scene of trade was changed from ARCHANGEL to St. PETERSBURG, they went from thence either to TWERE or SARATOFF, according to the season of the year, and there embarked on the VOLGA, this being a more easy and cheap conveyance; but the frequency of robberies at length determined them to convey their caravans to ZARITZEN, as making so much the shorter tract down the VOLGA. Few of the RUSSIAN merchants transport any cargo of value down this river without a convoy. These robbers appear mostly in the spring, when the banks of the VOLGA being overflowed, they have a greater field, and can the more easily escape a pursuit. The soldiers who are occasionally sent after them, are ordered to take them alive, from an apprehension that a latitude to kill might subject the innocent to great inconveniencies, through a mistake which a strong temptation to plunder would sometimes create in a soldier's breast.

The ARMENIANS are generally intrepid, and fight bravely in defence of their property; but the BOURLACKS who navigate the VOLGA are so extremely intimidated by these robbers, that as soon as they appear, they generally behave like men struck with a panic, and even ascribe to them an irresistible power, derived from an infernal spirit. Formerly their custom in these cases was to fall on their faces, as soon as required by the robbers, and suffer them to plunder at pleasure, not daring to look up, lest it should cost them their lives. The master of the vessel, or the merchant, being thus at their mercy, is happy if he escapes with his life; for these robbers have seldom any sentiments of humanity to a man of a superior rank; but if he attempts to defend himself in hopes of bringing his people to the charge, he may be sure, if conquered, of being barbarously murdered. The same conduct which these pirates observe on the VOLGA, they have been accustomed to also on the CASPIAN sea, but much less of late years than formerly.

As their cruelties are very great, so is the punishment inflicted on them when they are taken. A float is built, in size according to the number

of the delinquents, and a gallows erected on it, to contain a sufficient number of iron hooks, on which they are hung alive by the ribs. The float is launched into the stream, with labels over their heads signifying their crimes; and orders are given to all towns and villages on the borders of the river, upon pain of death, not only to afford no relief to any of these wretches, but to push off the float, should it land near them. Sometimes their partners in wickedness meet them, and, if there are any signs of life, take them down, otherwise they shoot them dead; but if they are caught in these acts of illegal mercy, they are hung up without the ceremony of a trial, as happened about eight years ago. They tell of one of these miscreants, who had the fortune to disengage himself from the hook, and though naked, and trembling with pain and loss of blood, he got ashore. The first object he saw who could afford him any relief, was a poor shepherd, whose brains he beat out with a stone, and then took his cloaths. These malefactors sometimes hang thus three, four, and some five days alive. The pain generally produces a raging fever, in which they utter the most horrid imprecations, and implore the relief of water, or other small liquors.

It is time now to resume my narrative. The 14th of October, I sent letters to my friends, by messengers who are appointed to attend a box of grapes, which is sent from ASTRACHAN to the EMPRESS'S court every three days during the season. It is carried by two horses, supported in the manner of a litter. The grapes are preserved in sand, but at best are ill worth the expence of the conveyance for 1200 ENGLISH miles.

Having given all necessary orders for the speedy conveyance of my caravan, as soon as it should arrive at ZARITZEN, I took my leave of colonel BEAUSOBRE, and my other new acquaintance. The colonel told me, that I must expect to find PERSIA more than half ruined by civil war, and that he was glad NADIR was at such a distance from RUSSIA, as to create no alarm on this side of the country.

The wind being at north east, we put off the shore; the stern part of my boat was covered with matts, so that I could sleep in it protected from the weather, which now began to be very cold. I took a part of the soldiers with me, that if by any accident our convoy should be separated from us, we might have some assistance. I was surprized to see the banks of the river marked near 20 feet above the water, but the boatmen assured me, that the water rose in the spring to that height. The wind blowing hard, we were obliged to bring to, running behind a little island, of which the river in many places forms a great variety.

The 15th, I saw several large water birds, much bigger than swans, which they resemble in their feet and beaks; the RUSSIANS call them DIKA BABA¹. They have a very large craw, where they receive a great quantity of food, even a whole fish of a considerable size. They fly, as I saw afterward on the CASPIAN, very near to each other, in the form of a semicircle, not far above the water; and having driven the fish together in a body into the shallows, they dart down upon them: this is their only food. The fat of this bird is used by the RUSSIANS as a cure for aches and bruises.

In the spring, the high waters of the VOLGA not only undermine its banks, but sweep away large trees, so that some creeks of the river had hardly any passage left. When they are open, it is more agreeable to pass through the small branches, than the great channel. As we had hitherto a contrary wind, by the 16th we advanced no farther than 50 wersts. We were now near NASOROWSKY, an island formed by this river. Not far from hence are to be seen the ruins of a large antient city. Our soldiers were fed luxuriously at the fisheries, for nothing more than thanks.

The weather was calm, and the current moderate; in many places are high banks, in others it is a flat shore, the breadth varying from

¹ Signifies wild old woman.

a mile to a quarter. Here they have a quantity of wild asparagus, and many eagles.

The 17th. Finding our convoy did not keep up with us, we stopped at CHERNOYARE. This is the first town from ZARITZEN, at the distance of 200 wersts, generally called midway to ASTRACHAN. It is defended by a ditch, with some cannon and chevaux de frize. They trade with the KHALMUCKS, KOOBANS, and other TARTARS, in a quarter distinct from the town. It is remarkable that this, as well as many other places on the VOLGA, suffered the fury of the flames about the same time, during the last war with the TURKS: not that their enemies need employ any secret incendiaries; the common people do this business effectually by their carelessness. About 1630, a rich caravan was set upon in the river at this place, by a body of 700 COSSACKS, who plundered and put all to the sword, the convoy having inadvertently gone so far down the stream as not to be able to return in time to save the caravan. From hence I learnt the great necessity of carrying part of my soldiers in the same boat with me, tho' I apprehended no such formidable enemy.

The 18th, though we were obliged to lay by in the night, we advanced 90 wersts: but it was not without danger of being drowned; for our boat had no keel, nor any running tackle, and our watermen were extremely unskilful, so that not being able to let the sail fly, it was a singular providence that a gust of wind had not set us swimming. As we proceeded further, several wrecks appeared on the banks of the river. Great flights of geese and swans were now on the wing, retiring from the approaching severities of this climate, to the warmer regions of PERSIA. It is said, that these birds lay their eggs in the sand on the banks of the VOLGA, and are hatched by the heat of the sun, which however I do not assert as a fact.

The 19th, we advanced near 90 wersts, where we found a house made under-ground; the walls were of wicker work, and the light came in from the top. Here was provided a bagnio for washing, which the RUSSIANS use almost as much as the MAHOMMEDANS. We found
the

the place inhabited by some NAGAY and CIRCASSIAN TARTARS, who ply on the river with open post boats, of which there are a few regular stages for the convenience of the government. Here were also some settlements of the KHALMUCKS.

From ZARITZEN to ASTRACHAN very little wood appears on the banks of the VOLGA. In some parts of the western side, the country is hilly, but the soil in several places is rich. It is said that many FRENCH refugees who were obliged to abandon their country in the time of LEWIS XIV. made an offer to PETER the GREAT, to settle in this tract of land; but as they required a separate government, and privileges not consistent with the arbitrary power by which the the RUSSIAN empire is governed, he declined the offer, esteeming it very absurd in politics for a free state to be planted within an arbitrary monarchy, especially so near a vast tract of land, inhabited by a multitude of roving people, who, if conducted with art and design, might become very formidable^a.

C H A P. XVII.

Captain THOMAS WOODROOFE's journal from MOSCO to CASAN. He builds a ship at CASAN for the navigation of the CASPIAN; winters there, and sails 1000 ENGLISH miles down the VOLGA to ASTRACHAN.

AS we are now arrived at ASTRACHAN by the common way, the reader perhaps will find some entertainment in being conducted hither by another rout less frequented, of which the following extract of captain WOODROOFE's journal will give some idea.

“NOVEMBER the 20th, 1740, we set out from MOSCO for CASAN, with nine horses and six servants, by an unfrequented road

^a This case was reversed in the highlands of SCOTLAND, where before the year 1748, was an arbitrary government within a limited monarchy; an absurdity no less striking.

“ cross the country. The 24th, we arrived at VENDENSCO, which was
 “ immediately abandoned by the male inhabitants, from an apprehension
 “ that we were military officers. We were thus left to the kindness
 “ of the women, who entertained us with bread, butter, fowls, &c. and
 “ our horses with hay and corn, at the expence of 20 copeeks*, so
 “ extremely cheap were provisions. The next morning we set forward
 “ towards COVERRO, another village on the banks of the CREEVOY, a
 “ small river that runs into the VOLGA : here we found several large ves-
 “ sels, and an appearance of trade.

“ Nov. the 29th. The snow being melted, and the country intirely
 “ a swamp, we were obliged to wait for frosty weather. In the interim
 “ a lieutenant, his wife and two daughters, with five soldiers, were
 “ brought to this place in a very deplorable condition, having been
 “ stript, plundered, and barbarously beaten by a gang of robbers. This
 “ country abounds with partridges and white hares ; they have also a fowl
 “ they call a TATARIN, much resembling a pheasant ; it is larger, but not
 “ so beautiful, nor of so fine a flavour. In the neighbouring woods are
 “ many bears and wolves of a great size, but not fierce, having wild hogs
 “ and other animals in great abundance for their prey.

“ Dec. the 9th. The roads being now tolerably good, we proceeded
 “ on our journey. The natives have cattle in abundance, and plenty of
 “ butter, which they make by melting down the cream ; as to cheese, it
 “ is not known to them. The 15th, we passed the river OCCA, but the
 “ ice being very rotten, two of our horses with a load of canvas fell
 “ through it. The 24th, we arrived among the CHUWASHIN tartars, the
 “ poorest and most wretched of all mortals ; they are descended from
 “ the KOOBANS and subject to RUSSIA, but now driven to the east-
 “ ward. KOOBAN, in the RUSSIAN language signifies a wild hog ; which
 “ name was given to these Tartars on account of their fierce and savage
 “ nature, having cost IVAN WASSILOWITZ more trouble to subdue them,

* Ten-pence.

“ than either the CRIM or NAGAY Tartars: they are loaden with a heavy
 “ poll-tax both for themselves and cattle. We could not discover what
 “ notions the CHUVASHINS have of religion, but observed when they dress
 “ victuals, they stick part of it over their doors and windows; and when
 “ they kill an animal, which their poverty but seldom permits, their
 “ priest takes out the fat, and after eating some of it and greasing him-
 “ self, he smears over their place of worship, and the drofs or refuse he
 “ burns: They generally subsist on dead animals, which they devour
 “ greedily. The neighbouring TARTARS eat horse-flesh, and dress it
 “ like that of any other animal.

“ Dec. the 27th. We arrived at CASAN, having been 58 days in travel-
 “ ling 1300 wersts*, occasioned by the badness of the roads. Captain
 “ ELTON was already arrived at this place. Here is a considerable admi-
 “ ralty-yard: they had then on the stocks five fly-boats of about 250
 “ tons, five smacks of 180 tons, and five small damscoots† of about 25
 “ tons, which were to be launched the ensuing spring, and might be
 “ ready in case of any necessity‡ to employ them on the CASPIAN. The
 “ master-builder having already received orders to build a ship for the
 “ ENGLISH merchants, had therefore dispatched people into the woods
 “ to cut timber.

“ CASAN is a city of great importance, both from its situation and pro-
 “ ductions. It had formerly a considerable trade to KHIEVA, BOKHARA,
 “ and other places in TARTARY, which is now lost; but the commerce
 “ with PERSIA is yet continued. This place has several manufactures of
 “ red RUSSIA leather, and sends large quantities of this commodi-
 “ ty annually to St. PETERSBURG. The country abounds in oaks, the
 “ bark of which they make into a kind of tar for curing hides, and they
 “ are very strict in preventing its being carried away. As they have
 “ plenty of cattle, they have consequently a considerable quantity of

* 866 miles.

† Vessels so called.

‡ NADIR SHAH at this time was apprehended as an enemy.

" tallow. The timber used for the RUSSIAN navy is cut down in the
 " neighbourhood of this city; it is of an excellent quality, but they do
 " not distinguish sufficiently the trees which are on the decay: they also
 " cut the timber at the leaf as well as at the fall, and often suffer it to
 " lay too long on the ground. They are generally two summers in con-
 " veying it to St. PETERSBURG, which is done in low flat bottomed ves-
 " sels, taking the advantage of the rising of the river to go up to
 " TWERE, and from thence into the canal by the LADOGA lake. From
 " TURKEY they bring wine and fruits to CASAN; and MOSCO supplies it
 " with groceries and EUROPEAN commodities. Here are to be had the
 " furs of SIBERIA and TARTARY, as also all kinds of iron work.

" The caravans which annually arrive here from CHINA, occasion
 " a great plenty of tea. This is the greatest magazine in RUSSIA, except
 " MOSCO and St. PETERSBURG for all kinds of merchandize. It is
 " advantageously situated for the commerce of the south east parts, even
 " to CHINA; the province itself reaching quite to SIBERIA. The TAR-
 " TARS who live in great numbers in this neighbourhood, are clean and
 " neat in their persons. Here are markets for horses, sheep, and all other
 " kinds of cattle: provisions in general are very cheap, and great quan-
 " tities are sent down to ASTRACHAN, and to all the towns and settle-
 " ments on the VOLGA. CASAN is the metropolis of a kingdom, and for-
 " merly was the seat of government. It was taken by IVAN WASSI-
 " LOWITZ in 1552, from the TARTARS, with whom the RUSSIANS
 " maintained a bloody war for some years.

" January the 15th, 1741. As a compliment to Mr. ELTON we laid the
 " ship's keel, which was 65 feet in length, and fixed the stem and stern
 " posts; after which he set out for St. PETERSBURG, to receive a confi-
 " derable cargo of goods expected there by the first spring ships, and
 " intended for the PERSIAN markets. He left the sole care of building
 " the ship to me, but I had neither a boat-builder, rigger, or sail-maker.

" May

“ May the 30th, the ship was launched, though her upper-works were
“ yet unfinished; for the waters fell away so fast that we were afraid of
“ being aground, which was the reason of our transporting her three
“ miles into the great VOLGA down the small river, upon which the ad-
“ miralty yard stands. July the 10th, we stept our masts and bow-
“ sprit, and set the rigging over head. During our abode in this place,
“ six pirates were apprehended for robbing several RUSSIAN merchants
“ on the VOLGA; and after they had been hung up by the ribs on a
“ gallows erected on a floating stage, they were turned a drift as a spec-
“ tacle of horror to deter others from the same evil practice.

“ October the 20th, Captain ELTON arrived in a bark with a consider-
“ able cargo of BRITISH goods from St. PETERSBURG designed for GHI-
“ LAN: but the season was so far advanced, that it would have been
“ very dangerous to have proceeded on our voyage; so that the 27th we
“ got the ship and bark into their birth ten wersts below CASAN, where
“ we intended to winter; and the river was frozen up that night. In
“ the interim captain GILBERT BLAIRE arrived at CASAN, intending to
“ build another ENGLISH ship for the CASPIAN trade.

“ November the 10th, the ice broke up, and drove down the river
“ with great violence, in some places at least 10 or 15 feet above the
“ surface of the water. On the 15th it set fast again, and sledges passed
“ over as usual. In this melancholy situation we waited the return of
“ the spring: in the mean time we removed the cargo from the bark
“ into the ship; and to prevent any surprize we kept a constant watch of
“ two men on deck, myself and another person continuing in the cabin,
“ while the rest of the crew were on shore.

“ April the 16th, 1742. We had weathered out the inclement season
“ with as good spirits as could be expected in so bad a neighbourhood,
“ where there was less to fear from the elements and wild beasts than
“ from thieves and murderers: however, under the protection of heaven,
“ we received no injury during five months confinement. There began

“ to be a flood in the VOLGA; when the water rising by the melting of
“ the snow, severed the ice from the banks, and breaking it to pieces,
“ drove it along with the current. Winter leaving us, we began to rig
“ and prepare for sea. On the 25th, the river was free of all obstruction,
“ when we received the news that her imperial majesty ELIZABETH PE-
“ TROWNA was to be crowned that day at MOSCO; on which occasion
“ we fired our guns, and giving liquor to the ship's company to drink the
“ health of the empress, we named the ship, ELIZABETH.

“ Advice was now brought us that four large pirate boats knowing
“ we had a valuable cargo, intended to attack us in going down the
“ river. The ship was well provided with arms and ammunition, hav-
“ ing six carriage guns of three pounders, with close quarters and eight
“ oars to command her in the stream. We had also a launch of ten tuns
“ with sixteen oars; a long-boat of five tuns, and a yaul, each with six
“ oars. The RUSSIANS expressed great admiration at our going down
“ under full sail, being a practice unusual: they represented the danger of
“ running aground, but their apprehensions did not intimidate us.

“ Nothing happened to disturb our voyage till the 29th, when, a lit-
“ tle before sun-set, three large boats, each of sixteen oars and full of
“ men, came out of the reeds 30 wersts below SIMBERSKIE. We im-
“ mediately cleared for a defence, and as soon as they were within call,
“ bid them keep at a distance; at the same time we discharged some mus-
“ kets wide of them. Finding them flight these menaces, we fired one
“ of our guns loaded with partridge-shot into the headmost, and saw
“ five or six men fall from their oars, who, as we afterwards learnt,
“ died of their wounds. The rest not liking such a salutation, retired
“ with great precipitation into a small creek in the reeds.

“ May the 2d, we proceeded without further molestation, and ar-
“ rived at ASTRACHAN, where we anchored opposite to the governor's
“ house, after a voyage of 1445 wersts^a from CASAN to this place, which

^a 963 miles.

“ we performed in 28 days. On the 28th, the governor, vice-governor,
 “ and commander of the garrison, came on board and congratulated Mr.
 “ ELTON on his safe arrival, assuring him that he had the honour of
 “ being the first^b who had spread ENGLISH colours in that part of the
 “ world, and that this was the first ship that had ever sailed on the
 “ VOLGA perfectly equipped. After paying these compliments, they
 “ drank success to the BRITISH PERSIAN trade; and thanks were return-
 “ ed from the mouths of our cannon. The merchants employed them-
 “ selves in viewing and measuring our ship, which they acknowledged to
 “ be the first complete one they had ever seen in that part of the world.
 “ The RUSSIAN government build hulls after the DUTCH manner fit for
 “ shoal water; but the work is so ill put together, that they do not last
 “ long.

“ PETER the GREAT had a considerable fleet of vessels on the CAS-
 “ PIAN, which are long since perished. The largest they had then, was
 “ of about 180 tons, of a circular form, which when loaded, they were
 “ obliged to strap with hausers, to prevent her falling to pieces. This,
 “ with several others, was built in the admiralty yard at CASAN. The
 “ merchants now float down timber to ASTRACHAN, where for want of
 “ a proper yard and mechanics, they build in the old RUSSIAN form,
 “ long flat bottomed vessels with square sails, and the top sails to hawl
 “ down upon the deck: with such ships, by the help of good ground-
 “ tackle, they navigate the CASPIAN. Their cordage is exceeding strong,
 “ as are likewise their anchors made in the antient form, notwith-
 “ standing they are very ill shaped. On the contrary, the modern ones
 “ made by the famous DEMEDOFFS in SIBERIA, the patentees of the iron-
 “ works, tho’ better proportioned are not so strong. Their canvas is
 “ chiefly made at VARISLAW and MOSCO, and is generally very good.

“ The RUSSIAN merchants and pilots were ready to give Mr. ELTON the
 “ best information they could in regard to the navigation of the CASPIAN;

^b ENGLISH colours had been hoisted before, as I have related in the first chapter.

“ but as their skill extended little further than coasting, and a superficial ,
“ knowledge of the soundings along shore, he could reap but little ad-
“ vantage from their experience. They rather discouraged us by their
“ apprehensions of rocks and shoals, which they pretend are very thick
“ in different parts of this sea, but chiefly between APSHERON and BALK-
“ HAN. It might indeed be said that we were venturing into a sea very
“ little known, where commerce had never made any considerable pro-
“ gress; the natives of those inhospitable shores, except the RUSSIANS,
“ having hardly employed their imperfect navigation to any other pur-
“ pose than to surprize and plunder their unguarded neighbours. Thus
“ it was with the TARTARS and PERSIANS, till the RUSSIAN arms brought
“ the one into subjection, and awing the other, gained an entire jurif-
“ diction over this great mediterranean lake.”

The RUSSIANS had at this time put a stop to the navigation of the KHALMUCK TARTARS, by depriving them of all their large boats : and the TURKUMANS being out of the ordinary track to GHILAN, our navigation had nothing to fear. WOODROOFE'S ship being laden, drew 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet water. All things being prepared for the voyage, they weighed for GUILAN, and getting down to CHETIRIE BOGORIE, cleared at the guardship, and discharged their Pilot. They had a RUSSIAN chart, made in the reign of PETER the GREAT, but for greater security, they kept a watch day and night at the mast-head, and hove the deep-set lead every half hour in the day, and quarter in the night. The long-boat and yawl were on the deck ; but the largest boat was towed a-stern, being raised with wash-boards for that purpose.”

C H A P. XVIII.

The reception the author met with from the governor of ASTRACHAN. Some account of that gentleman, and his intended history of RUSSIA. Fresh complaints of Mr. ELTON's being engaged in the PERSIAN service. The author presents a petition to the imperial chancery at ASTRACHAN.

THUS far we have accompanied capt. WOODROOFE in his account ; it is now time to return to my own story. I was kindly received in ASTRACHAN by Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON, agent to the BRITISH merchants trading to PERSIA ; and also by the governor, general WASSILIE NIKIETISH TATTISCHEFF, to whom I carried a valuable present on account of the merchants. I had much discourse with him, and he gave me many assurances that nothing on his part should be wanting to promote the interest of the merchants trading to PERSIA : he proposed to me some schemes in which he had regard to the interest both of GREAT BRITAIN and RUSSIA. This old Man had been a page to PETER the GREAT, and having long commanded in those parts, was greatly instrumental in reducing the TARTARS : but his genius turned most to literature and commerce ; nor was he at all deficient in the arts of gain : on this last account he was already in some disgrace ; however he had one good maxim, which, as he observed to me, was to give, as well as take. He told me had bought for 5000 rubles, a diamond worth 12000, and had sent it to the greatest lady in the empire : he mentioned likewise that he had been about four and twenty years writing the history of RUSSIA. Upon his recall from ASTRACHAN two years afterwards, he sent me part of that history in manuscript, requesting me to procure a translation ; but this by no means suited my convenience. The letter he wrote to my partner and me on this occasion, runs as follows :

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ **S**INCE I left ASTRACHAN, I have had no opportunity of writing to
“ you, altho’ I retain a constant remembrance of the affection and
“ regard which you have always shewn me.

“ You know I have been engaged for near thirty years in writing
“ a history of RUSSIA, which I am now about finishing, and hope it
“ will soon appear in print to the satisfaction of the learned world. This
“ history is the more to be esteemed by the curious part of mankind,
“ as none of the antient GREEK and ROMAN historians, nor any geo-
“ graphical accounts of this empire, have gone so far as to inform us
“ of the original dialect, &c. of the principal nations, viz. the SCLA-
“ VONIANS, SCYTHIANS, and SARMATIANS; nor of the AMAZONS,
“ VANDALS, GOTHs, and CIMMERIANS, who descended from them;
“ neither have we any perfect account remaining of the HUNNS and
“ AVARI. The great distance of places, and ignorance of the lan-
“ guages, have made it difficult to obtain a right information of them;
“ add to this, the GREEKS had so great a taste for fables, rather than
“ for a diligent search after truth, that they have rendered facts very
“ obscure, of which the foolish tale of the AMAZONS is a proof. Of
“ all these nations I have endeavoured as much as possible to give a
“ clear and particular account, which composes the first part of my his-
“ tory of RUSSIA.

“ The second, begins with RURIC, prince of the FINs, who invaded
“ this country, and founded the RUSSIAN empire, which continued from
“ the year 860 to the incursions of the TARTARS in 1238. This part
“ contains many things relating to the histories of other countries; as
“ affinities by marriage, alliances, wars and treaties between the RUSS-
“ SIAN monarchs and other nations, particularly the NORWEGIANS,
“ SWEDES, HUNGARIANS, and both the western and eastern monarchies;
“ which in the histories of those countries are either entirely lost or
“ trans-

“ transmitted down in a very dark manner : I take no notice of natural
 “ history. These two parts are entirely finished.

“ Induced by the particular affection I have for the ENGLISH nation,
 “ and my veneration for your royal society, on account of the great ad-
 “ vantages the world receives from their several learned works, and their
 “ encouragement of useful knowledge, I have thought proper, as a mark
 “ of respect, to dedicate my history to them : but I am at a loss for want
 “ of translators, and dare not venture to send it to ENGLAND in the ori-
 “ ginal, lest the mistaking of facts, through want of a perfect know-
 “ ledge of the RUSSIAN language, should render the translation defective.
 “ I have therefore thought it the best way, that you would please to re-
 “ commend me two good translators in the GERMAN ; for as I understand
 “ that language, I can myself correct any mistake that shall happen :
 “ and when this is done, it will not be a difficult matter to have it trans-
 “ lated into other languages.

“ I am, &c.

The governor made no secret of his work, and having brought it down
 no lower than PETER the GREAT, he could hardly have given offence ;
 however the envy of his parts among the literati, the resentments of the
 pious for his infidelity, which I fear was great, and the clamours of the
 merchants for his rapaciousness, occasioned his being two years afterwards
 sent into civil banishment to his own estate near MOSCO, where he ended
 his life. His works seem to have died with him, at least they have not found
 a favourable reception at the academy of St. PETERSBURG. It is however
 probable, that the great pains he took in collecting several choice mate-
 rials, may be a means of some other person's building a reputation upon
 his labours. This old man was remarkable for his socratical look, his
 emaciated body, which he preserved many years by great temperance, and
 for keeping his mind continually employed. When he was not writing,
 reading, or discoursing about business, he played at dice one hand a-
 gainst the other.

He complained to me, that he feared our principal factor ELTON was really engaged in the service of NADIR SHAH, which might have very pernicious consequences, by drawing on us the resentment of his court; and he recommended to me, if it was not too late, to persuade him from so rash an enterprize. He then spoke of the ARMENIAN traders, who were our great opponents, observing, "that they are the most crafty
 " people in all ASIA, and delight in fraud. Let them, continued he,
 " get 50 per cent. in a fair way, they are not contented without cheating
 " five, and the five is sweeter to them than the 50." Though this is in some measure true, part of it might be carried to the account of the old man's inability, crafty as he was, to get of them all he desired. The GOUVERNIE^c, which is composed of a deputy governor, a secretary, and other officers, is a great check on the governor of this place; yet as ships can neither leave the port, nor be permitted to PRATTIC but by his permission, he has frequent opportunities of gain.

Not long since, the RUSSIANS made immense profits by selling provisions to the PERSIANS, when there was so great a scarcity that most of the inhabitants of DERBEND perished for want; a KOULE^d of meal, which cost one ruble, being sold for twenty. NADIR SHAH upon this, gave notice to the merchants, that he should want a larger quantity, giving them tacitly to expect that he would not alter the price: they accordingly brought it, but he disappointed their expectations, by fixing a more moderate price, yet such as was very profitable to them. This is a prohibited trade, but so advantageous that it seems to be the interest of the government to connive at it. Upon the occasion of their being alarmed with NADIR SHAH's approaches, the merchants, as well as the governor, were called to an account, and probably obliged to purchase their peace with part of their gain.

I was several times with the governor, whose discourse ran continually on ELTON; the sum of it was, "that NADIR SHAH having conceived

^c The government's chancery.

^d A large bag so called.

“ an high opinion of this gentleman’s capacity, had made him presents,
 “ and either engaged him for a salary to build ships for him, or re-
 “ quired his assistance to superintend such an undertaking: that ELTON
 “ had already met with great difficulties, the timber being knotty, and
 “ the roads to the ship yard hardly passable. He observed moreover that
 “ the PERSIANS were extremely ignorant of maritime affairs, and averse
 “ to any employment of that nature, so that it would require much
 “ time to bring them to maturity; but as such enterprizes were no way
 “ relative to affairs of commerce, they could not but alarm the RUSSI-
 “ AN court.”

I replied to this effect, “ I am not insensible that such a design must be
 “ offensive to RUSSIA, but I am a stranger to the nature of ELTON’s en-
 “ gagements. If NADIR SHAH is determined to have ships, it cannot
 “ depend upon ELTON or any single man. I know RUSSIA must natu-
 “ rally be jealous of the PERSIANS, as the SWEDES about fifty years ago
 “ were of the RUSSIANS, who, notwithstanding, are now become so
 “ formidable in the BALTIC: but there is this essential difference; whilst
 “ NADIR builds one ship on the coast of the CASPIAN, RUSSIA can build
 “ ten of the same size on the VOLGA, and probably the ten will cost
 “ no more than his one.” Indeed I had no opinion that the affair would
 ever arrive to such a degree of perfection, as to affect so formidable a
 power as RUSSIA; however I confess there was cause of jealousy. These
 were my real sentiments, and I was moreover obliged to talk in this stile,
 for fear of giving offence; for Mr. ELTON had brought us into such cir-
 cumstances, that it was hardly possible to avoid offending the EMPRESS or
 the SHAH, if not both. I took occasion also to remind the governor, that
 ARAPOFF the RUSSIAN consul and ELTON having been at variance, possibly
 the affair might be misrepresented; but that in any case it ought not to
 affect me, who was now charged to take care of the commercial interest,
 and of that only. Upon this he desired me to deliver a memorial to the
 same effect, by way of petition to the chancery.

It was not difficult to foresee the consequences of acquiescing to such an extraordinary demand; though of the two evils I thought it the greatest to refuse, as I must have been an object of jealousy, and perhaps actually prevented from proceeding on my voyage: accordingly I delivered the following petition into her imperial majesty's chancery.

“ The petition of JONAS HANWAY BRITISH merchant,

“ Sheweth,

“ **T**HAT whereas reports have been spread, that one of the BRITISH subjects residing in RESHD, has been concerned in affairs ungrateful to the court of RUSSIA; your petitioner is now going into GHILAN to know the truth, and, if necessary, to use his endeavours to dissuade any such subject there engaged in trade, from voluntarily meddling with any other business; and to prevent as much as possible the BRITISH ships on the CASPIAN from being employed in any manner not consistent with the treaty of commerce*; so that no just cause may be given to create the least obstruction of the BRITISH trade thro' the empire of RUSSIA.

“ And as the season is very far advanced, your petitioner desires immediate dispatch may be given to the BRITISH ships as soon as they shall arrive, &c.”

C H A P. XIX.

A description of ASTRACHAN, and of its fisheries and trade. An account of the neighbouring TARTARS, and of the flights of locusts with which that country is infested. Captain WOODROOFE arrives from PERSIA.

AS I was obliged to wait some time for the arrival of captain WOODROOFE, in whose ship I intended to embark for PERSIA, I had

* It must be observed however, that the treaty made no provision for those ships.

an opportunity of informing myself the more fully concerning ASTRACHAN and its neighbourhood.

This city is the metropolis of a kingdom of the same name, situated within the limits of ASIA in an island called DOLGOI, in the latitude of 47, 60 ENGLISH miles from the CASPIAN sea; and derives its name from HADGEE TERKAN a TARTAR by whom it was founded. It was for many ages subject to the TARTARS, from whom it was taken by IVAN WASSILOWITZ CZAR of MUSCOVY in 1554, taken by them again in 1668, and again retaken by the RUSSIANS: the CZAR employed for this purpose a great number of flat bottomed vessels, on which he brought down his forces from CASAN. It contains about 70,000 inhabitants, among whom are many ARMENIANS and TARTARS of various denominations, with a few PERSIANS and INDIANS. The manners and customs of all these different people exhibit an epitome of ASIA. The city is about 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles round, but including the suburbs near five miles. It is surrounded by a brick wall in a ruinous condition, being about 200 years old. Here was a garrison of six regiments of the best RUSSIAN troops: and in the adjacent plain they had erected a great number of small batteries, which were intended to sweep the country, and to prevent the approach of an enemy, NADIR SHAH having lately given some alarm on this side.

The houses are of wood, and most of them very mean; the higher parts command a prospect of the VOLGA, which spreads itself here near three miles, giving pleasure and convenience to the inhabitants. In the summer the people are generally sickly, which is owing to the marshy lands near it. The earth being impregnated with salt, which appears on the surface, is extremely fertile, bearing fruit in abundance, the immoderate use of which creates many distempers among the common people. Their water-melons^f are in great esteem; and in flavour, colour and taste much the same as in PORTUGAL. 'Tis remarkable, that this fruit, tho' extremely juicy, grows best in sand. But besides the above reason, the

^f Which the RUSSIANS call ARBOOSE.

melting of the snow which creates floods, and the rising of the water also in autumn, are observed to affect the air and produce sicknesses.

The government of ASTRACHAN extends as far as SARATOFF. The city is surrounded by gardens and vineyards, which lie about two miles from it. These produce almost every kind of garden-stuff known in ENGLAND, except potatoes, collyflowers and artichokes; and their orchards furnish them with plenty of apples, pears, cherries, &c. OLEARIUS commends the fruits of ASTRACHAN, but I met with none extraordinary, except the water-melons; though the court find the grapes delicious enough to bear the great expence of land carriage, as already mentioned. The wine of ASTRACHAN is also very indifferent. As their summers are generally dry, they are obliged to water their gardens; this is done by large wheels, some of which are moved by horses, others by the wind. These wheels are of a sufficient height to throw the water into the highest part of the garden, from whence it runs in trenches to the root of every tree and plant. The gardens and vineyards are generally watered in this manner, from the middle of May to the middle of September. The chief game in the neighbouring country is hares and partridges; and in summer there is plenty of quails. Here are also water and wild fowl of all sorts in great abundance.

About ten miles below ASTRACHAN is a small island called BOSMAKOFF, remarkable for its large storehouses of salt, which is made about twelve miles to the eastward of it, and being brought thither in boats, is conveyed in large flat bottomed vessels up the VOLGA. With this all the country is supplied, as far as MOSCO and TWERE. They dig annually some millions of poods, the exclusive property of which is claimed by the crown, and brings in a considerable revenue^s; for the common food of the soldiery, and of the bulk of the people, is bread and salt. In this place also are large fisheries, to which the neighbourhood of the salt

^s In ASTRACHAN they sell the salt at three copecks a pood, but in RUSSIA at 15 to 18, viz. about a farthing a pound. The revenue of ASTRACHAN is reckoned 140 to 160,000 rubles, or 33,500*l.* of which the greatest part arises from salt and fish.

works is of great advantage. These extend even to the sea, reaching south eastward as far as YAEIK, and also 100 miles above ZARITZEN. From these fisheries all the country is supplied as far as St. PETERSBURG: the vessels are loaded with salt fish, and sent away in the spring; but as fresh fish keeps good so long as it is frozen, the winter is no sooner set in, than it is transported by land as far as MOSCO and St. PETERSBURG. The principal sorts are sturgeon, starlett, beluga^a, and assotra^b.

The first establisher of these fisheries was TIKON DEMEDOFF a carrier, who settled there about 50 years ago; his whole fortune then consisted in two horses, but through his industry and abilities he became the greatest merchant in that country. The crown, which before his time was a stranger to those advantages, has of late years, besides the salt, engrossed some of the fisheries also.

Captain WOODROOFE, who was for some time at ASTRACHAN, assured me, that from the latter end of July to the beginning of October, the country about that city is frequently infested with locusts, which fly in such prodigious numbers as to darken the air, and appear at a distance like a heavy cloud. The account which the inhabitants give of them is, that generally as the cold weather comes on, they are seen in their flight from the northward to the southward. Whenever they fall, they eat up every thing that is green. In this season therefore all the gardeners look out for them, and upon their first appearance endeavour to keep them off, by making as much smoke and as great noise as possible; but in spite of all their art, these destructive insects, after flying as long as they are able, sometimes fall in their gardens, on the tops of houses, and even into the fires. Their bodies, compared with the smallness of their wings, are very large. Their size is generally from two to two and a half inches long, and about three quarters of an inch in diameter, and their shape near the same as the largest sort of green grasshopper. WOODROOFE mentions in his journal, that once in particular,

^a A large white fish.

^b It resembles sturgeon.

as he was sailing up the VOLGA to ASTRACHAN, he observed a prodigious cloud of them coming from the west north west, which is across the river. The wind at that time blew very fresh, and nearly from the same point; when the locusts falling down, the water was covered with such prodigious swarms of them, that in some places they greatly obstructed the motion of the boat for 10 or 12 fathoms together. He says also that they live for some time under water; for as they mounted on each other's backs, they formed a cluster near three feet diameter, which rolled along by the force of the wind and the rapidity of the current. In this manner they were driven ashore; their wings being dried, they got upon the pasture, and very few were drowned. They lay so thick upon the plain for near three days, to the extent of as many miles, that it was impossible to walk without treading on them. When they began to fly, they disappeared in less than half an hour, leaving the plain without a blade of grass.

The commerce of ASTRACHAN is very considerable, though much diminished by the troubles in PERSIA, and the frequent revolts and insolent behaviour of the TARTARS. Not long ago they traded to KHIEVA and BOKHARA, but at present their commerce is confined to the EMPRESS's dominions and PERSIA. The inhabitants had about 38 vessels, from 60 to 100 lasts¹ for the PERSIAN trade, of which some belong to the government and mount a few small pieces of cannon. They are commanded by a midshipman under a commodore who is generally only a lieutenant in rank, and these under the admiralty. This office is generally stocked with all naval stores, as well for the use of the vessels belonging to the EMPRESS, as to supply the merchants.

The trading ships carry provisions to the frontier towns of TERKIE and KISLAR, situated on the CASPIAN sea, and likewise merchandize to the several parts of PERSIA, at certain stated rates. They are also occasionally employed by the PERSIANS, to carry provisions from GHILAN to BAKU,

¹Of two tons ENGLISH.

DERBEND, and other places; but the RUSSIAN government observing that their merchantships were employed in the transport of provisions towards their own frontier, for the use of the PERSIAN army, thought proper to take them into their service; and from that time they sent only a few vessels to PERSIA, under the authority of the imperial flag, that they might be privileged from any arrests or exactions on the part of the PERSIANS. But since NADIR's death, and the abandoning of the enterprize of building PERSIAN ships in the EUROPEAN manner, the RUSSIAN vessels have been again restored to the merchants.

Their foreign trade consists in red leather, linens, woollen cloths, and EUROPEAN manufactures, which they export to PERSIA, the greatest part for the account of the ARMENIANS; in return they import several manufactures of PERSIA, particularly those of CASHAN, as silk sashes intermixed with gold, for the consumption of the POLANDERS; wrought silks and stuffs mixed with cotton; rice, cotton, a small quantity of drugs, and especially raw silk. They also bring rhubarb *, but as the government has engrossed this article, private persons are forbid to deal in it under penalty of death. From KHIEVA they formerly brought gold, lamb-skins, cotton, and other commodities; but this trade is now discontinued, as I have already observed. The officers of the admiralty and custom-house of ASTRACHAN have very small salaries, which is the case in all other places of RUSSIA; so that instead of doing their duty to dispatch business, they often seek pretences to protract it, in order to obtain the
 * more considerable presents. Upon these occasions, FRENCH brandy, white wine, hats, stockings, ribbons, and such like are acceptable.

Whilst I was busied in getting what informations were necessary, the governor invited me to a feast, at which there were near 100 dishes; here I saw a singular specimen of RUSSIAN intemperance, for there were above 30 people who drank to excess in goblets ¹, of a kind of

* The greatest part of this valuable branch is brought into RUSSIA by the TARTARS of YAKUTSKY, bordering on the eastern TARTARS belonging to CHINA: they travel through SIBERIA to SAMARA, thence to CASAN; and from thence to MOSCO.

¹ BOCALLS.

cherry brandy ^m. This feast was made for the birth of his grand-daughter, on which occasion the guests presented an offering, each according to his rank. This is a civil way of levying a heavy tax on the merchants, and a custom, tho' not elegant, less absurd than that of some politer countries; for here without disguise or ceremony you leave one or two ducats or some richer present on the lady's bed, who sits up with great formality to be saluted.

My curiosity carried me to see the devotion of the INDIAN PAGANS in the little temple which they have here. Their priests use beads, incense, caps, prostrations and offerings: they have also small bells with other music, and raise their voices in singing with the utmost vehemence. The object of their adoration was a PAGOD, ugly and deformed to a degree of horror. After the service was over, they presented me some of the fruits which had been offered to this idol; but I thought proper to refuse them, not without some melancholy reflections on the abject state to which human reason is frequently reduced.

The TARTARS hold this image worship in the utmost abomination; they will not carry even money which has any impression of man, bird, beast, creeping thing, or insect, into their temples. Their devotion is in silence and prostrations, except that the priest in an awful tone at certain times utters an invocation to the lord of nature, through the mediation of MAHOMMED. It must be observed, that the TARTARS about this city and kingdom, were formerly distinguished under denominations different from the present; for these countries were but little known, nor are they yet sufficiently civilized to admit of that communication, which affords an opportunity for an entire discovery, though the RUSSIANS have made a great progress in it. The NAGAY TARTARS are MAHOMMEDANS, resembling in countenance the KHALMUCKS, but better favoured, for their eyes are not so small; these and the KOOBANS are driven off to the eastward, and have seldom of late years made any inroads on the RUSSIAN frontiers.

^m The RUSSIANS call it VISNOVKY.

For several miles round this city, where the soil will admit of cultivation, there are settlements of a very civil and industrious people of the race of the CRIM TARTARS, who are tributary to the RUSSIANS. In the summer they improve their land, the chief products of which are manna^m, oats, musk, and water-melons; but they reckon that their principal treasure consists in their wives and children, with their sheep, horses, and cattle. When any of their daughters become marriageable, they cover her tent with white linnen, and put a painted cloth on the top, which is usually tied with red strings: they have also a painted waggon on the side of the tent; and this is to be her marriage portion. Those who design to marry observe this signal, and the girl is generally given to him who offers the father the most valuable present. These people are MAHOMMEDANS, and, contrary to the practice of the KHALMUCKS, extremely nice in their burying places. They dig their graves very deep, and after lining them with bricks dried in the sun, and whitewashing them in the inside, they build a cover over them. They also raise thick walls of mud round each tomb, on the top of which are fixed one or more white flags, according to the character of the deceased.

I had spent fifteen days here in expectation of the arrival of captain WOODROOFE from GHILAN, and observing that the season was far advanced, I determined, so soon as my caravan should come down the VOLGA, to embark in a RUSSIAN vessel; but the 4th of November I received the joyful news of WOODROOFE's arrival at YERKIEⁿ with 100 bales of raw silk.

The reader must have observed, by the conferences I had with the governor of this place, how jealous the RUSSIANS were of Mr. ELTON. ARAPOFF the RUSSIAN consul in PERSIA, now gave intelligence that this gentleman had been at BALKHAN on the east coast of the CASPIAN, where he had reduced a province, and brought the chiefs of it prison-

^m Seed so called.ⁿ The mouth of the VOLGA.

ers to GHILAN; and that WOODROOFE'S ship had been employed in this enterprize; concluding that she ought not to be permitted to return to PERSIA. The real account of this matter, which captain WOODROOFE gave me soon after, was far from being satisfactory, and proved that ELTON was too deeply engaged in the affairs of the crown of PERSIA. Of this the reader will judge from the following abstract of WOODROOFE'S journal, relating to his voyage to BALKHAN.

C H A P. XX.

Captain WOODROOFE'S voyage to BALKHAN, on the east coast of the CASPIAN sea, under the direction of Mr. JOHN ELTON, by order of NADIR SHAH.

“ JUNE the 24th, 1743, the SHAH'S orders were signified to me by
 “ captain ELTON, to survey the south east part of the CASPIAN, on
 “ which expedition the captain was to go himself. July the 21st we
 “ weighed anchor and set sail for ENZELLE, with orders to stop in LAN-
 “ GAROOD road. As this was a new navigation, to which most of the
 “ merchants in GHILAN were strangers, I could procure no other freight,
 “ than a small quantity of goods from captain ELTON, with which he in-
 “ tended to try the market of ASTRABAD.

“ July the 24th we anchored in LANGAROOD road, where Mr. ELTON
 “ embarked. I was then hardly recovered of a fever, with which I had
 “ been long afflicted. The 31st at noon we weighed, and the 5th of
 “ August anchored about two miles to the northward of the inlet into
 “ ASTRABAD bay. The next day I went in the long-boat to examine
 “ the entrance, and found a very good channel over the bar, and a fresh
 “ water river running into it from the eastward. We were about a mile
 “ from the mouth of this river towards the close of the evening, when we
 “ saw three large sandalls* coming over the bar. The day following I

* PERSIAN boats so called.

“ armed

“ armed and manned the long-boat, in order to ascend the river upon a
“ discovery. Nothing appeared near the shore but woods and marshes,
“ with a ridge of mountains, which running parallel with the sea coast,
“ extends near east and west. At the entrance of the river there is only
“ five feet water, but after we had proceeded about 20 miles, we found
“ not less than 20 feet. We rowed all that day, but discovered no settle-
“ ment. About a quarter of a mile from the entrance the water was
“ fresh, but 18 miles higher we perceived it to be brackish, which is ow-
“ ing I believe to the sea water that comes over the marshes. The wood
“ is chiefly elm, willow, and birch, intermixed with vines. The river
“ runs about east north east, with a small current. We saw a great num-
“ ber of wild buffalo's, hogs and deer, and likewise tracks, as they ap-
“ peared to us, of wolves and tigers.

“ Night coming on, and our people being almost spent with the heat
“ and fatigue of the day, we resolved to take up our lodging there, and
“ prepared to defend ourselves against the wild beasts: for this purpose
“ we cut down a large quantity of wood, and almost inclosing ourselves,
“ set it on fire. The greatest inconveniency we suffered, was from the
“ gnats, which stung us so intolerably, that many of our people stripp'd
“ themselves, and lay all but their heads in the water. Not having dis-
“ covered any settlement, about midnight we began to row down again,
“ and at noon we reached the bay. Continuing our course along shore,
“ about two miles to the southward of the mouth of the river, we
“ heard the report of a musket, and looking carefully towards the place
“ from whence it came, we saw about 50 men all armed, coming out
“ of the woods down to the sea side: though we were apprehensive they
“ were robbers who often infest this coast, yet we resolved to stand in
“ for the shore. At our approach, perceiving that we had store of fire
“ arms, they began to retire into the woods. We sent therefore our PER-
“ SIAN servant on shore, to acquaint them that we were come on
“ that coast by the SHAH's orders, having business at ASTRABAD; and
“ to convince them of the truth, we offered to exchange hostages, and

" that if three of their people would come into our boat, three of ours
 " should go with them; to which they consented. Upon this I went,
 " attended by our interpreter and a servant, to the village of KONDAGA-
 " ZAR, which is near a mile from the water side, through a thick wood.
 " We were received by the principal people of the village with great
 " regard, and after refreshing ourselves with what the place afforded, we
 " returned to our boat. Among other things, we learnt that the three
 " sandalls which we saw coming over the bar, were TURKUMAN pirates,
 " that they had plundered a village a little to the south west, where they
 " killed eighteen men; and that these continual depredations obliged them
 " to be always upon their guard. As it was very dark, we lay all night
 " in the boat, but the next day we went aboard our ship, weighed and
 " came to anchor in KONDAGAZAR road in $2 \frac{1}{2}$ fathom water, in stiff
 " muddy ground.

" August the 11th. I went on shore with letters from captain ELTON
 " for the governor of ASTRABAD, in which he desired that, as he was
 " about the SHAH's affairs, he might be provided with horses to carry him
 " to the city. At my return we landed our little cargo; not without
 " some difficulty, the shore being flat and low. Whilst we lay here,
 " the villagers shewed us great civilities, and constantly sent us provisions
 " of every sort in abundance. The 13th. Several of the principal inhabi-
 " tants came on board, and acquainted captain ELTON, that the governor
 " had sent horses and servants to conduct him to ASTRABAD; upon
 " which he immediately went on shore. After spending several days in
 " surveying this bay, and taking landships of the coast; NASEER AGA, an
 " officer in the SHAH's service, arrived from the camp, with orders to take
 " four of the COURTJOYS^P who had left their country, and put them-
 " selves under PERSIAN protection, to serve us as pilots, as they were
 " well acquainted with the eastern coast. He was likewise commissioned
 " to take a sufficient number of soldiers under his command, with di-

^P Inhabitants of the islands on the eastern coast.

“rections to look for a proper place to build a garrison, in order to awe
“the OGURTJOY pirates, and prevent their excursions.

“The 31st of August. Captain ELTON and NASEER AGA, with 18
“soldiers and four pilots came on board; and the next day we weighed.
“We arrived the 8th of September at the south end of IDAK, the west-
“termost of the OGURTJOY islands, and coasted the east side of it;
“continuing our survey for four days. It is a long sandy island, which
“stretches itself about north and south. Near it is DEVERISH a barren
“island, which extends itself to north east and south west. The pilots
“affirmed this to have been formerly a high land; but now it is low,
“which we imputed to the rising of the water. Between these two islands
“is a very good channel three fathoms deep, which extends to the north-
“ward. IDAK has two wells of fresh water, and is inhabited by eight
“or ten families, who have a few sheep and goats. The soil produces
“a coarse sort of grape, melons, cucumbers, carrots, onions, &c. The
“inhabitants, for want of harbours, having no boats, borrow them of
“their neighbours in the island of NAPHTONIA⁹.

“September the 14th. We weighed and came in close under the east
“side of NAPHTONIA. The coast is difficult of access, the land being
“very high; it extends itself six or eight leagues north and south, and
“contains about 36 families, who have 28 large boats with several wells¹
“of NARTHA¹. The harbour is on the east side of the island: to the
“southward there are four small isles, between all which, by the relation
“of our pilot a native of the place, there is full 10 feet water; as there
“is likewise up a large bay to the eastward of them, almost as far as
“BALKHAN hill. NAPHTONIA has plenty of sheep, wild goats, ca-
“mels, and asses, with exceeding good water; the latter is a great ad-
“vantage to them, for all the springs along this coast, except here, and
“on IDAK, are salt or brackish. The soil is fruitful, affording all man-

⁹ So called by the RUSSIANS; the PERSIANS call it CHERRICAN. ¹ This is common-
ly understood to be a species of bitumen; it is of the nature of oil, of a very dark grey colour, and
sulphureous smell.

“ ner of garden-stuff. There is an old mosque, to which the inhabi-
 “ tants come to worship. These people subsist entirely by piracy, mak-
 “ ing continual depredations on the neighbouring parts of PERSIA.

“ To remedy this evil, NADIR SHAH some years since offered to for-
 “ give all that was past, and to receive them into his favour, if they
 “ would come and settle about ASTRABAD bay, where they might have
 “ lands and sell their NAPHTHA to the inhabitants of that quarter. This
 “ they accepted, and carried on a brisk trade for about two years, selling
 “ their NAPHTHA to the PERSIANS, TURKUMANS, and roving OUSBEGS,
 “ and purchasing provisions to supply the inhabitants of the islands. But
 “ having had an opportunity of collecting a number of boats, they grew
 “ tired of this way of living, and returned to their trade of piracy; so
 “ that BALKHAN became a general rendezvous of robbers. NADIR SHAH
 “ being at that time engaged in his expedition against the MOGHOL, post-
 “ poned the reduction of these people till his return. But upon enquiry
 “ he now found it attended with great difficulty, for the place is almost
 “ inaccessible by land, and the country so wild and barren, that none
 “ but those hardy people the TURKUMANS can live in it. Besides, in
 “ summer there is no fresh water along the coast, except one well; and
 “ in winter the desert is exceeding cold.

“ September the 15th. We weighed and ran through a channel not
 “ wider than half a cable's length, between the east end of DEVERISH
 “ and NAPHTONIA, and stood away along the north end of the latter.
 “ This channel is said to have been fordable about 18 years ago, but now
 “ it has every where 10 or 12 feet water. To the eastward we saw 14
 “ large boats, which rowed towards us for some time, and then hoist-
 “ ing their sails ran round a bank of sand to the east side of NAPHTO-
 “ NIA; where they have a town with a pretty good harbour. As it was
 “ a calm we could not follow them, and a strong current setting out of
 “ the bay we were obliged to anchor in seven fathom water. The
 “ next day having a westerly breeze we weighed, and ran up the side
 “ of the island DARGAN, which forms the south part of the bay, and
 “ extends

“ extends near east and west. There is some rising ground on it, but
“ no inhabitants, the land being barren and sandy. Notwithstanding
“ there is no water on this island, yet, by report, it abounds in wild
“ goats and deer, which, as the PERSIANS generally say, require no wa-
“ ter, but subsist on the heavy dews that constantly fall in those parts.
“ We continued sounding, and got up to a small island on the south
“ side of the bay, called DAGADAW, where we anchored in two fa-
“ thom water.

“ The day following we went with the long-boat to survey the island,
“ designing also to go on shore on the main land for fresh water. Our
“ pilot carried us to two springs, where there were many tracks of ca-
“ mels and sheep. The water was brackish; for as all the land on this
“ side the CASPIAN is impregnated with salt, so are the springs, except
“ two at the foot of BALKHAN mountain; and yet the TURKUMANS
“ and their cattle drink of it. I was informed, that it is now 100 years
“ since the OXUS emptied itself into the upper end of this bay. As this
“ river was often dried up in many places in the heat of the summer,
“ the TURKUMANS imagined, that by stopping the mouth of it they
“ could preserve it above. But the contrary fell out, for the water hav-
“ ing no passage to clear away the sand, which was constantly blown off
“ the desert into this river, it is filled up, and scarce any vestiges of it
“ are now remaining near the CASPIAN sea.

“ Round DAGADAW there is full two fathom water, which is con-
“ stantly smooth and clear. Our pilots informed us that there is a great
“ scarcity of fish, for which reason the inhabitants keep 10 fishing
“ boats in a bay about half a day's journey to the northward, which
“ the PERSIANS call OBB MAYSEY[†]. Here they catch plenty of fish
“ not only for their own use, but likewise for sale to the TURKUMANS
“ and roving TARTARS. The RUSSIANS pretend there is a whirlpool in
“ this bay; but this is denied by the TURKUMANS, who affirm they fish

[†] Or fishing water.

“ all over it. In all parts of it there is at least eight fathom water; but
 “ the entrance is very narrow.

“ September the 18th. As we continued founding up the bay, we
 “ found the water grew shallow; the deepest is close along the island
 “ DARGAN, which runs up near the foot of the mountain of BALK-
 “ HAN, between which and the island there is a little channel of five
 “ feet water. Rowing across the bay we saw numbers of people,
 “ who upon our approaching towards the island, made signals,
 “ by throwing up sand in the air, which at a distance appeared like
 “ smoke. They began their signals at the water side, and were answered
 “ quite to the easternmost end. When we were arrived at the foot of
 “ the mountain, we saw 14 boats at anchor to the southward of DAR-
 “ GAN, where there is a wide bay that extends into the CASPIAN. Our
 “ pilot informed us, that at the foot of the mountain there is five feet
 “ water, which deepens gradually to the westward into 10 feet; and this
 “ is the founding through all the passages between NAPHTONIA and the
 “ islands to the southward. This day we weighed, and ran up into nine
 “ feet water, and moored the ship near the foot of the mountain.

“ Here captain ELTON and NASEER AGA went in search of a conve-
 “ nient spot, on which they might build a fort. They had taken with
 “ them on shore the PERSIAN soldiers, a pilot, and four sailors, with
 “ arms and ammunition sufficient to make a defence against those TAR-
 “ TARS, in case of an attack. Soon after they put off, we saw the 14
 “ boats steering to the westward, but could not perceive any body up-
 “ on the island.

“ September the 22d. Our people returned from their survey, and
 “ reported, that when they had got up to BALKHAN they found only
 “ one man on the coast, whom the TARTARS had commissioned to en-
 “ quire after us. Upon our first approaching NAPHTONIA, the inhabi-
 “ tants imagined we were driven in there by distress, for which reason
 “ they manned all their boats with design to cut us off. But ob-
 “ serving

“ serving that we beat the drum and fired the morning gun, and seeing
“ us run so readily through the narrow passage between DEVERISH and
“ NAPHTONIA, they concluded we were sent by the SHAH to destroy
“ them; upon which they made all haste back to save their families and
“ cattle. The former they conveyed in boats to BALKHAN, with an
“ intent to alarm the TARTARS in that neighbourhood; but they transport-
“ ed their cattle, consisting of camels, sheep, and asses, to DARGAN,
“ together with two women slaves, and two of their own men, to
“ whom they gave instructions to drive them to the south east part of
“ the island. But seeing us come up the bay so close after them, they
“ went round in order to take in their cattle again, lest we should inter-
“ cept them. This precaution however proved quite fruitless from an-
“ other cause; for, to their great surprize, they found that most of them
“ were already destroyed by wild beasts. One of the slaves was also kil-
“ led: the other being greatly distressed for want of water, and not used
“ to such hardships, expired in a few hours; so that only the two men
“ and a few camels were saved. They sailed then to the southward,
“ while the TURKUMANS and several OUSBEG TARTARS who frequent
“ this neighbourhood, fled up into the mountain of BALKHAN.

“ These pirates were possessed of 17 boats more, which were then on
“ a cruise on the coast of MAZANDERAN and ASTRABAD. 'Tis their
“ custom to send only half of their boats out at a time, for fear of a visit
“ from the SHAH's forces, or lest they should lose a prize by suffering
“ any vessel to escape, that might be driven in here by distress. Whenever
“ this happens, they take all that is useful out of her, then set her on
“ fire, and either kill the sailors, or sell them as slaves to the OUSBEG
“ TARTARS.

“ Captain ELTON having received this information proceeded in his
“ survey, in order to be satisfied if there was any possibility of executing
“ the SHAH's project. This prince had been informed, that there was
“ plenty of fresh water in those parts; but upon examination it was found
“ that the springs were overflowed with salt water. There was another
“ spring indeed a mile and a half higher up, but as it was very small

“ and at such a distance, it would not answer the purpose. The island of
 “ DAGADAW was judged the safest place for the garrison, as the maga-
 “ zines would be there most secure from any surprize by land on the
 “ part of the TARTARS. With regard to fresh water, captain ELTON
 “ proposed to provide a number of boats, and to bring it from NAPHTONIA;
 “ which was the more feasible, as the navigation between the two islands
 “ is extremely safe.

“ September the 28th. As I had a voyage now depending from GHI-
 “ LAN to RUSSIA, there was not time sufficient to make any farther dis-
 “ covery. There was only half a hoghead of fresh water on board,
 “ and to go on shore on NAPHTONIA would have occasioned too great a
 “ delay. We therefore weighed for FARABAD, where we landed our
 “ passengers the 30th of September; and after getting fresh water we pro-
 “ ceeded for ENZELLE.”

From this account of captain WOODROOFE, it seems that NADIR with his usual sagacity foresaw a rebellion from that side of TURKUMANIA, which induced him to employ his new servant ELTON; his intent being to send a fleet to BALKHAN with provisions, in order to build a fort and keep a garrison in that place, to awe the TURKUMAN TARTARS. This step could not but give great offence to the RUSSIANS, because their barrier would become so much the weaker, and the PERSIANS might the more easily invade RUSSIA on that side, which had been always considered as impracticable.

C H A P. XXI.

The Author continues his voyage down the VOLGA to the mouth of the CASPIAN. A brief account of the KHALMUCK settlements; and of the river VOLGA. The method of curing CAVIARE.

NOVEMBER the 8th. We left ASTRACHAN under convoy of the governor's barge with 12 granadiers. It has been already observed, that this old gentleman had been greatly instrumental in bringing the
 TARTARS

TARTARS to a peaceable subjection to the RUSSIAN government: for this purpose he had taken all the large boats from the KHALMUCKS; so that here, as in other places, they were obliged to fish in small canoes. At night we slept within pistol-shot of a KHALMUCK settlement. The habitations of these people are round tents, which they call KHABITKA's, raised with canes in the form of a cone, and covered with WILLOCKS¹. These tents are of 10, and some of 15 yards in circumference, and about 12 feet high; they make their fires in the center of the tent, and the smoke issues from the top, which is prepared for that purpose.

These people are miserably poor, subsisting on fish which they take in the VOLGA; they dry in the summer their winter's provision. They prefer to live on the banks, where flags and rushes are grown to a great height, these being some defence against the rigors of the cold season. There are seldom seen above 7 or 8 tents in a place, which contain 30 or 40 persons, who live in distinct families under one whom they chuse as their chief. Besides these, there are other KHALMUCKS, who travel to the south when the winter comes on, and return northward in the heat of the summer.

It is easy to conceive how murders and robberies frequently happen in these parts. I gave the strictest orders for a regular watch of two men under arms during the night; but I more than once found them fast asleep. As we advanced within 30 wersts of the mouth of the VOLGA, we descried a great number of small islands; the whole scene appearing wild and inhospitable. We were obliged to stop at SADLISTOVA a little island, where resides the officer who gives clearances to passengers.

Being happily arrived at YERKIE, we embarked in the BRITISH ship EMPRESS of RUSSIA, much delighted to find ourselves in a vessel of good oak, regularly built, well fitted, and probably the only complete ship which till that time had appeared on the CASPIAN. It was no less a pleasure to see the ENGLISH flag hoisted, and some satisfaction to receive

¹ This is a very thick felt of camel's hair, which keeps out the weather extremely well.

those common marks of esteem which masters of ships usually pay their merchants when they have any guns.

Though I have in several parts of this work made occasional mention of the VOLGA, yet a river of such consideration deserves a more particular attention; and I think no place so proper as this, being now about to take my leave of it. This river was antiently called the RHA, and is reputed for extent and depth one of the noblest in the world. It derives its source from the lake FERNOFF in the province of RESKOFF, running, according to general computation, near 4500 wersts¹ before it empties itself into the CASPIAN sea. It takes in the river TWERSA which comes from TWERE, the MOSCWA from MOSCO, the OCCA from COLUMNA, the KAMA which divides the NAGAY and KOEBAN TARTARS, the SAMAR at SAMARA, and many others. It is of the utmost utility to the greatest part of the vast empire of RUSSIA, not only with regard to commerce, but as it has been a means of reducing the different tribes of TARTARS who frequent its borders. The immense quantities of water it receives from other rivers, and from the many hilly countries from whence descend great torrents, particularly when the snow melts in the spring, are the cause of its swelling at different times and places. It begins usually to rise in March, and increases in April and May, continuing above its usual mark, till the end of June; and then it decreases very fast. There is often another rise in September by autumnal rains; but this is not so constant, nor near so considerable. It varies in different places; at ASTRACHAN it is only seven or eight feet, unless the southerly winds blow in the water at the same time from the CASPIAN. About ZARITZEN, which is above 400 wersts higher, I saw a mark at about 20 feet, as already mentioned; and at CASAN, which is 1250 wersts yet higher, the rise is said to be much greater. As there are so many different climates in the course of this river, the ice breaks up at different times; as at ASTRACHAN about the end of February, and at CASAN generally a month later. Here the banks alter almost every year, partly by the force of the current, and partly by the sands which are blown into the river from

¹ 3000 ENGLISH miles.

the adjacent country. The danger arising from these shifting banks is not very great; but they create delays. The common course of the stream can hardly be reckoned above a mile an hour, but in the time of the floods it is generally three miles.

The navigation is very difficult for vessels drawing above five feet water, except in the flood times, when the largest flat bottomed vessels find sufficient water. I have seen a vessel afloat in the month of October, said to have 600 tons of salt and fish aboard; and in some seasons they have barks of greater burthen. The trade from many parts is great and extensive, but from no place more considerable than from YARISLAW and CASAN. The sailors who navigate this river, are remarkable for their dexterity in warping. They have three boats to carry out the warps, which they take in forward; and at the same time they coil the warp from the stern into the boat, while the other two boats are a-head laying fresh warps; for as soon as they have run out one, the end of the other is ready. These vessels sometimes carry from 150 to 200 men, and as their bigness prevents their sailing, except the wind be very fair, they warp 30 ENGLISH miles in a day against the stream, which, as we have already observed, is sometimes very rapid. Besides the vast abundance of fish taken in this river, and sent either salted or frozen to distant parts of the RUSSIAN empire, there is a considerable commerce carried on in CAVIARE *.

The method of preparing this commodity is to take away the stringy part, then to mix it with salt well cleaned and made into brine; and when drained from the oily parts and pressed, it becomes of such a consistency as to keep two or three years. The grain is of a darkish grey colour, almost as big as a pepper corn, and cuts transparent. In the winter it is sent fresh to all parts of the empire, and is much esteemed by the natives as well as foreigners, being well known to partake of the nature of oysters. There is also a large quantity made for exportation, which is consumed in ITALY and by the christians in the LEVANT. The ARMENIANS have the skill of preparing it best, and usually make above 6000 poods * every year. In 1749 they brought 20,000 poods to market.

* Roe of sturgeon and belluga, the RUSSIANS call it IECRA.

* About 100 tons.

Having thus given a short account of the VOLGA, and being ready to launch out into the CASPIAN, I think it will be proper to introduce a more particular description of that sea, besides what has been already given concerning BALKHAN. But as this is a province which properly belongs to a seaman, I must refer my reader to the following extracts of captain WOODROOFE's journal, from his first entering on that navigation.

C H A P. XXII.

Extracts of captain WOODROOFE's journal from his setting out from ASTRACHAN in June 1742, on his first voyage.

“ JUNE the 20th, 1742. Upon our entrance into the CASPIAN
 “ we met with hard gales of southerly winds attended with a very
 “ hollow sea, and soon lost our great launch from the stern. The day
 “ following we hauled up to the eastward, on account of the rocks
 “ lying between SWETOI and ZELOI islands; some of these run a
 “ mile to the eastward, and there is a very large one two miles east
 “ of SWETOI. Here we saw several breakers, which we took to be
 “ rocks under water. The safest way is to avoid ZELOI, the land being
 “ low and the weather generally hazy; and it is not discernible above
 “ two leagues even in clear weather.

“ June the 27th. For several days we had light westerly and south
 “ west winds with a strong current, which frustrated our endeavours to
 “ reach ENZELLE. Our water running low we made the south shore,
 “ and came to an anchor in 10 fathom, when we discovered a town
 “ from the mast-head. The shore for many miles has the appearance
 “ of a very pleasant and fertile country, agreeably checkered with groves,
 “ pastures, and arable lands. At the extent of this landskip is a ridge of
 “ high mountains, extending from east to west, behind which the peak

“ DEMONA,

“ DEMOAN rises far above the rest. We immediately hoisted out our
“ boat, and having rowed three leagues to the eastward, we landed near the
“ town of MESCHEDIZAR.

“ Here an hundred men under arms presented themselves, and without
“ any ceremony dragged our boat to shore, signifying that we were
“ their prisoners. Among this troop there were three who had the
“ appearance of officers, but seemed to preserve no kind of disci-
“ pline. They stood for near an hour at bay, resting on their arms,
“ and laughing very loud. At length a person came whom they treat-
“ ed with great deference; he was attended by several others of good
“ figure, and among the rest by a RUSSIAN interpreter.

“ This person demanded in very civil terms who I was, and what I
“ wanted. I informed him that I had a cargo of goods for the ENGLISH
“ factory at RESHD, in whose service I was employed; that my ship was
“ at anchor three leagues to the eastward, and that contrary winds and
“ want of water had occasioned my coming on shore. He replied, that
“ the case might possibly be as I represented it, but as the coast was very
“ much exposed to the depredations of pirates, he must be satisfied in a
“ circumstance which could not but appear suspicious; adding, that to
“ be convinced of our innocence, he would dispatch a messenger to
“ inquire after our vessel. In the mean time he desired me to sit down
“ by him on the sand, assuring me that I had nothing to fear. He
“ invited me also to sup with him, and at my request ordered a pro-
“ per guard over the boat, with provisions for the sailors. We had
“ hardly reached his house when the servant arrived with the news of
“ the ship, with which he was very well pleased. When we had fi-
“ nished our repast, he made an apology for what had happened, inform-
“ ing me that MAHOMMED KHAN the governor of the province, had
“ issued out orders to all the villages along the sea coast, to detain every
“ strange boat that should come on shore, and send the commander of
“ it to him; for which reason I must go with him the next day to

“ BALFRUSH, the metropolis of this province. Early in the morning
 “ horses were brought to the door, and three servants attended us on
 “ foot to BALFRUSH. The governor had heard of my arrival, and
 “ being well acquainted with our factory in RESHD, entertained me with
 “ a very handsome dinner, and gave me a passport to procure assistance
 “ in all other parts of that coast subject to his authority. As a further
 “ proof of his good will, he ordered the calentar to furnish us with
 “ water from certain choice springs, and with all the provisions I wanted;
 “ and if I had no PERSIAN money, he desired him to take my bills
 “ upon the factors at RESHD. After these civilities he wished me a good
 “ voyage, and I took my leave.

“ Between this city and MESCHEDIZAR, which are distant from each
 “ other about 12 miles, is a pleasant country; the people are well
 “ limbed, robust, and very active, particularly in wrestling, running, and
 “ other such exercises. At MESCHEDIZAR there is a little market for
 “ fruit, such as musk and water-melons, apples, pears, and plumbs, very
 “ fine raisins, rice, brown and loaf sugar, which they make here and
 “ at BALFRUSH. The loaf sugar is bad, and when dissolved produces a
 “ greasy scum; but the raw brown sugar, though of a very dark colour,
 “ is of a firm grain and not disagreeable. The inhabitants use a liquid
 “ made from the juice of grapes^w; with which they sweeten their water
 “ and rice. They have also comfits of lemon peel and lime; like-
 “ wise ginger, citrons and almonds, chiefly candied and preserved
 “ with brown sugar. Provisions were so cheap that a good sheep
 “ cost only about four shillings; they have cheese and butter, but
 “ the first is very bad, and the last of too sweet a flavour. There is
 “ a small river that runs into the sea, by which they carry on a
 “ trade to GHILAN, chiefly consisting of raw cotton, calicoes, and
 “ earthen ware; these goods are brought to their market by the peasants
 “ on asses and cows, and in bad weather are carried the same way into
 “ GHILAN, but in summer they are conveyed by water in flat bottomed
 “ vessels. The BEACH of the sea is driven up in this place to a great

^w Called DUSHAB.

“ height,

“ height; and behind it are lakes of stagnant, brackish water, and marshy
 “ woody land. The surf which had hindered our getting off, being
 “ now abated, we launched our boat from the shore, with her loading
 “ of fresh water, which came aboard very seasonably. After our return
 “ from MESCHEDIZAR we discovered FINICANAR, another small village
 “ near the sea side; here we put ashore, and filled our casks with excel-
 “ lent water, having first produced the certificate which MAHOMMED
 “ KHAN had given us, to which the villagers paid so much regard, as to
 “ refuse the money we offered them for their assistance. This village
 “ is situated in the midst of a wood, on a little river which former-
 “ ly discharged itself into the sea, but now the mouth of it is stop-
 “ ped up; upon which occasion they tell a remarkable story. About
 “ eight years ago a great party of RUSSIAN and TURKUMAN pirates hav-
 “ ing stolen a large vessel from the entrance of the VOLGA, put into
 “ this river with a design to plunder all the villages upon it. They had
 “ with them six pieces of small cannon, and a considerable quantity of
 “ ammunition, intending to fortify themselves here, and establish a ren-
 “ dezvous. The inhabitants having suspicion of their intentions, abandon-
 “ ed FINICANAR, and alarming their neighbours came down undiscovered,
 “ and filled up the mouth of the river with trees and sand; men, wo-
 “ men and children exerting themselves in this common danger. The
 “ pirates were plundering at discretion, fearless of surprize; when the PER-
 “ SIAN peasants mustering all their strength attacked them: some of the
 “ pirates were killed, others taken, and the rest made the best of their way
 “ down the river, expecting to recover their vessel; but they soon found
 “ their mistake, and nothing remained but to surrender themselves. The
 “ RUSSIANS were pardoned upon entering into the PERSIAN service; but
 “ the TURKUMANS, being old offenders, were cut to pieces. The vessel
 “ still lies at the mouth of the river, and the dam is become a firm
 “ beach, which defends the brave cottagers from the like invasion, tho’
 “ it has ruined their river.

C H A P. XXIII.

Captain WOODROOFE's journal continued, from July 1742 to June 1743, with the several remarkable occurrences till his voyage to BALKHAN.

“ **T**HE 5th of July we departed from FINICANAR for GHILAN, but
 “ our voyage was much retarded by light westerly breezes, and a
 “ strong current. We found the soundings along the coast very gradual
 “ and regular. The wind continuing contrary we put into LANGAROOD
 “ bay. In a cove * to the westward we discovered a vessel at anchor; up-
 “ on which we ran into seven fathom water, came to an anchor, and dis-
 “ patched our letters to RESHD.

“ The 13th. A light breeze springing up at east south east, we
 “ weighed, and the next day came to an anchor in ENZELLE road. A
 “ scant of water on the bar obliged us to unload our cargo, which was
 “ carried to PERIBAZAR in PERSIAN boats, and from thence by land to
 “ RESHD. There is a river running from PERIBAZAR to RESHD, but it is
 “ so drained by the multiplicity of channels to convey water to their rice
 “ grounds, as renders it unnavigable. This is an open road, intirely exposed
 “ to the north. The winds being light and veerable favoured us very much,
 “ but a hollow northern swell, with a strong eastern current, rendered it
 “ both disagreeable and dangerous. The inlet from ENZELLE road to EN-
 “ ZELLE † for a mile and half has the appearance of a river, but afterwards
 “ it opens into a lake of about three leagues extent, where the RUSSIAN ves-
 “ sels lay; and from whence a narrow river runs about two miles further
 “ to PERIBAZAR: the course across the lake is south east by south half
 “ south. The 28th. Our cargo being all landed, we were taken into
 “ the service of the PERSIAN government to carry rice to DERBEND for
 “ the army, where the SHAH was then in person, endeavouring to re-
 “ duce the LESGEE TARTARS.

“ While we were taking in our lading from the magazine at PERI-
 “ BAZAR, I made some observations on the PERSIAN manner of ship build-

* LANGAROOD COVE.

† A small village on the west point of the land.

“ ing. The major part of their vessels are built by RUSSIAN deserters, who
 “ meet with encouragement from the PERSIANS. They are made of elm,
 “ which abounds in this province; their sails are of cotton, their cables
 “ of flax, and some, of the bark of trees. In fair weather they hoist a
 “ large square sail, two parts laced together; and when it blows a little
 “ they come to anchor close to shore, not chusing to be farther out than
 “ two fathoms water. If it blows hard they let their vessel run with
 “ her broad side ashore, and endeavour to keep her there moor'd by the
 “ stumps of trees, which are found in abundance on this coast. In order
 “ to heave them off again, they carry spars, but they are often obliged
 “ to unload them, and are frequently wrecked. To supply their want
 “ of anchors, they use crooked pieces of iron, with stones tied to them.
 “ There are some larger vessels built after the ancient manner, of 30
 “ or 40 tuns, which are called sandalls; their beams are dovetail'd through
 “ the side in tiers, and a row in every three feet; by which means these
 “ vessels are divided into partitions, which are made tight, so as to con-
 “ fine any leak, and prevent its communication with the rest of the ship.
 “ They are mostly caulked with cotton, the inside as well as the out; the
 “ seams are filled as full as possible when they are first built; and to se-
 “ cure them the more effectually, they cover them with canvass well tar-
 “ red, and lay battins over it every three or four inches, stapling them
 “ fast with a kind of crooked nail. This method keeps them dry dur-
 “ ing four or five years, after which they are generally broke up as uselefs.
 “ Their KIRJIEMS^y are in the greatest use and esteem, though they sel-
 “ dom venture with any of them farther than MESCHEDIZAR for raw cot-
 “ ton, oats, and earthen ware; or westward to BAKU, where they carry
 “ rice, and return with rock salt, saffron, and NAPTHA.

“ August the 29th. The RUSSIAN consul at RESHD appeared very jea-
 “ lous, and obliged our RUSSIAN seamen to sign papers without their

^y Small boats so called.

“ knowing the contents. This morning when we weighed for DERBEND,
“ we saw a RUSSIAN vessel stranded. We arrived there in 12 days, but
“ a great surf on the beach detained us on board till the 14th of Sep-
“ tember; we then went on shore to make a report of our cargo, and were
“ ordered by HUSSEIN ALI BEG the chief receiver of provisions, to take
“ all favourable opportunities to land it. The RUSSIAN and ARMENIAN
“ merchants were much offended at our ships being employed by the
“ PERSIANS, as it interfered with their interest; and the consul threatened
“ to complain of our conduct to the court of RUSSIA.

“ September the 17th. The surf on the beach decreasing, I went on
“ shore in search of a proper place to land the cargo. The receiver
“ HUSSEIN ALI BEG, with the RUSSIAN secretary, the interpreter, and se-
“ veral persons of distinction on horseback, were just then arrived at the
“ water side. A running footman approached, and made signs to me to
“ come to his master. I imagined he had some orders to communicate
“ with relation to our lading, but, to my infinite surprise, I no sooner
“ drew near than they began to beat me with sticks in a most unmerci-
“ ful manner, without alledging the least reason for such behaviour. Af-
“ ter they had knocked me down upon the beach, a fellow sat on my
“ head, squeezing my face into the sand, so that I was almost suffocated,
“ whilst two men continued to beat me on the back, till I was quite
“ deprived of sense and motion. They then suffered one of our men to
“ carry me off, not without two or three violent blows on the head,
“ which brought on a great effusion of blood. After this act of barba-
“ rity, it was observed that the RUSSIAN interpreter made a low bow to
“ the receiver, who being now informed that I was not a RUSSIAN sub-
“ ject, and conscious of his temerity, rode down to our boat and begged
“ pardon for the injury he had done me. I was carried on board spitting
“ blood, and remained two months incapable of discharging my duty.
“ Captain ELTON who now commanded the ship, dispatched his inter-
“ preter to the camp, to solicit his own affairs, and at the same time to
“ complain of my ill usage.

“ Septem-

“ September the 30th. Having discharged our cargo we failed for LANGAROOD road, which we reached in nine days, and began to load again with rice for DERBEND. After shipping our second cargo, and being tolerably recovered of my bruises, I went to RUDIZAR, a village about 14 miles from LANGAROOD cove, in order to victual the ship for her voyage. Here we met with very civil treatment, but whether it was because we were christians, or for some other reason, they would not admit us into their houses, so that we were obliged to sleep in the market place; however they dressed victuals for us, and in all other respects were very obliging. In the evening we heard the sound of music, the occasion of which was a wedding. The bride, the eldest of the couple, was but twelve years old, being married thus prematurely to prevent her being taken away without marriage.

“ December the 7th. After a very bad passage, in which we lost our best bower anchor, we arrived once more in DERBEND road. A great surf on the beach detained us three nights on shore, where we found every thing very naked and uncomfortable. The houses were without beds or furniture, and fuel was so scarce as to be sold for the value of three pence the pound. Here we found captain ELTON's interpreter returned from the camp of NADIR SHAH, who was about ten leagues to the north of this place. He had represented my ill treatment to ALI KOULI KHAN the king's nephew, who together with MUSTAPHA KHAN, the next in precedence, made a report of the affair to the SHAH. HUSSEIN ALI BEG was immediately sent for from DERBEND, and deprived not only of his post, but likewise of all his effects, even to his cloaths; and he received moreover at the picquet 300 blows on his feet and back: in this deep disgrace he was ordered to return to DERBEND. Here he came to me, and throwing himself on his knees, begged I would cease from complaining, and as he had nothing left but his life, that I would not pursue him to destruction. He confessed that he was fatally misled by the RUSSIAN secretary, who under pretence of my being a subject of RUSSIA, and of having committed an offence, had desired him to treat me in that cruel
“ man-

“ manner. This excuse induced ALI KOULI KHAN to save his life, and
“ in a great measure turned the edge of my resentment against those ex-
“ ceedable wretches who had been the cause of his committing such an
“ act of inhumanity.

“ The successor of HUSSEIN ALI BEG was AGA NABIE, a courteous
“ person, who, either through respect or fear, shewed himself very in-
“ dustrious in his new employment, and ready to give us all the assist-
“ ance in his power. Before we could land our cargo, a hard gale of
“ wind came on at north north east, which soon broke our sheet anchor
“ and drove us near the shore: in this extremity we were afraid to trust
“ our all to the only anchor we had left, but cutting the sheet cable at
“ the windless, with great difficulty we wore the ship with the foresail and
“ forestayfail, and cleared the breakers. We then stretched off to sea,
“ with a double reef'd mainfail, which soon split; but having a pretty good
“ offing we furled the foresail, and lay to under a mainstayfail. In two
“ days the gale abated, and the wind coming round to the southward,
“ we returned to an anchor in the road. In our absence two RUSSIAN
“ vessels were stranded. Not liking so precarious a situation, we imme-
“ diately loaded our long-boat with rice; but unfortunately the water be-
“ ing lower than usual, the boat deep laden, and the sea running high,
“ she struck against a rock that lay under water, and started one of her
“ bottom planks. With great difficulty by the help of near 100 PER-
“ SIANS and RUSSIANS we got out the rice, and hauled her up on shore.
“ In the interim the interpreter returned from the camp, and informed
“ us that captain ELTON had received singular honours from NADIR SHAH.
“ About midnight we were attacked by a gang of LESGEE robbers; but
“ by the help of our arms, we repulsed them without any loss. The next
“ night these villains made a second attack upon our tents, in hopes of
“ the booty they had before missed. One of our RUSSIAN sailors up-
“ on watch called to them in the TURKISH language, and receiving
“ no answer, fired at them; the rest of our people flying to their arms,
“ a skirmish ensued, but no loss was sustained on our side. These were
“ roving TARTARS, who had left their horses on the outside of the north
“ wall,

“ wall, and crept through a hole under the bastions. The next day
 “ we traced them by their blood along the snow to a considerable dis-
 “ tance. To prevent any future attack, we acquainted the governor of
 “ what had befallen us, who promised to order a patrol of fifty horse to
 “ guard the walls during our continuance in that place.

“ January the 15th 1743. Captain ELTON returned from the camp
 “ metamorphosed into a compleat PERSIAN, being dressed in a coat of ho-
 “ nour, a fash, and a cap, which were presented him by the SHAH. In his
 “ turbant he wore a small roll of paper containing the decree, in which
 the honours granted him were expressed; it being the PERSIAN custom
 ‘ to wear the marks of the prince’s favour in the most conspicuous man-
 ner. Mr. ELTON also received a present of five hundred crowns, and
 “ his interpreter one hundred. As a farther proof of this monarch’s
 “ good will towards us, a severe piece of justice was executed on HUSSEIN
 “ ALI BEG: he was brought to the water-side, where his nostrils were slit,
 “ and his ears cut off; in this condition he was ordered to watch under
 “ the gallows near the shore, as long as we should continue there.

“ The RUSSIAN secretary was likewise mortified, by being obliged to
 “ ask pardon for his cruelty. Accordingly he dispatched his servant with a
 “ present of fruit and wine for captain ELTON; and at the same time de-
 “ fired to be permitted to come on board to beg forgiveness for the injuries
 “ he had done us: But we saved him the trouble by weighing anchor
 “ before the messenger could return.

“ February the 1st. We weighed for BAKU, and a hard gale coming
 “ on, we lost our yawl from the stern. The 6th. We haul’d round ZE-
 “ LOI island for BAKU bay: but the nights being dark, and the wind
 “ blowing directly off shore, we were obliged to come to an anchor in 9
 “ fathom water, within two miles of the shore, and yet could not discern
 “ the land, the weather being hazy. Hard gales of north easterly winds
 “ drove us into 45 fathoms water, where a great sea obliged us to cut a-
 “ way the cable at the windless before we could wear the ship: then we
 “ bore away for LANGAROOD, and happily weathered out the storm.

“ The

“The 12th. We anchored in LANGAROOD road, where we lay three
 “days without the bår in no small danger; when a favourable wind and
 “smooth water gave us an opportunity of running into the cove. Here we
 “were to refit against the spring, in order to carry silk from RESHD to
 “ASTRACHAN. In the mean while I surveyed LANGAROOD cove and
 “river, and the coast to the northward as far as the river SEFIET ROOD,
 “along the bottom of the bay.

“March the 25th, We left this place, but did not reach YFRKIE road till
 “the 18th of April; our passage having been obstructed by a great drift
 “of ice on the RUSSIAN coast. Here we performed 14 days quarantain, and
 “then sailed up to ASTRACHAN, where we saluted the governor with
 “seven guns. Whilst I had been refitting at LANGAROOD, captain EL-
 “TON went to MAZANDERAN accompanied by a PERSIAN officer. At
 “their return they took my ship carpenter and detained him on shore; a
 “circumstance which excited the jealousy of the RUSSIANS. I delivered
 “a present to the governor consisting of oranges and lemons, with several
 “sorts of dried fruit, and 6 KARBOYS⁷ of ISFAHAN wine; all which
 “were immediately dispatched to court. I received orders to careen my
 “ship, and forthwith to return to GHILAN with the ENGLISH goods
 “which were arrived here. The 31st of May we weighed anchor and
 “on the 17th of June arrived, in ENZELLE road, where we unloaded our
 “cargo. Here I found captain ELTON, who acquainted me that the
 “SHAH had ordered a survey of the south east parts of the CASPIAN
 “sea.”

The survey here alluded to by captain WOODROOFE was the discovery
 of BALKHAN, of which I have already acquainted my reader. I shall now
 proceed to give some account concerning the CASPIAN sea in general, part-
 ly from my own observation, and partly from the relation of others who
 had the same opportunity as my self, and were more accurate judges in
 regard to this matter.

⁷ A PERSIAN measure.

C H A P. XXIV.

An account of the rising and falling of the CASPIAN sea.

WHEN the RUSSIANS first navigated the CASPIAN, which is supposed to have been about the year 1556, they found only 5 feet water for near 9 leagues to the south and south east of CHETIRIE BOGORIE. PETER the GREAT in his expedition against PERSIA in 1722, in the same distance found only 6 feet water, so that he was obliged to send his fleet of small vessels to some distance to take in their stores. Near CHETIRIE BOGORIE there is now 12 foot water; here it begins to be salt, as in the body of the sea, and not fresh as some have imagined. I never could discover that this sea abounds in fish; though captain WOODROOFE mentions that he had seen a few sturgeons off the island TOLEENA. As to what is recorded in ancient story concerning the monstrous fish of the CASPIAN, I imagine it to be fabulous. The VOLGA and the YAIK indeed are well known to be immensely rich in fish; and it is said that there is great plenty of herrings, salmon, and sturgeon in KISLAR river and the KURA.

At some distance from the shore we in vain endeavoured to find a bottom with a line of 450 fathoms. The water has risen within 30 years very considerably, and made great inroads on the RUSSIAN side for about 20 wersts between the mouth of the VOLGA and ASTRACHAN, both on the east and west side of the great channel of this river. This has rendered the adjacent country extremely marshy. Nor has this sea been more indulgent to the PERSIANS, for it is confidently said that in the beginning of this century the land for about 8 ENGLISH miles on the side of LANGAROOD river was dry, and well inhabited. This I the more readily believe, as the tops of some houses are yet seen where the water is several feet deep. The same thing is reported of ASTRABAD, where the inhabitants affirm that within these 50 years the bay was fordable by asses, and now there is two fathom water. Captain WOODROOFE heard the same also at BALCHAN, so

that it is no ways to be doubted that the great rivers VOLGA, YAEICK, IAMEA, SAMBUR, KURA, SEFIET ROOD, and others of less note have emptied immense quantities of water, which the sun has not exhaled : and this alarms the inhabitants round the coast.

The RUSSIANS affirm that in the lake KARABOOGASKOY to the northward of BALKHAN, there is a subterraneous passage, which has sucked in the boats that attempted the discovery ; but this account is flatly denied by the OGURTJOY islanders, who served captain WOODROOFE as pilots, and assured him that the deepest part is but 8 fathoms. The lake is almost round, and near 8 leagues over, and as it abounds with excellent fish, they constantly keep two boats employed, so that they may well be supposed to know every part of it.

There is a tradition that the waters of the CASPIAN rise for 30 years, and for the succeeding 30 fall off again ; but neither can this account be reconciled. It seems to me that the same law of nature, which every where else produces a continual change of this part of matter, by exhaling it in vapours, which form rain, hail, and snow, not only to refresh the earth, but to supply the springs of rivers, must dispose of these waters here in the same manner. It seems likewise that as this mediterranean lake is the grand reservoir of the vast rivers, mountains, and tracks of land by which it is surrounded, it is also the reservoir from which these tracts are watered ; and from whence the rivers that fall into it are supplied. Doctor HALLEY, I am told, has proved by very nice experiments, and calculations, that the vapour arising from the sea is more than sufficient to supply all the rivers that flow into it. And it is not, I think, improbable, that the reason why the waters of the CASPIAN are risen higher now than in the time of PETER the GREAT, is, that there have been more moderate summers since his time than before ; by which means a less quantity of water has been exhaled.

There are a great number of rivers and rivulets which run into this sea, that are not laid down in the map (chap. XX.) and also many towns
and

and villages, particularly on the western coast, which are likewise not mentioned, being thought immaterial; and the more so as the land-chart of the coast of the CASPIAN, which is introduced in the beginning of the second volume contains a more exact account of them, according to the present state of the country, than perhaps any map extant, as I shall have occasion to mention more fully hereafter.

P A R T II.

The AUTHOR's VOYAGE from ASTRACHAN
to PERSIA;

WITH

The SEVERAL ADVENTURES that befel him during
his stay in that COUNTRY.

C H A P. XXV.

The author's voyage from ASTRACHAN to PERSIA. His arrival at LANGAROOD. Remarks on building ships on the CASPIAN. He continues his voyage to ASTRABAD bay, with an intent to proceed to MESCHED; and writes to Mr. ELTON to dissuade him from his military enterprizes.

IT is now time to resume my own narration, which captain WOODROOFE's journal, and the account of the CASPIAN, have so long interrupted. The 10th of November 1743. The 100 bales of raw silk were now sent up the VOLGA from YERKIE to ASTRACHAN and I impatiently expected the arrival of my EUROPEAN caravan, which accordingly was brought aboard on the 12th. The carriers had been so insolent, under the direction of a man not much higher in rank than themselves, that he was obliged to procure some COSSACKS to attend him to ZARITZEN. The measures I had happily pursued to bring this caravan in time for the season, proved effectual, whilst the other which I mentioned to have set out a week earlier, was frozen up in the VOLGA, and not brought to market till the next spring.

The governor of ASTRACHAN being alarmed at ELTON's proceedings, and finding that this new trade began to grow offensive to his court, thought proper to put captain WOODROOFE's ship under the same restrictions as those of the RUSSIAN merchants. In order to prevent jealousy, and
com-

comply with the RUSSIAN regulations we had already given an account in ASTRACHAN of all the ship's stores; and there only we thought ourselves accountable: but it was now demanded of me to give also an account of those stores to the consul in GHILAN, and likewise a written obligation, that no BRITISH seaman should go into the SHAH's service, or give any instructions to his subjects. By this means we should be liable to be arrested at the pleasure of a RUSSIAN consul, though out of the RUSSIAN dominions. But as things were thus circumstanced, and as an order had been sent down to YERKIE not to suffer the ship to depart without this obligation from me; I resolved to sign it: which I did however in the following terms. "With a protest that I will not be accountable either in my person or estate, any longer than I shall voluntarily remain in PERSIA, or at ASTRACHAN; and no further than is consistent with the conditions of the treaty of commerce subsisting between the crowns of GREAT BRITAIN and RUSSIA; because I conceive from the contents of the said treaty, that I am not subject or accountable to any RUSSIAN consul or minister, in any place out of the dominions of her imperial majesty."

I had no conception how we could carry on a trade under such conditions. It was indeed our duty as merchants, to support a good understanding with the RUSSIANS in PERSIA, as far as consistent with the freedom essential to the support of our own interest; but beyond this was in effect to give up our commerce. The RUSSIANS about ten years before had evacuated GHILAN, and as they were the only navigators of the CASPIAN, their merchants were jealous of our enjoying any privileges independent of the RUSSIAN jurisdiction: besides, they had acquired great influence in GHILAN during the confused state of affairs under NADIR's usurpation; so that upon the whole it appeared very plain to me, that the BRITISH CASPIAN trade in general was entirely against the inclinations of the RUSSIANS.

Matters being thus accommodated with the governor of ASTRACHAN, I only waited for a fair wind, which I was the more anxious about, fearing that some fresh difficulty might arise from the alarms which ELTON's under-

undertaking had given in RUSSIA. For though I covered over the wound for the present, yet it was not possible for me to heal it; especially as it broke out afresh upon every little incident.

The 19th of November. After so many days expectation I concluded that the wind and water would favour us at last; but I had not entertained the least suspicion of being arrested by the winter. We had incessant cold winds for several days from the north west, to such a degree that we were at length frozen up. This was a severe stroke which I was not prepared for, but there was no remedy: I turned my thoughts therefore how to act, supposing my voyage had been prevented; for the master of the ship said it was very uncertain whether we should be able to get away that year; but the next day, to my great joy, the ice broke up by the rising of the water, which at the same time brought a depth of 9 feet on the bar.

The 22d. We got out to sea with a fair wind; The 29th we were becalmed about ten leagues from the south west bottom. The stupendous mountains which appeared from thence struck me with great surprize; for although they were at a great distance, yet their magnitude far exceeded any thing I had ever seen in EUROPE.

The 3d of December I arrived in LANGAROOD bay. The master of the ship informed me that Mr. ELTON was removed from RESHD to LANGAROOD, to attend the maritime affairs in which he had engaged himself. I sent to acquaint him of my arrival; upon which he came on board, and conducting me ashore, gave me as polite a reception as the jealousy, which it was natural for him to entertain of me, would permit. I delivered to him a pair of pistols of exquisite workmanship, mounted with gold, and some other curious things which he had wrote for at the desire of ALI KOULI KHAN the SHAH's nephew: he was solicitous of cultivating a good correspondence with this person, apprehending that he would be one day king, which really happened four years afterwards.

Mr. ELTON's habitation at LANGAROOD was about 8 ENGLISH miles from the shore, in the midst of a wood surrounded with marshes,
where

where the roads were hardly practicable. It stood near the foot of a lofty mountain open only to the sea; this intercepted the passage of the air, and rendered the place extremely unwholesome. As GHILAN² is generally esteemed the sink of PERSIA, so LANGAROOD is considered as the sink of GHILAN. But as this was the rainy season of the year, which rendered all parts equally moist, we were not sensible of any particular inconvenience. I spent seven days with this gentleman, during which interval we discoursed largely in relation to the CASPIAN trade. We had many pleasant designs for the improvement of it; but in general the prospect was gloomy.

NADIR SHAH had for some time formed a design of building ships on the CASPIAN; to this he was induced not only by the unsettled state of his country, but also by a particular inclination of conquering the LESGEE TARTARS, those brave mountaineers who had hitherto withstood the numerous forces of PERSIA. He saw plainly that it would be impossible to support an army in that quarter without a foreign supply of provisions, which must necessarily be brought to him by sea; and he could not be ignorant of the inconsistency of demanding ships of the RUSSIANS, whose interest it was to assist rather than oppress the LESGEEs, their mountains being so secure a barrier to RUSSIA. The TURKUMAN TARTARS on the eastern coast had by frequent incursions excited the SHAH's resentment; but their sandy and inhospitable country could be attempted only by water. The ambition of sharing the trade and sovereignty of the CASPIAN might also be a concurring inducement. This however is certain, that by his ambassadors whom he had sent a few years before into RUSSIA, he demanded ship-carpenters of that court. The answer was, that the empress had no other carpenters than foreigners, who had contracted to serve the government in RUSSIA, so that she had no authority to send them to any other country.

Indeed the PERSIANS now imagined, that Mr. ELTON did not really intend to build ships, but only to amuse the SHAH for the accomplishment

² This character alludes to the low marshy parts of it.

of some particular design. But ELTON was very much in earnest, and proved himself capable of surmounting the greatest difficulties. It is easy to conceive that the PERSIANS already groaning under oppressions, would be extremely reluctant in submitting to an additional burthen of taxes in regard to maritime affairs, of which they were intirely ignorant. The peasants were not only obliged to labour, but to furnish materials. Many were compelled to leave the cultivation of their rice and silk, which was familiar to them, in order to undertake this laborious and ungrateful employment. This induced numbers to run away almost as soon as they were brought to the new ship-yard; to which they were the more tempted, as the indiscretion of several of the PERSIAN officers was often the occasion of their being left without provisions. The punishment ordinarily inflicted on these poor wretches, was to be nailed by the ear to the stern-post of a ship, and after they had stood some hours, a motion being made at them with a battle-ax, they drew back their heads, and tore open the wound.

Mr. ELTON had found good timber in GHILAN and the adjacent provinces; but the badness of the roads made it hardly practicable to bring it to the spot. In MAZANDERAN there is iron ore; but they had no anchor-smiths, so that Mr. ELTON was obliged to fish for the anchors which the RUSSIANS during a course of years had lost on the coast. Sail-cloth he made of cotton, and cordage of flax; but his greatest want was that of carpenters. He had indeed collected a few INDIANS, with some RUSSIAN renegadoes, and had one ENGLISH ship-carpenter, whom he had inveigled to leave captain WOODROOFE's ship. Thus he contended with numerous and almost insuperable difficulties; but he had a spirit equal to the most arduous enterprize.

I found him however labouring under some anxious thoughts, which, I concluded, arose from his circumstances at that time. I expressed my fears of the consequences of his engagement; and though I did not then enter into them so deeply as afterwards; yet I pointed out many capital inconveniences which I apprehended.

It is no wonder that a man of an enterprising genius should expect to derive honour and reputation from the favour of a prince: and it is a well known property of ambition to despise difficulties in pursuit of a favourite object. It was easy to perceive the growing joy in Mr. ELTON's breast; but whatever he might imagine, the more intelligent PERSIANS looked on themselves as happy, in proportion to their obscurity and distance from the sovereign; and, on the other hand, they rated their misery according as necessity obliged them to seek their bread, and the precarious tenure of life, under a tyrant and usurper.

The accounts of travellers are full of the ingratitude and disregard, which the PERSIAN kings have always shewn to EUROPEAN christians, whom they consider as idolaters and unclean. To depend on the smiles even of a lawful king in PERSIA, is a situation by no means desirable; but under so oppressive an usurper as NADIR, must have proved extremely precarious. I wished however, for Mr. ELTON's sake, that all might go well; and what we wish we are sometimes apt to believe, even against general experience. I was the more easily deceived into a persuasion that the RUSSIAN jealousy might subside; because Mr. ELTON represented his conduct as subservient to the promotion of the trade.

The reader must have already observed, that one great inducement to open the CASPIAN trade, was the hopes of establishing a new branch from ASTRABAD to MESCHED, from whence Mr. ELTON conceived it practicable, to extend it to the northern cities of the MOGUL's empire. It now fell to my lot to attempt the execution of this design. I had brought with me the value of 5000 l. in woolen goods, for which I found there was no market in GHILAN, so that my presence there would be of little or no use. My curiosity therefore, which indeed was one design of my journey, induced me to go farther. Though Mr. ELTON had already procured the SHAH's express decree, ordering that safe conduct should be given us where-ever we might happen to travel within his dominions; still I was so far alarmed by the vicinity of the TURKUMAN TARTARS to ASTRABAD, that I did not chuse to venture till I had made the strictest inquiry;

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inquiry ; the result of which was this, that the country was full of soldiers, and I might have what guard I pleased in case of danger.

The tempestuous weather which had detained me for some days now abating ; the 10th of December I took my leave of Mr. ELTON, and went down the creek. The ship was at anchor out of sight of land, and the wind blew very fresh ; we had but a crazy boat rowed by PERSIANS, who are generally as unskilful as timorous, so that it was with reluctance I ventured to sea ; but we soon got sight of the ship, and happily reached her.

Immediately we weighed, and directed our course to ASTRABAD. As we steered eastward the sky brightened, and the air became gentle and warm, not unlike the weather there is sometimes about the same latitude in EUROPE, such as the PORTUGUESE call St. MARTIN's summer. We were four days in sight of the great mountain DEMOAN, which is said to be 30 leagues within land. At the distance of 4 or 5 leagues from the shore, we could distinguish it very plain rising in form of a pyramid. The 18th of December we arrived in ASTRABAD bay^a, into which the river KORGAN runs, after washing the banks of the desert of TURKUMANIA. Here, as in other parts of the CASPIAN, the sea has made great inroads, so that in many places the trunks and whole bodies of trees lay on the shore, and make it as difficult of access, as its appearance is wild and inhospitable. I took the first opportunity of writing to Mr. ELTON, not only to inform him of my safe arrival, but to confirm by letter the sentiments I had delivered in our last discourse.

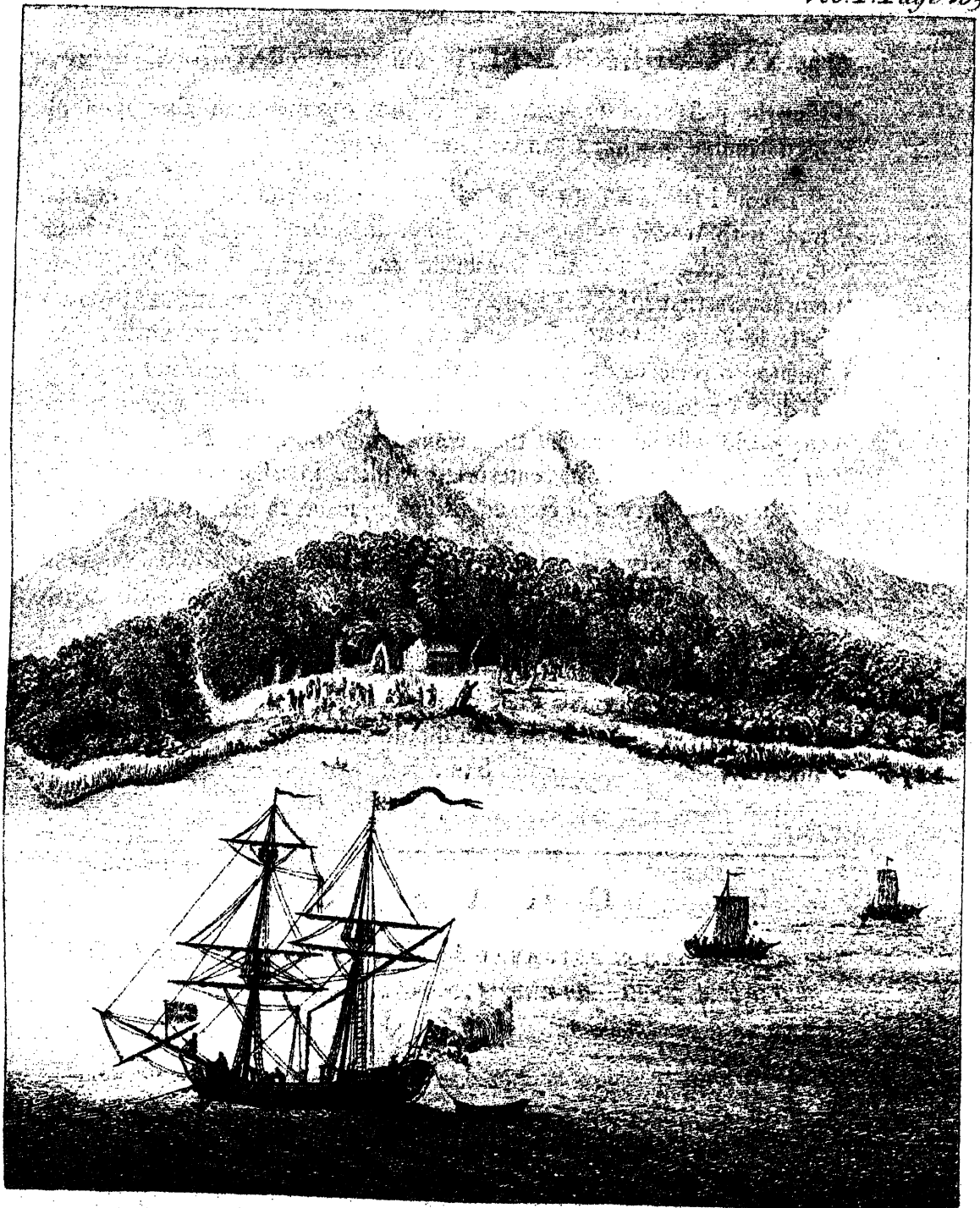
SIR,

ASTRABAD-BAY, December 1743.

“ I Have the pleasure to acquaint you of my having proceeded thus far,
 “ I in consequence of the assurance you have given me that I should find
 “ all necessary assistance in the execution of our design. I have inquired
 “ of the people what kind of merchandize have ever been sent by this
 “ rout to MESCHED? They answer, none ; their caravans from hence
 “ being composed only of devotees, who go to worship in that city. Whe-

^a Often called KONDAGOSAR bay.





Astrabad bay in the S.E. Corner of the Caspian

“ther the passage of such caravans is any argument for the safety of
“merchandize, is what I cannot determine.

“I would fain say something to you on the painful subject of our
“trade with regard to RUSSIA; but you understand it so well, and have
“so just a concern for the interest of your country, as well as of your
“employers, that I think it unnecessary to intrude any repetition of what I
“have so earnestly recommended. It is an object of no small conse-
“quence to preserve the favour of the SHAH; but we must not buy it at
“so dear a rate as the resentment of the RUSSIANS. For all the oratory in
“the world will not prevent their considering you as the chief instrument
“of the SHAH's maritime enterprize, which, in whatever light it may
“appear to us, they will certainly deem injurious to their interest.

“You know very well what written obligations were required of me in
“ASTRACHAN, and in what manner I was obliged to comply with them;
“otherwise you had not seen this ship again on the PERSIAN coast: and
“now I must show all possible regard to those engagements. It is my
“heartly desire to reconcile these difficulties, and make all parties easy; but
“to this purpose it is necessary you should act with me in concert. I am
“sincerely,

SIR,

Your, &c.”

C H A P. XXVI.

*The author arrives at ASTRABAD bay. The inhabitants alarmed, taking his
ship to be a pirate. An account of ASTRABAD bay. He reaches ASTRA-
BAD with his caravan.*

OUR ship was now anchored in three fathom water, at the distance
of 1 mile from the shore; when I dispatched an ARMENIAN ser-
vant to know if I might land my goods with safety: he soon returned,
but without obtaining any information. We saw many fires in different
places near the shore, and upon the mountains; these were made with an
intent to alarm the inhabitants for fear of a surprize, as they took us for

pirates. The people on this coast having been often plundered by the OGURTJOY and RUSSIAN pirates, and seeing so large a vessel at anchor in their road, were under great apprehensions. The 20th, The weather continuing very delightful, I went ashore. The stumps of trees and shallows made it difficult for a long boat to land nearer than 20 yards. The peasants being at length satisfied that we were friends, and come with merchandize, received us on the shore, and conducted us by many crooked paths through a thick wood to a small village. The people are swarthy, but their features regular, and in general they are inclined to a delicacy in their make. I sent my ARMENIAN interpreter with my compliments to MAHOMMED ZAMON BEG, the governor of ASTRABAD, with orders also to provide necessaries for the fresh package of my cloth, for I intended to make proper bales for camel and horse carriage. After this I returned on board.

The 21st, The sun was risen above an hour before it was visible to us on board the ship; such was the stupendous height of the mountains. In the evening the ARMENIAN returned from the city, which is about 8 hours distance: The governor assured us of his protection; but charged me in a particular manner not to repose any confidence in the peasants in the neighbourhood of the coast. The dews here fall heavy; and the heat of the sun under the mountains is productive of colds and aguish pains. The 24th, I was visited by NASEER AGA, a PERSIAN officer, who had been recommended to me as a person of great probity and interest in that country: he made us an offer of his house at ASTRABAD, which I accepted, and assured him of the sense I had of my own happiness in the civility and kindness of so generous a friend. NASEER AGA was accompanied by MYRZA MAHOMMED, a grave old man, who having made a pilgrimage to MECCA, and spent a great part of his fortune in honour of MAHOMMED, was dignified with the title of *HAHDGEE*^a; he had also a reputation for wisdom, and was often appealed to in controversies. He had been rich; but the common lot of the PERSIANS under the tyranny of NADIR, deprived him of his wealth. His office now was to collect taxes in the jurisdiction of the province.

^a This title is given to all those who have made this pilgrimage.

The 25th, Being christmas-day, I excused the seamen from working at the package of cloth, and prevailed on them to hear prayers and a sermon. ENGLISH seamen, of all mankind, seem the most indifferent with regard to religious duties; but their indifference is not more the effect of want of reflection, than the irreligious carelessness of their leaders. It is not to be imagined they would fight less, if they prayed more; at least we find the praying warriors in CROMWELL's days fought as if they were sure of becoming saints in heaven. Certain it is our seamen do not entertain the same impressions of religion as the common run of labouring people.

The next day our ship was in no small danger of being burnt. About eighty pounds of raw cotton, intended for the secure package of the bales, was laid in the storeage. By the carelessness of one of the seamen it took fire, and was with difficulty extinguished. I was asleep in the cabin, and almost suffocated with the smoke; our danger was the greater, as the fire was about the powder-chest: however it pleased providence that no harm was done, except burning the hands and faces of some of the sailors, which the application of burnt oil soon removed. At night the woods on the mountains took fire, and the wind feeding the flame, made a frightful blaze, which extended several miles. The blast came off the shore, inasmuch that our butter ran like oil. There had been a bright sun, and no rain, for twenty days, so that it was with difficulty the peasants diverted the current of the flame, and saved their villages. This accident was occasioned by a custom of burning the rushes on the coast, with a view to destroy the insects that breed in them, and to make a free passage for the air.

The different currents which meet in the road, and the eddies of wind obliged us often to new lay our anchors; in other respects this harbour is very safe. The 28th, Having finished the package of 116 bales, we prepared to go on shore. My ARMENIAN interpreter now began to express his fears of the danger we should be exposed to in our intended journey to MESCHED. He had already, in some former rebellions, been robbed in that city of goods to a considerable value, and partly from age, and partly from constitution, was of a timorous disposition. What he said made there-

therefore but little impressiion upon me, especially as he had been silent till now, and did not point out any particular danger. The 29th, **HAHDGEE MYRZA MAHOMMED**, who had already offered his services, received orders from the governor of the province to supply us with a guard, and to entertain me in his house. Accordingly we landed the bales, and without waiting the uncertain arrival of the governor, who had intimated a design of visiting the ship, I resolved to visit him first.

The 2d of January 1744, Hazy weather, and other incidents, prevented the prosecution of our journey till this day. We pitched our tent on the shore, and collected all the people who were to convey the caravan. The **HAHDGEE** sent me an invitation to come to his house, and his son who came with the message, assured me in a complimentary strain, that his father would kill him, if he returned without me. However, I excused myself till the next day, resolving to remain in my tent. One of the company sung an extempore song, consisting mostly of welcomes, and fulsome commendations, intended as a greater mark of civility to us as strangers and **EUROPEANS**. When this was done, they eat their **PLEO**, which they finished in a much shorter time than a table can be laid for a polite entertainment in **EUROPE**. As they had broken timber in great abundance, they made large fires, round which they danced, and seemed to be in high joy. The evening being advanced, they performed their exercises of devotion. The 3d the **SHACKALLS**^b in the woods bark'd and howl'd so much during the night, that it is very difficult for persons unused to such music to receive the refreshment of sleep. In the morning we broke up our little camp, the **HAHDGEE**'s brother, and his two sons, attended us with several horses, of which I took only one for myself, and another for my interpreter. The number of carriers exceeding that of the loads, I could not restrain them from seizing them, in as hostile a manner as **HUNGARIAN HUS-SARS** would have pillaged the baggage of a **MARSHAL OF FRANCE**: and indeed I was for some time at a loss, if they did not mean something of that nature in good earnest. From the shore to the high road there are many narrow paths, with broken and decayed bridges, and se-

^b Commonly called **JACKALLS**, which resemble foxes. It is said the barking of these animals once alarmed the whole **RUSSIAN** army in **GILAN**.

veral ditches made by the flowing of the water from the mountains. In about eight hours we arrived safe at the city, the carriers making but one stop on the way to perform their devotions. The first object which struck my eyes upon entering the gates, was a large spot of ground appropriated to the burial of the dead.

C H A P. XXVII.

The behaviour of the governor to the author at ASTRABAD. Description of the PERSIAN manner of smoking. The substance of several conversations with persons of rank in that city.

THE 4th of January, HAHDGEE MYRZA MAHOMMED, and several others, came to visit me, and advised me to sell part of my caravan in that city. This was not practicable in any quantity, nor consistent with my design of going to MESCHED. The 5th, As I had not yet provided an equipage necessary to make a proper appearance before the governor, NASEER AGA, in whose house I was lodged, lent me a horse handsomely caparisoned, and insisted on my taking his servants as well as my own, to attend me. The present I had prepared for the governor, consisting of several cuts of fine cloth, and loaves of sugar, was laid on a large tea-board, and carried in before me. He was attended by several persons of the best distinction in the city, particularly by MAHOMMED HASSAN BEG son of the late FATEY ALI KHAN, MAHOMMED KHAN BEG, and SADOQ AGA; the two last were the sons of KHANS in favour with the SHAH. They all rose at my coming in, and desired me to take my place; but observing I could not accommodate myself to their manner, the governor ordered a chair, and bid me welcome to PERSIA; adding this hyperbolical compliment, that the city of ASTRABAD was now mine to do what I pleased with it. I returned my thanks, and assured him of the great satisfaction I enjoyed in being received into the protection of a person of his character and authority: that I apprehended this was the first attempt the ENGLISH merchants had ever made to convey merchandize into the interior parts of PERSIA by this rout; and I was therefore the more concerned to provide with all possible attention

tion for a quick and secure passage at an easy expence: that he knew very well the SHAH had been pleased to grant the ENGLISH merchants the most favourable decrees in relation to their trade in all parts of his dominions, and it depended on him to see his majesty's pleasure executed on this occasion. I then demanded of him if the passage to MESCHED was safe? He answered in the affirmative, and that I might be assured nothing in his power should be neglected to render it so; and that he would send four choice soldiers with me, who should be bound for the safe delivery of our caravan at MESCHED. I thanked him, and begging to be honoured with his commands, took my leave.

Common gratitude now called on me to pay my respects to NASEER AGA, of whose humanity and politeness I had received such signal proof. This old man had been a companion of NADIR, when he was the chief of a party of robbers in the neighbouring mountains. He now seemed too good a man for NADIR's purpose, and the mediocrity of his fortune and ambition had secured him from most of those calamities which were common even to favourites. His hoary beard gave a venerable air to his person, and a manly cheerfulness, joined to an amiable assurance, graced his words. There is a reverence due to age, which by long experience frequently compensates for the loss of juvenile endowments; whilst health, good nature, and strength of understanding, produce many of the social enjoyments of life. The old man received me with great marks of kindness, and sent for those master-carriers, who might probably engage to convey my caravan to MESCHED. Here I first received a proof of that cunning and equivocating disposition, which distinguishes the modern PERSIANS, and was a prologue to that tragic scene, wherein I had soon after so great a share. It was impossible to fix them to any thing; and finding they trifled, I took my leave for that time.

The 7th, I was visited by several of the principal men of that place, who came out of curiosity, or perhaps with a dark design. They made their compliment by putting their hand on their breast, and bowing their head. Those who are more familiar, press the palm of your hand between the palms of both theirs, and then raise them to their forehead, to express

express the high and cordial respect they have for your person. Most of my visitors behaved with an air of importance, and spoke very little : after sitting and smoking the caallean for a few minutes, they took their leave.

The PERSIANS are extremely fond of tobacco ; some of them draw the smoke in so prodigious a quantity, that it comes out of their noses. The caallean used in smoking is a glass vessel resembling a decanter, and filled about three parts with water. Their tobacco is yellow, and very mild, compared with that of AMERICA ; being prepared with water and made into a ball, it is put into a silver utensil not unlike a tea-cup, to which there is a tube affixed that reaches almost to the bottom of the vessel. There is another tube fixed to the neck of the vessel above the water ; to this is fastened a leathern pipe, through which they draw the smoke ; and as it passes through the water, it is cool and pleasant. The PERSIANS for many ages have been immoderately fond of the caallean. SHAH ABAS the GREAT made a law to punish this indulgence with death ; but many chose to forsake their habitations, and to hide themselves in the mountains, rather than be deprived of this infatuating enjoyment. Thus this prince could not put a stop to a custom, which he considered not only as unnatural and irreligious, but also as attended with idleness and unnecessary expence.

I entertained some of my guests according to their own manner with sweet meats, of which they took a little, and gave the remainder to their servants ; these are often so numerous that a treat of this kind will cost 10 or 12 crowns. This custom, absurd and expensive as it appeared to me, had something of the air of hospitality in the person entertaining. I could not but consider it as much less inconsistent than that which prevails in some parts of EUROPE, where almost every man's servant is bribed by his master's guest, for doing his duty ; where every guest is a slave to the servant, by submitting to a compulsive tax, which even the sovereign has no authority to impose ; where every one complains of the abuse, and, as a proof of the slavery, is obedient to it, except a few, who having been free in countries of slavery, will not be slaves in a free country.

Is it not absurd to the highest degree that the greatest lord of the land, shall meanly look on, and see his servants, rapacious by his authority, wring from the hard hands even of peasants, their slender support? Is it not absurd that gentlemen of small fortunes should be guilty of the folly of giving away their money as if they were rich; or be obliged to confess to menial servants that they are not rich; or exclude themselves from the company of their opulent friends, whose houses, even where there has been an appearance of a generous invitation, are oftentimes nothing more than disagreeable and expensive inns? Is it not absurd, in fine, that a strange corruption of manners should induce almost every master to contract with his servant, that the greatest part of his wages shall be paid him by his neighbours; though his own expences are by this means not only increased, but also rendered impertinent and vexatious; whilst servants, on the other hand, become extravagant, in consequence of these preposterous revenues, and their morals spoiled by the folly of their masters?

To return to my story. Having agreed at length upon a price for 17 camels and 62 horses at $7\frac{1}{4}$ crowns per bale, I advanced to the carriers a small part of the money, as earnest. But I soon found that it is a frequent practice for the PERSIANS to recede from their agreements; and when any decision can be obtained in such cases, the verdict is usually given in favour of those who appear to have the worse side, or have engaged to execute more than is convenient for them to perform: so that I could have but very little dependance on this contract.

My good friends NASEER AGA and the HAHDGEE made me a visit, and brought several other persons with them. Their business was to enquire if I believed JESUS CHRIST to be the son of God; intimating this to be the persuasion of CHRISTIANS, and without waiting long for an answer, they pronounced me an idolater. My interpreter, who was himself a CHRISTIAN, was a little startled, and asked me what answer he should make. I told him, that I was not come there to enter into religious controversies with MAHOMMEDANS; who without doubt would remain in their own faith, as I hoped to do in mine: however if he pleased he might gratify their curiosity, and tell them that I believed JESUS

SUS CHRIST to be the son of God; leaving him to give what further account of my religion, he might think proper upon the principles mentioned in the next chapter, being the result of frequent discourses and reflections to which this enquiry gave occasion.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Idolatry being imputed to the author, he attempts to defend christianity. His notions of religion.

TO form an adequate notion of religion we must begin with ADAM. God, amidst the boundless glories of his creation, made man, compounded of an animal body and a rational soul. Whether we trace him to his original, or consider him in his present circumstances, he must have been taught what is necessary to him, in regard to the great ends of providence in his constitution. Where his knowledge ceases is not obvious; but what the proper objects of his powers are, is plainly deducible from this, that he is lost in a labyrinth, when he attempts to challenge the divine artificer, why his workmanship is so compounded, or by what secret laws this union was made so wonderful and amazing in all it's parts?

It is evident to us that for ends known to the eternal wisdom, and in some degree obvious to us, he made freedom essential to human nature. By an almost universal consent of mankind, it is acknowledged, that, in consequence of this freedom, man has swerved from the original law of his nature, and by following the dictates of his inferior faculties in preference to his reason, he has consequently disobeyed the divine law. His nature being thus corrupted, he could no longer enjoy the happiness adapted to his original frame. When men talk as if they had two natures, the one pure, the other corrupted, the doctrine serves only to perplex the enquiry. We know, and to our sorrow feel, that our nature, our ONE NATURE, as it came out of the hands of it's maker, is become corrupted: nor can we with consistency say, that any vice is natural, without injuring the author of nature, who certainly intended the universal happiness of his creatures. But vice unde-

niably produces misery, and consequently is not natural to man. Perhaps there is no word used in so loose and indefinite a sense as that of nature. To say a thing is natural, according to nature, or agreeable to the course of nature, must certainly convey the same idea, and are terms which ought by no means to be used without a sense of him who is the first cause, and has the course and government of nature in his hands.

The notion we ought to form of nature at large, with regard to the disposition made by one supreme and intelligent being, must be intirely analogous to that rule of government which can alone support the moral excellence and dignity of HUMAN nature ; which is plainly the end of christianity. What man, with the greatest stretch of human reason, can suggest to himself so admirable a plan of government ; or such noble motives to action, as that ruling principle, the love of one supreme and self-existent being, the great creator and supporter of all things ?

The love of man is next in dignity to that of GOD, and in the operations of the mind must precede, as being the scale by which we ascend to heaven. Man considered as the most excellent work of the visible world, the express image of his maker, and the heir of immortal happiness, must ever demand the highest attention. How little in value is the material compared with the intellectual world ? The voice of god, as well as reason, proclaim the vast superiority. And what are all the externals of majesty, what the charms of beauty, or the pride of wealth, but the enjoyments of a moment ? But the love of man is commensurate with eternity, nor is he less an object of this love, for having deviated from his original perfection ; since all men are the same ; and this seems to have constituted, as a counterpoise to our corruption, a passion as strong as any in the human breast ; I mean compassion. Can we consider god, or man, in any view not consistent with this principle, without deviating from nature ?

If the nature of man is to be rational, and if reason teaches that obedience to his maker is his highest felicity, it must also teach, that disobedience is his greatest misery. That man has passions and appetites which

which oppose reason, is obvious ; but it is equally true, that the nature of these, in the great order of things, is to be subservient to reason. Our eyes were certainly given us to see ; but our reason was as surely given us that we might shut those eyes when the object is dangerous either to our moral or animal nature ; nor can there be any plea of ignorance against this doctrine : for the almighty has certainly written a law upon men's minds ; and whatever his wisdom required should be done, exclusive of this mental law, he has, at different periods of time, made known to mankind.

If God has originally taught man a law with respect to his conduct, and by making him a social being, continued to him the MEANS of that KNOWLEDGE ; it is not natural for man to be ignorant of that which his maker requires of him : On the contrary, it was an unnatural rebellion against the almighty that introduced the ignorance which existed before the coming of a saviour ; a state of ignorance at that time consequently was not the state of nature : but more indubitably it is NOT so NOW.

Before the promulgation of the gospel, men who walked by the light which they then had, could not be accountable for more : even before the JEWISH dispensation, in consequence of the knowledge men first had of a supreme being, they preserved some notions of one God, and of moral duties, as productive of happiness, and suitable to the dignity of their natures ; and this I apprehend we generally call natural religion. However we do not usually call that the religion of nature, which hardly appears to be any religion at all, or at best is only a rule injurious to the society. But supposing the common term NATURAL RELIGION to be applicable in any degree to the most ignorant savages, that must be the worst religion, (for here there may be degrees in this general notion) which is furthest removed from the happiness of the society. Man, who is a social creature, acts unnaturally in proportion as he neglects the preservation of society. This notion will also lead us to the great doctrine of christianity, and the beneficence of the supreme being, demonstrated in that dispensation, so powerfully operating with the original plan of moral government.

Now

Now let an unprejudiced MAHOMMEDAN be rightly informed what the precepts of christianity teach, and examine if the practice of the christian religion is not the state most agreeable to the true nature of man, as deducible from his constitution. And if the christian religion is agreeable to virtue, or rather the true standard of it, we are reduced to the necessity of acknowledging, either that both the christian religion and virtue in general are unnatural, or that vice is unnatural; unless, with regard to nature, we confound the distinction of virtue and vice, and make them one and the same thing. Nothing is plainer than this doctrine; but I believe nothing has done more harm to the cause of religion than inattention to it; for by imputing vice to NATURE, which is commonly done, we enervate that detestation which arises in the human breast upon the mention of those things which we denominate UNNATURAL. Methinks I ought to blush at the indignity which I offer to the common sense of my reader; but when he considers that many who mean well, and think clearly in most of the concerns of life, are notwithstanding extremely biassed in their judgments in this point; he will think an apology needless.

The fallacy seems to lie in this, that nature, and the corruption of nature are for the most part confounded in men's ideas. If by nature we mean the pure essence and true quality of a thing, we do not mean the corruption of that thing; more than we mean vinegar, when we talk of wine. The corruption of nature is indeed repugnant to virtue; yet if we attend to our own make and constitution, we shall soon learn, in a necessary degree, how and in what instances our nature is corrupted, and equally discover a power to war with that corruption; and, in proportion as we triumph over it, we are restored to our original state of freedom, that is, of nature uncorrupted. The opinion the MAHOMMEDANS have of this corruption, which sullied the mind of man, seems to agree with that of the christians; but this doctrine, however important, is not familiar to the generality of men. I conceive it to bear a strong allusion to the state of one, who, by some accident, becomes lunatick, and entails this infirmity upon his children. In this case indeed a man may not be answerable;

swerable; but in the case of our first parents they became accountable, because they were free agents. If, in succeeding generations, we were not exactly in the same circumstances as our first parents; we still acted against the light which our reason suggested, or against those revelations which, at different ages of the world, have been confirmed to us by the miraculous interposition of divine providence.

By this corruption of nature, the passions, which were originally designed to assist reason, have, as experience teaches us, rebelled against it, and subjected all the sons of ADAM to the same punishment as their first progenitor: Now can we suppose that infinite goodness should suffer so glorious a part of the creation to perish in this unnatural state? The common notion of mankind in all ages and countries is, that a divine instructor has been sent to them. The christian says, that "as by one man, sin and death came into the world; so by one man," the great prophet and lawgiver now in question, "life and immortality were restored." The MAHOMMEDANS ask, why the great lord of the universe should send his son into the world in form of a man? To argue upon principles deduced from the reason of things, may we not say that truth, in the abstract, thus became an object of sense; and that the deity brought himself to the standard of human capacities? We saw, we heard, we felt the god in his human nature. He was a man as well as a god; a man, such as we are, sin only excepted: He rejoiced and wept, was glad and sorrowful: He eat, and drank, and slept: He had his friendships and affections: He gave us a law as to men; and, as a man, he set us an example. But the christian further reduces the matter to this issue: God saw good to take this method to restore mankind, and therefore it must be right. If the MAHOMMEDANS yet asks, why it should be so; and still applies to finite capacities to judge of infinite wisdom? What can you do more than question him, why it should not be so? Ask him, if he thinks it too much or too great a thing for the almighty? Bid him behold the wonders of the creation, and observe every part of nature replete with amazing art, and proclaiming his incomprehensible goodness and wisdom. Is man inferior to these? Do we understand the laws of his

his government, or the nature of that power by which he supports the material world? Is the heir of immortality not equal in dignity to this inanimate system?

If the tree is known by its fruits, the goodness of a religion must be discovered by its effects, and its consistency with reason; the testimony of those who oppose it concurring in any material point, or proving insufficient to invalidate it. The PAGANS, the JEWS, the MAHOMMEDANS acknowledge that such a man appeared in the world as JESUS CHRIST; they dispute his divinity, and many of his glorious acts; but for this they are obliged to have recourse to low evasions and puerile subterfuges; still they ascribe many wonderful works to him. And lastly, though they do not acknowledge his crucifixion, they say he was conveyed away in a miraculous manner, and a person like him put in his place. The MAHOMMEDAN also verifies the prediction, which is closely connected with the belief of christianity, and treats the JEW as a persecutor of the true prophet, whilst the christian deplors his blindness.

Among other corroborating proofs the christian urges the prophecies concerning the total dissolution of the JEWISH government, and the destruction of that nation, once the favourite people of God. The JEWS were long the sole depositaries of those writings which promise and point out the time of the coming of JESUS CHRIST; but deny that time to be accomplished: So far they believe in the MESSIAH. The PAGAN world received christianity, though it was so greatly repugnant to their established opinions, and the corruption of nature, that we ought to conclude it could not have prevailed, had any less than a divine power directed it. Christianity is the proper religion of mankind; we say it is as old as the creation, because ordained by God from the beginning. It is true, JESUS CHRIST was born only 1744 years ago; but how long have the prophets of old foretold his appearance: One of the most remarkable was above 700 years before; and this speaks of him in terms of the greatest honour, viz. "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called, WONDERFUL, COUNSELLOR, THE MIGHTY GOD, THE EVERLASTING FATHER,

“FATHER^c, THE PRINCE OF PEACE.” And the short history of him is this: “God was manifested in the flesh, justified by the spirit, seen of angels, believed on in the world, received up into glory, and in him are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.” That his birth was miraculous, is confessed even by the MAHOMMEDANS; for they say he was conceived of a virgin by the smell of a rose. To grant there was such a person, and that he was thus conceived, is being half a christian, with regard to the supernatural birth of CHRIST.

But as his birth was above nature, so was his whole life. MAHOMMED came to extirpate all who opposed him with fire and sword. CHRIST came with the meekness of a child, to extend his mercy to all mankind. The power which he employed was from heaven. The means which he used were of so different a nature from any thing merely human, that granting he lived and died, and that his religion does exist, is a strong argument of the divinity of that power, by which he established such a religion. He suffered an ignominious death as a common malefactor; yet has his doctrine been established on that suffering, and spread over the earth. MAHOMMED supported his schemes of religious government on the principles of worldly power; but our prophet says, “Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly;” and upon this principle was his whole life conducted.

The MAHOMMEDANS, you say^d, consider us as idolaters; you will not convince them of the contrary: for that would be in effect to convert them to christianity. Tell them at least that ours is a good religion: that one great article of it is, to pray for them and for all mankind. That the sum of our law is, “to do as we would be done by; to visit the fatherless and the widow, and to keep ourselves unspotted from the world.” Tell them that we adore one only GOD, the supreme lord and father of all things, in which they will grant we are no idolaters; but that indeed we pray to him through the merits of his son, to assist us with his holy spirit, to obey his laws, or to forgive the breach of them, upon con-

^c The father of the age to come, according to some learned divines.

^d The INTERPRETER.

dition of our sincere repentance. In this we speak as conceiving a difference, and ascribing to each those offices, which our revelation warrants, without presuming to understand in what the union and divisibility consists. This is the mystery of the christian religion, which, by the exercise of faith, attributes all the mercy that the utmost stretch of human reason can ascribe to GOD; and all the worth and dignity that can be imputed to man; to be at once demonstrated by the deity in his taking the human form, when he appeared upon the earth. Whenever we contemplate this amazing instance of the divine conduct, it raises the mind to heaven from whence it is derived.

That there is such a thing as faith, or the evidence of things not seen, nor comprehended, is common to mankind of all religions, and in all countries. Is it strange that GOD will not condescend to be the object of our REASON only? He requires FAITH, and imputes it to us as a virtue; he requires this highest reason of the soul, which is a RESIGNATION of the whole man; all POSSIBLE RESIGNATION to him as an incomprehensible GOD, who is the sovereign disposer of all things, in a manner as far above our conception as his infinite perfections are superior to the narrow bounds of human capacities.

That JESUS CHRIST is GOD, that is, divine in nature, is, I think, very clear from the writings which contain the oracles of our religion; and better had it been for the christian world, if the matter had rested there; and no attempt made to explain that which is confessedly inexplicable. For though faith is founded in reason, as it necessarily must be, whilst reason is the only medium by which we comprehend any moral truth; yet it is superior to reason. The doctrine of the trinity is by no means contradictory to reason, unless it is repugnant to reason to assent to that which is delivered on divine authority, because we happen not to comprehend the things so delivered.

As to the term PERSONS of the godhead, and TRINITY, commonly used by christians; if the oracle of the christian faith is not fabulous, we must ascribe the divine attributes to THREE, under the distinctions of FATHER, SON,

SON, and HOLY GHOST; and if mankind have thought proper to use a word to express the idea, why not that of TRINITY? If the almighty is omnipotent, and we confess our faculties utterly incapable of comprehending his power, let us prostrate ourselves in humble adoration of the incomprehensible nature of this ONE supreme!

If GOD is incomprehensible, what religion can there be without some part of it mysterious? The MAHOMMEDAN must deny the being of a GOD, or confess him infinite in justice as well as mercy; but does he understand how these attributes exist, and are compatible in one being? We acknowledge the incomprehensibility of GOD, and therefore there may be a division as well as union in the divine nature. Christians plainly infer such a union and division from their scriptures, which cannot be made consistent on any other principles. Is it not then folly to distract our thoughts on the subject? Is it not enough that we acknowledge one supreme GOD the father of all beings; that we confess the divine nature and mission of the MESSIAH, by whom the almighty made the world, who is the king, the lawgiver, the redeemer, and the savior, and will be the judge of mankind; and that we also acknowledge the powers ascribed to the holy ghost, the operative spirit of that one GOD?

We see the reason of mankind every day acquiesce in things superior to it's comprehension in secular concerns. Many things in common life appear to us as contradictions till we understand them. Our condition does not permit us to know every thing; it is against the laws of our nature, and consequently a crime to attempt it; thus where our understanding is puzzled in the investigation of the things which belong to GOD, we should pay our adoration and submission to the great author of nature, and place our humble and firmest confidence in him.

The disciples of MAHOMMED, and of almost every other religion in the world, believe in things not only beyond their comprehension, but unimportant to the great ends of human life and immortality. The faith in question is of the greatest moment; for if JESUS is not the son of GOD, the fundamental principle of the christian religion is false; but if

this belief is derived from the authority of GOD himself, who therefore accepts it as a grateful offering to him, we ought to hold it dearer than life.

Simplicity of heart, which is essential to christianity, teaches men what analogy there is between this faith and the humility which the christian religion so strongly inculcates; but infidelity is the offspring of pride. Faith humbles the arrogance of men, and prevents them from deifying, that is, in effect, from abusing their own reason. The corruption of our nature is never so conspicuous as in pride; than which nothing can be more destructive of our happiness.

Pride first divided the christian world, and still supports the division, and I believe the priests themselves will grant, that had some of their fraternity been half as busy to restrain men's curiosities in the mysterious parts of the christian religion, as to attempt the explanation of them, religion might have been more simple, and consequently might have produced the great end of it, by means the most easy and familiar: but this complaint will appear absurd when it is considered, that the mistakes of priests^d bear but a small proportion to those of the laity. If morality is the basis of the christian religion, and a consistent faith the support of it; where are these better taught than in ENGLAND? Of all human compositions of these latter ages of the world, whether for purity and elegance of language, force of argument, or warmth of devotion, what exceeds the sermons which have been published by our clergy? That they are not more read, is not the fault of priests, nor will it be their fault if they do not produce the harvest which no doubt is intended should be gathered in heaven.

To return, it must be manifest to men of enquiry, that the world remained in ignorance for many ages; and religion consisted in forms and empty ceremonies. A revelation was expected, and both the CHRISTIANS and MAHOMMEDANS say it is come: we see what the different fruits of it are. Was there ever a doctrine delivered to mankind before.

^d IN ENGLAND.

that of CHRIST, which pointed out the true path of happiness, and the end for which they were designed? The christian religion has the most evident mark of a divine original by the exalted sentiments and sublime love it inculcates; by it's close connexion with the general good of mankind, as social, rational, and accountable beings. It is an argument which cannot be repeated too often: what greater love can we conceive than for a man to die for his friend? But CHRIST suffered an ignominious death for his enemies, and made that death effectual even to his persecutors, if they repented and obeyed his laws. For his death was a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, even for the MAHOMMEDANS. Could a God die for less than a world? He prepared an immortality for all mankind. But his counsels are inscrutable, and we know not what degree of evidence resisted by men, renders them accountable. But it seems agreeable to the common notions of mankind concerning the goodness of GOD, that this perfect sacrifice once made, compensated for the imperfection of the human nature, and the deviation from it's original purity; so that man becomes accountable only in proportion to his rebellion against this divine law.

Under this glorious dispensation, the innocence and simplicity of a child is best adapted to learn, and to receive, so plain, so intelligible a law; which exhorts men with the strongest and most persuasive eloquence, to forsake the paths of perdition, and to be happy. The sentiments which christianity inspire, are so abstracted from this world, and from a weak and vicious selfishness, that it is impossible to consider them with an attentive and unprejudiced mind, without being convinced of their reasonableness, and struck with the deepest sense of gratitude and resignation.

EVEN MAHOMMED understood the excellence of the christian religion, when he adopted his precepts of justice and charity from the gospel. But though the MAHOMMEDANS entertain the highest notions of the deity, humanly speaking, it will be difficult to reconcile them to christianity, on account of their sensual gratifications: The christian religion fixes the boundaries between the animal and rational part, and is calculated to preserve both. It regards the delights of the mind, and the charms

charms of social converse, to which the MAHOMMEDANS in their commerce with women are almost strangers: for their false notions of religion also lead them to violate the common rights of humanity, by making slaves of one half of the species.

Christianity is indeed a religion of self-denial, much more than is generally imagined; but it is a self-denial which dignifies and improves human nature; a self-denial that has every mark which reason can suggest, or revelation warrant, of that rule of life and human conduct, which can restore man to the original perfection of his nature; or effect that which shall compensate for the deficiency, at the great day of accounts, when TIME shall be swallowed up in ETERNITY.

As every thinking man in this island * seems to have something in his notions of religion peculiar to himself, it may be objected, that I who have been endeavouring to vindicate christianity with regard to the imputation of idolatry, and to establish my own system of faith, as founded in the reason of things, as well as in revelation, have been singular in making no mention of grace. But to this I answer, that when men act obediently to the divine law, not only because it is good in itself, but also because it is commanded by GOD; both motives co-operating, I think they will, humanly speaking, produce a habit of mind, fit for the reception of that grace, which I acknowledge to be the more immediate assistance of GOD; that assistance which supports, and cherishes, and enables man to persevere in his obedience. From hence I conclude, that faith and good works act reciprocally on each other, neither being effectual without the other to the great end of our being. This, I conceive, may be easily deduced from the nature of the human mind; from the common measure by which we judge of things, and from the notion of religion in general. Christians who, on one side, ascribe all efficacy to good-works; whilst others, if possible, more inconsistent, imagine faith only to be essential, seem to fall extremely short of the mark. To adopt the principles of both with the same zeal as they plead for one only,

is, I apprehend, to be a christian, if those principles produce their natural fruits.

And let men dispute ever so long concerning human nature, and all it's various connexions, it must come to this, that so long as we retain our reason, we must acknowledge a first cause, or, in other words, that there is a GOD, and consequently that he made us what we are; and if he is infinite in wisdom, he made us RIGHT. Men who think it of importance to employ their reason about a future state; or endeavour to understand their own make; and the end to which they were intended will discover, that the constitution of our moral nature, our condition with respect to externals, and our religion as christians, have all a most amazing analogy.

In other words, let him who entertains the least doubt concerning the great truths of christianity, do himself the justice to observe how exactly analogous the law of CHRIST is with the common dictates of humanity; with every generous passion of the mind; with every sentiment which the human breast can form that is truly great and noble; he will then see, what a state of unmixed happiness would be restored to mankind, was this law universally revered and practised. The glorious system of ethics delivered by our saviour on the mount, is calculated to answer all the exigencies of our temporal condition; whilst the main scope and design of it is to prepare us for a happy termination of it: and since death is the unavoidable condition of life, and absorbs all lesser considerations; an entire reconciliation to it, on the principles of a rational hope of immortality, ought to be the great end of all human actions, and of all the thoughts and devices of the human heart.

C H A P. XXIX.

Several conversations with the PERSIANS on different subjects. The tragical history of prince BECKOWITZ. Principal events till the breaking out of a rebellion in ASTRABAD.

TO return to my narrative. The PERSIANS often took particular notice of the air of my countenance, perhaps imagining that I had some apprehensions of the approaching danger. I told them that my temper disposed me to be thoughtful; but if I understood their language, and could converse without an interpreter, I should probably take a share in every part of their discourse. I then enquired for news, particularly in regard to the rebellions on foot in remote parts of the kingdom, and if it was true that the LESGEES had taken DERBEND, as was reported. This was touching them on a very tender string, and NASEER AGA answered hastily, "We do not talk of those things." The answer however made no other impression on me, than that he was restrained by some prudential reason.

On the 8th. The carriers pretended they must have camels as well as horses to convey my caravan, and demanded money of me, to be advanced them on account, that they might go among the neighbouring TURKUMAN TARTARS to buy camels; but I did not chuse to comply with their request. Other expedients were also made use of, as if intended purposely to delay my departure. Some of the townsmen again demanded of me to open my bales, and sell them some pieces of cloth; but this by no means suited my purpose, and I rather chose to make several of them presents of $2\frac{1}{2}$ gaz^a of cloth, which is the measure they usually take for a coat. ABDALLAH BEG, the governor's brother, was the most importunate for cloth, though he had the least occasion for it, having lost his eyes for confederating with RIZA KOULI MYRZA^b, who attempted to destroy the king his father two years before this time.

^a A PERSIAN measure of 40 inches.

^b This prince was blinded by NADIR; but ABDALLAH BEG, it was said, by the compliment which his own father made to NADIR, by accusing his own son, in order to be on a level with the SHAH; but I apprehend he was really guilty.

NASEER AGA returning again to visit me, I complained to him of the trifling conduct of the carriers and camel-drivers; he acknowledged it was so, adding, that the word of the lower sort of his countrymen was not to be depended upon; and therefore he would not recommend to me any PERSIAN as a servant, agreeable to the request I had before made him. He again took notice to me, in a particular manner, of the serious air of my countenance, insomuch that I thought it necessary to make a reply to to this effect: "I observe, Sir, you have mentioned this subject to me more than once; you are the best judge of my looks; but I think my countenance is more in fault than my heart. It is true, I am a little mortified to see myself trifled with, as if the townsmen did not design I should ever get from hence; but if you mean to admonish me, I take it in good part; and shall readily grant, "that a merry heart maketh a cheerful countenance." Joy is as essential to the happiness of man as oil to the flame; a principle which will prove the best preservative against the miseries of life. Every part of nature seems to rejoice: The animal, and even the vegetable world, proclaim a joy in their existence: how much more ought man to exult in the comforts, the pleasures, the glories of the visible world; and to triumph in the contemplation of his own immortality? But is not a serious turn of mind essential to that contemplation?

"The appearance of the countenance will generally follow the turn of mind, allowing for health, and the peculiar air of the face. But a flow of spirits seems to be indispensably necessary to support the heart in a habit of joy. The man of a good understanding, whose spirits flow briskly, is best qualified to think justly, especially if from the earliest part of his life he is set in the paths of virtue; but these advantages seldom meet in one and the same person. We generally find, that a mediocrity of spirits, is the greatest friend to an innocent life; and innocence is the parent of that contentment which lays a good foundation, if it does not constitute the essence of joy." The old man now looked seriously himself; he was in labour with an important secret, in which I was intimately concerned, though he dared not to tell me of it.

Soon after this conversation two RUSSIAN slaves were offered to me for sale ; I had no occasion for them, nor could I attempt their redemption out of charity ; I desired however to be informed of their misfortunes. They told me they had been taken when young by the OUSBEGS, and sold to the TURKUMANS. They had served in the expedition of BECKAWITZ the GEORGIAN prince, whose story deserves a place in this journal, as it serves to show the great difficulty, if not absolute impossibility of extending a trade among so perfidious and barbarous a people as the TARTARS.

PETER the GREAT, amidst all his successes in war, did not neglect the pursuit of commerce. He had already made a survey of the CASPIAN, and formed a design of extending his conquest beyond SAMARCAND, so far at least as to secure the LAPIS LAZULI, which is found in that neighbourhood. He had also flattered himself with the expectation of discovering some mine of gold. In the valley of SOGD is a river, whose sands abound with gold dust, which the PERSIANS, as likewise the OUSBEGS, and other neighbouring TARTARS, often gather. PERSIA being at this time^b in great confusion by the indolence of SHAH SULTAN HUSSEIN ; and PETER thinking a small regular force sufficient for that purpose, sent 3000 men to reconnoitre this country. There was a CIRCASSIAN prince, who, to avoid the miseries of HUSSEIN's reign, had fled into RUSSIA with his treasure and family. This prince soon died, and his son, named ALEXANDER BECKAWITZ, married into one of the greatest families in that empire. He was now chosen by the emperor PETER to command in this enterprize, as well on account of the bravery of the GEORGIANS, as the particular knowledge this prince was supposed to have had of the TARTARS.

Besides the perpetual harassments which the TARTARS usually give a regular army, during a long and laborious march, they often burn up the grass, and spoil the water ; therefore to render the way to KHIEVA shorter as well as safer, PETER ordered a fort to be built at cape KARAGANSKOI, which lies on the north-east coast of the CASPIAN sea. This being done without any interruption, by means of the shells

and stones found at that place, and magazines being prepared, BECKAWITZ ventured on his intended discovery.

Being arrived near KHIEVA, the OUSBEGS formed a great body to oppose him ; but as he had a good field artillery they did not chuse to attack him ; on the contrary they accepted his presents, and promised him water and provisions at a time when his army was greatly distressed. After receiving the most solemn assurances of the friendship and protection of the OUSBEG TARTARS ; he was induced to divide his forces into bodies of 2 or 300 ; these treacherous friends pretending that by this means they could supply them with provisions, and enable them to return home with safety. Having thus obtained their point, they fell on the deluded RUSSIANS, who became an easy prey.

This unhappy prince whom necessity or inexperience had drawn into this snare, was one of the first that fell a sacrifice to their perfidious barbarity. He was brought before the tent of the KHAN of KHIEVA, and a scarlet cloth being spread on the ground, as a signal of death ; they ordered him to kneel down : but he refused to comply, so that instead of suffering the easy death of losing his head with a stroke of a sabre, he was hacked on the legs, and butchered in the most barbarous manner. As to the forces who had been under his command, many were put to death ; some remained as slaves ; and others retained in their service, especially the musicians, and those who belonged to the artillery, whom they found of use in their subsequent wars.

To resume my own story. The 9th, I was again honoured with a numerous levy, more against my will than ministers of state usually behold a number of suitors whom it is not in their power to gratify ; for these visits answered no other purpose than to take up my time. But what surprized me most, was that the menial servants, and several of the common people, were admitted to crowd round the AIVAN^c, and be privy to the conversation. This was the less agreeable to me, as their conduct had given them no title to the knowledge of my designs. I had an opportunity of observing, that persons of the best quality among them were very ig-

^c The largest apartment in the PERSIAN houses, which is open on one side.

ignorant of the affairs of EUROPE : one of the most intelligent having heard of the fatal catastrophe which happened the preceding summer to several persons of distinction in RUSSIA, inquired if they were punished for being of the PERSIAN party ; though I believe no such party existed in RUSSIA.

On the 10th. A fresh difficulty now arose, for our camel-drivers alleged that they could not keep company with the horses ; and therefore they must set out two or three days before. I knew not how to reconcile myself to the thoughts of separating my company : however, the importunity of NASEER AGA, and the pretended necessity of the thing, induced me to consent. Accordingly I delivered 40 bales, the loads of ten camels, and fixed my own departure with the remainder of the caravan for the 14th. I sent an ARMENIAN servant to attend the camels, and appointed a certain rendezvous, which was on the other side of the most difficult passes in the mountains. On the 12th, I made a visit to the governor, who was much less courteous to me than he had hitherto been, and appeared perplexed in his thoughts. It was said, that he was providing horses to send the king's treasure consisting of 17,000 crowns to CASBIN ; he now told me he was so bare of soldiers, he could not spare me more than one. This startled me, for I was previously determined to have demanded a greater number than he had at first appointed me ; especially as I was obliged to separate my company ; however I could not make any impressions on him. It seemed to me strange, that a caravan of 17,000 crowns in money should require so great a guard, and that to one of 30,000 crowns in cloth, a single soldier was sufficient. I was ignorant of the secret, and my ignorance constituted my happiness at that time. I took my leave of the governor, desiring him to continue me under his protection, and assist me with his advice, in any article he might think necessary.

The 14th, My first detachment departed. I intending to follow them immediately, and had prepared KEDGAVAYS ; these are a kind of covered chairs, which the PERSIANS hang over camels in the manner of panniers, and are big enough for one person to sit in. By this means I could accommodate any of my company if they should happen to fall sick, and
pro-

provide for my own security against the extremity of the cold. At length by the interposition of NASEER AGA, I obtained a promise from the governor, that two soldiers should accompany the first detachment of my caravan. The next day in the evening they set lights at the head and feet of the graves of their departed friends, round which they led sheep by the horns, in commemoration of ABRAHAM's offering up his son ISMAEL; for they do not allow it was ISAAC.

I was now preparing to leave this city, the first I had seen in PERSIA, and of which I had received very disagreeable impressions. Whilst I was giving the necessary orders, my friend NASEER AGA came to acquaint me that it was not a lucky hour, and therefore I must not depart. I told him if he had no other reason, that I was one of those christians who do not regard lucky hours, but depending on that good providence which at all times governs the world, I begged I might be permitted to depart. He replied in a very definitive manner, that I must not set out. I thought it proper to submit, from the assurance I had always received of the integrity of his intentions, though I imputed this repugnance to his superstition.



C H A P. XXX.

A rebellion breaks out in the province of ASTRABAD. The author is in distress. A prayer. The city taken, and the caravan designed for MESCHED plundered.

THE 15th of January 1744, the dismal scene now began to disclose itself; for NASEER AGA had hardly left me when I heard the hoarse sound of trumpets: this was an alarm to call in the neighbouring inhabitants, and to bring their cattle with them. The shops were ordered to be shut up, and the townsmen to repair to the walls, to put them in a condition of defence. I now began to recollect a thousand incidents which discovered the play which was about to be acted; but it was in vain to wish myself on board ship, or to entertain melancholy thoughts of this commercial project. NASEER AGA returned immediately, and advised me to send for my ship, acknowledging that he thought we were all in danger from the rebellion which had broke out in the neighbourhood of the city. This proposal however could not be put in execution; for the ship was then either at ENZELLE or DERBEND. I desired him to send for my ten camel-loads of cloth already on the road to be returned into the city; but he told me,

me,

me, that no person was admitted to go out of the gates. The governor being apprehensive of a confederacy within the walls, as well as that which was already formed without, ordered a strong guard to patrol the streets.

The secret now came out, that MAHOMMED HASSAN BEG, whom I have already observed, to have been under the governor's inspection, had left the city some days before, and now appeared in arms at the head of a party of KHAJARS^a, with an auxiliary body of TURKUMAN TARTARS. MAHOMMED KHAN^b BEG and SADOQ AGA, the two young men of distinction, who were with the governor when I went first to see him, had joined MAHOMMED HASSAN BEG, unanimously declaring that they meant to possess themselves of the city, of the king's treasure, and particularly of my caravan; and the better to delude themselves, and the unhappy townsmen, they gave out that the SHAH was dead.

The 16th, MAHOMMED ZAMON BEG the governor sent two couriers into KHORASAN to bring forces to his assistance. At the same time he ordered ten soldiers to guard the ten camels loaded with my cloth back into the city; this however was but an idle expedient, as the enemy was already possessed of all the avenues, and the goods actually lodged in a village the property of MAHOMMED KHAN BEG. The only comfort which NASEER AGA now gave us, was, that whilst he lived they should not touch our lives. He had been one of the chief advisers of Mr. ELTON, a few months before, to attempt this rout to MESCHED, which indeed was according to the original plan, as already mentioned^c. The old man was now perfectly sensible of the dangers which threatened us. The respect which had been always shewn him by MAHOMMED HASSAN BEG, and his thoughtless followers, who had embarked in this desperate enterprize, induced him to venture among them, and to endeavour to dissuade them from so rash and perilous an undertaking: They suffered him to return, but he made not any impression on them. Hitherto he had appeared undaunted; but now spoke short, and was impatient of

^a The inhabitants of this province are so called.
understood as a title.

^c See p. 50.

^b KHAN is here a name, though otherwise

being questioned. His whole mind and person looked disturbed, as if he was that night to render up his accounts for all his past life ; and for the years that had rendered his beard so venerably hoary.

A besieged city incapable of defence, a faithless and weak garrison, were things as new to me, as PERSIA and PERSIANS ; but the notion I had entertained of the TURKUMAN TARTARS, and their barbarity of manners, made the worst impression on me. I did not conceive what purpose it would answer for them to commit any violence on my person, for it could not conceal their robbery ; nor had I any apprehension their rebellion could be supported ; but the report was, that they would put us to the sword. My attendants recommended my disguising myself in a PERSIAN habit ; but I chose to remain in my proper shape and character, which I could support much better. Reports now crowded on each other, that the rebel army had advanced within a short distance ; so that the governor and NASSER AGA, jealous of their own safety, and of the impossibility of defending the city, disguised themselves in the habits of peasants, and mounting on horseback, each behind a real peasant, made their escape in the night.

The distress and misery in which these insatuated people were involving themselves, seemed to me the most interesting subject. Those who were not disposed to rebellion, now cursed me as the cause of the evils they foresaw ; alledging that if I had not brought so valuable a caravan to ASTRABAD, the people had not rebelled. Perhaps I was an instrument of providence in the chastisement of these unhappy men, but I had nothing to reproach myself with on this account ; and in this general calamity I knew not in how great a degree I might partake, and therefore thought it necessary to prepare for all events. The flattering expectation I had entertained, that as the enemy had no artillery, the town might be easily defended till succour should be brought, induced me to lay in a quantity of provision ; but this was vain ; we had nothing left but to receive our conquerors, and submit to their pleasure.

In the evening I retired to my apartment to indulge my own meditations, not forgetting my ordinary practice of writing. Without the assistance of my pen I could not trace out the whole connexion of my thoughts, nor properly digest them; and the occasion was now very important. What I find in my journal is to this effect, and pretty near the same words.

“ O beneficent father, thou tender parent and universal lord of ALL !
 “ I beseech thee to hear the prayer which in the deepest humiliation of
 “ my soul I now make before thee.

“ O GOD ! whom have I to trust in, but thee : thou hast been my suc-
 “ cour through all the perils and vicissitudes of my life, even from my mo-
 “ ther's breast. If it is thy good pleasure yet to preserve my life ; let
 “ all my future hopes, and all my wishes, center in thee alone ; let the
 “ remembrance of all thy mercies inspire my mind with the most ardent
 “ love, the most exalted gratitude ; let the tender laws of humanity
 “ ever possess my soul, and render me acceptable in thy sight, through
 “ the merits of thy dear son, who died to redeem the world.

“ But if thy gracious providence has ordained that my life be now
 “ brought to an end by these unthinking men, thy will be done. Avert,
 “ O lord, the destruction that threatens them, and lay not my blood to
 “ their charge.

“ I tremble, O lord, at thy justice ; but thy goodness and paternal
 “ love, thy tender, boundless mercy is extended to all thy works : suffer
 “ me not to perish. And thou, my redeemer, who camest into the world
 “ to save sinners, I grasp thy blessed feet. O, reject me not, reject me
 “ not, thou GOD of mercy ; let my remembrance of thy life and suffer-
 “ ings, thy agonies and ignominious death for the sins of mankind, now
 “ support and secure me in thy favour ; and by thy resurrection and as-
 “ cension, by thy ever prevailing merits and intercession at the throne of
 “ the almighty, procure that pardon, without which I am undone.

“ O omniscient father, who knowest all the circumstances of human
 “ life, and the evils to which it is exposed : Thou who knowest the
 “ secrets of men’s hearts, and all their inmost thoughts, I beseech thee
 “ call to mind the laborious, though imperfect struggles of my life to
 “ subdue myself to a sincere obedience to thy laws, as the supreme object
 “ of my wishes. If I have done any thing acceptable in thy sight, O
 “ remember it in thy infinite goodness and compassion, whilst thy mercy
 “ erases all record of the numberless follies, and infirmities of my life ;
 “ and of all the offences I have been guilty of against thee.

“ Support me, O lord of mercy, in the remembrance of that boundless
 “ favour and tender love, which thou hast shewn to all the sons of men,
 “ through all ages of the world.

“ Enable me, O blessed lord, to fix my heart on thee. Let no object
 “ distract my mind, or weaken my attention. Awe me with fear, and
 “ prevent my presumptuous thoughts ; yet fill my heart with an entire
 “ confidence in thy mercy ; warm it with a seraphic fire, and prepare my
 “ spirit for thy tremendous presence.

“ If it is thy will that I now render back this vital heat and motion,
 “ which sprang from thee, great author of life, and supporter of this stu-
 “ pendous world ! If my hour is come, O succour me in the secret paths
 “ of death ; and thou, O blessed redeemer of the world, receive me in-
 “ to the glory thou hast prepared for thy servants.”

I had ordered a watch to be kept all night, that I might not be sur-
 prized ; and after employing myself in as proper a manner as I could up-
 on so interesting an occasion till 11 ; I slept till 4 in the morning. I was
 then awakened by a brisk, but irregular discharge of musquetry. A si-
 lence ensued, from whence I concluded the city was delivered up to MA-
 HOMMED HASAN BEG, and, to my great comfort, it proved so : had
 any fruitless resistance been made, the besiegers would probably have
 carried things to the greater extremities. As I heard no tumult, I flattered
 myself that the rebels would not proceed to any slaughter, and that the cap-
 ture of my merchandize would content them. The 17th, MAHOMMED

HASSAN BEG no sooner entered the town, than he sought for MAHOMMED ZAMON BEG the late governor, for his father MAHOMMED HUSSEI KHAN had some years before delivered FATEY ALI KHAN, the father of the present rebel chief, to NADIR, by whom he was put to death: the governor however had been too sensible of his danger to wait the arrival of the rebels.

Noise and merriment seemed necessary to support the spirits of those who had embarked in this desperate enterprize. They seized the city-drums, and a large party went about beating them and hollowing: at the same time they drove before them the CALENTER^d, and another person, both naked, and demanded the SHAH's treasure, which MAHOMMED ZAMON BEG had carefully concealed before his departure.

It was now my turn to receive a visit from them, and hear my fate. SADOQ AGA, who was appointed a general^e with MAHOMMED KHAN BEG, both young men of more fire than judgment, headed a party of 14 armed persons of the best distinction among them, and came to my house. I had collected my servants in one room, from whence I sent a little boy a servant, who understood the TURKISH language, which is most known to the KHAJARS, to conduct these hostile visitors to us, and to tell them, that as we were at their mercy, we hoped they would treat us with humanity. They immediately entered, and assured us, they did not mean to hurt us; on the contrary, that as soon as their government was established, they would pay me for my goods. They demanded at the same time where they were lodged; and informed me that the 40 bales, which I had sent out of the town some days before, were already in their possession. MAHOMMED KHAN BEG then demanded my purse, which I had prepared with about thirty crowns in gold and silver: he contented himself for the present with counting it, and then returned it to me, demanding if I had any more; for that it would be the worse for me if I concealed any. I thought it warrantable however to make an evasive answer,

^d Town-clerk and collector of the city, who acted as sub governor.

^e SIRDAR.

though it was a true one as to the fact ; viz. that all the town knew very well I had been searching for money in exchange for my bill on Mr. ELTON, not having sufficient to convey my caravan to MESCHED. As gold can purchase any thing except virtue and health, understanding and beauty, I thought it might now administer to our safety. I therefore reserved a purse of 160 crowns in gold ; apprehending that the skilful application of it might ward off the danger which threatened us ; but I afterwards found that our security was in our supposed poverty ; for in near three weeks distress I durst not shew a single piece of gold, much less acknowledge that I had saved any money.

I had here an opportunity to consider the admirable lessons of morality, which the MAHOMMEDANS teach by example and practice, whilst the christians hold the theory in great veneration. A MAHOMMEDAN, who is a general to-day, and a common soldier to-morrow, says, IT IS THE WILL OF GOD. Far from laying violent hands on himself, he thinks it at least as honourable to submit, and shew obedience to the decrees of heaven, as he did in the meridian of his power, to obey the commands of his sovereign.

Finding things conducted with some appearance of justice, I now turned my thoughts on the kindness of providence in bringing this event about in the city, rather than upon the road, where it was highly improbable I should have received such gentle treatment. My drooping spirits revived, and I considered how best to extricate myself. I was now more than ever inclined to that opinion, that the mind of man is so formed as naturally to employ itself in the pursuit of pleasure, and that it's operations, when they have their true bias, have always a repugnancy to pain. Upon the same principle it will turn itself from a view of the evils of life, and fly off, as it were, on the wings of resignation and hope to a scene of comfort and delight. Sorrow, which is not in its final issue productive of joy, seems to belong to man, only as his reason becomes obscured by accidents, that is, by an irreligious or melancholy disposition. The saviour of mankind, though perfect, was indeed "a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief;" but it was for the sins of

of the world for which he mourned; his sorrows are changed into everlasting joy, and were intended to change ours also into a happy immortality. Thus the goodness of the great lord of nature is obvious to a degree of amazement; for if by a natural propensity of the soul we turn from sorrow and the evils of life, and fix the mind on the remedies of those evils; and if there is no evil but religion points out the remedy also; even when we are surrounded with bitter calamities; what consolation might not this afford? What joy can exceed that, of acting under the care and protection of the tender parent of mankind, who can no more mean to hurt us unoffending, than he can cease his own existence; nor can he, without trials, give us an opportunity of virtue; nor without virtue, is it consistent to imagine we are the objects of his love. Happy were it for the world, if the trials of prosperity had ordinarily the same issue as those of distress, which soften the heart to a sense of obedience. Ingratitude, which is twin-born with pride, and the genuine offspring of the corruption of human nature, sometimes predominates most, where most thanks are due to heaven; and this by the connection there is between the gratification of uncorrected passions and appetites, and the means of such gratifications; so that what men call prosperity is a blessing, or a curse, just as it is used.

With reflections like these I endeavoured to turn the edge of this misfortune, and as much as possible to convert it into an occasion of good. The greatest indignity I had yet experienced, was that of being shut out of the habitable part of my house, and particularly my chamber, and the use of my baggage; my magazine of merchandize, I had of course given up. There was also great reason to apprehend some irregular proceedings from the soldiers, particularly the TURKUMANS: I therefore desired that a guard might be appointed, not for the security of our persons only, but to preserve from any violation, the seal which they fixed on the door of the warehouse, where the cloth was deposited. They declared this to be a very reasonable request, and immediately gave the necessary orders.

It was but natural to apprehend they would now proceed to some executions in cold blood; but, to my great surprize and satisfaction, I found they

they had put only one man to death : this person, by a very singular work of providence, was a groom belonging to MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, who under his master's direction, had been the actual executioner of TÆHMAS SHAH, their last lawful king. This man, now falling into the hands of these rebels, fell also a sacrifice to their just resentments. I was greatly surprized to observe with what facility the late subjects of NADIR, and the servants of the late governor, professed an entire devotion to the new chief MAHOMMED HASSAN BEG, whom they stiled their KHAN^f.

The 18th, It was now very apparent on what principles HAHDGEE MYRZA MAHOMMED had acted; he was in the secret of the rebellion from the time of my arrival, and brought me to the town under the highest professions of friendship, as a sheep to the slaughter. However it was my business to disguise my sentiments; for as I had nothing there to lose but my life, or liberty, I had nothing else to think of: I therefore still behaved to the HAHDGEE, as to one on whom I depended; and, instead of reproaching him, I entreated of him to recover of the carriers the money I had advanced them, if their KHAN would permit it, alledging that neither myself nor my servants could live upon the air; for I concealed the money I had saved. He represented the case, and obtained a recovery of about 150 crowns, part of which he returned to us in such proportions as he thought proper, to provide for the common necessities of life,

C H A P. XXXI.

The author engages the friendship of the rebel-governor, who holds a council about the division of the plunder. He is in danger of being carried as a slave into TURKUMANIA. He leaves ASTRABAD.

BABA SADOQ, a person of extraordinary stature and comeliness, was now appointed governor of the city: the generous air of this man's countenance was the very picture of humanity. As he had great authority among

^f Lord.

among the rebels, I entreated him to be restored to the use of my chamber and baggage, having had no better lodging the night before than a mat in my kitchen, which was open to the air. Besides the money already mentioned, I took the precaution to conceal half a piece of rich silk, expecting by this means to procure the kindness of some person in power; and accordingly I conveyed to BABA SADOQ, as the poor remains of my plundered fortunes, as much of this as would make a PERSIAN dress. He bid me be comforted, assured me that no harm should happen to me, and immediately ordered the seal to be taken off my chamber door; but at the same time he enjoined me to observe the strictest secrecy, with regard to the present I had made him; for the chiefs already began to be jealous of each other about the division of the spoil; and the more as they had not yet discovered the SHAH's treasure. The 19th in the morning MAHOMMED KHAN BEG and SADOQ AGA, with a train of attendants, came to my house, and carried off several bales, concealing others in different apartments, with a design to convey them away at night. One of the company expostulated with them, as if they had no authority for what they did: but they, considering themselves upon an equality with their leader, laughed at the admonition. This gave me the stronger apprehension of the ruin which hung over the heads of these rash young men.

MAHOMMED KHAN BEG, who had before returned me my purse, now demanded it back with the same menacing language. However I thought it necessary to be silent upon that subject, having had already given him an answer. Upon this occasion SADOQ AGA pointed at me with an insulting smile, desiring his friend to observe my appearance, as if he meant to ridicule my distress. About noon they assembled at my house, where they demanded a regular account of all my cloth, which I accordingly delivered to them. Some difficulties being started with regard to the measure; the person objecting was soon silenced by a general declaration, that the CHRISTIANS are very regular, as well as just, in their dealings.

MAHOMMED KHAN BEG then introduced two of the TURKUMAN chiefs. These were the greatest objects of my fear, but they were no less

so of my contempt. Their habits were very coarse, and their countenance yet more hard and ill-favoured. They pulled off their boots, and came with naked feet on the carpet, where they were received with great distinction by the KHAJARS, who conducted them to the seat of honour. MAHOMMED KHAN BEG, turning towards me, said, "These are the pillagers of countries, who sow devastation where-ever they go: you may now consider them as your merchants." The TURKUMANS added, "You give us the merchandize of the RUSSIANS (for so they called us) will you not give us the RUSSIANS also?" To which several of the KHAJARS replied, particularly BABA SADOQ, "What can you do with them?" They answered, "They will do well to keep our sheep." I was armed in a confidence of security from the promises I had received of protection; but this declaration of the TURKUMANS increased my impatience to leave the city at some rate or other. The assembly then consulted publicly, and without the least reserve, how they should divide the spoil, and broke up seemingly well satisfied with their prize.

The perplexity which I observed in their councils, gave me very melancholy presages of their approaching fate. I had the satisfaction at the same time of thinking there was the less danger of their conquering all the southern coast of the CASPIAN, and consequently that the ENGLISH factory at GHILAN might escape falling into their hands.

The governor of the next province of MAZANDERAN had been in confederacy with them; but upon their inviting him to take arms, he returned for answer, "That they might sleep in the bed which they had made." My great anxiety was in what manner I should get out of their hands. I was firmly of opinion, that their reign could be only for a few weeks; and that either the city would be besieged by the SHAH's forces, and the inhabitants put to the sword, or the rebels would be beat in the field. But every way I saw danger; for if they left the city behind them, they might, in their retreat to the deserts of TURKUMANIA, carry us off with every thing they could find: and even if they succeeded, the TURKUMAN party and interest would increase, and I should be carried a slave into their barbarous country.

The PERSIANS and KHAJARS, who had a higher sense of honour and humanity, knew that whatever motives might induce them to rebel against their sovereign, they had no right to rob me. Hence they expressed an anxious concern for my security, and charged me very strictly to conceal myself as much as possible from the TURKUMANS. MAHOMMED HASSAN himself seemed desirous to save us from any further misfortune, and promised to grant us a passport. In times of intestine commotions the country abounds with flying parties of robbers; moreover, the peasants of MAZANDERAN were expected to be in arms; so that HAHDGEE MYRZA MAHOMMED, into whose hands necessity had obliged me to throw myself, represented the great hazard we should be exposed to in attempting to return to GHILAN; for which reason he recommended our retiring to some secret place in the neighbouring mountains, where the PERSIANS, upon such occasions, frequently conceal themselves. I had no suspicion of his being such a villain as to have a design against my life; however, I had no opinion of his proposal, and rather chose to go openly out of the city with such a guard as I could procure. In this I was opposed by my interpreter, and all my servants, alledging if I insisted on putting our escape to any such issue, they would not attend me. With regard to them, I was in the same circumstances as a master in respect to his mariners after his ship is wrecked: but whether it was from their greater experience, or not, their fears ran very high.

The 19th, My interpreter MATTEUSE went to MAHOMMED HASSAN, to thank him for the protection I had received from him, and to beg the continuance of it. The prices of the cloth being demanded of the interpreter, according to the intimation he had received for that purpose from the KHAJARS, he mentioned twenty per cent more than the real value; that the TURKUMAN chiefs, who were then in MAHOMMED HASSAN's tent, might receive the higher impression of the presents he had made them. These TARTAR allies having now received the price of their friendship, and expecting little more than the event of a battle, began to murmur and talk of returning to their deserts. This conduct might naturally be expected of those who came only as dogs to a bone,

and have much less fidelity than is usually found in that animal. Several of the common TURKUMANS intruded themselves into my house, pretending a curiosity to see us; but as I afterwards learnt, their real intention was to consult by what means they might carry us off.

Fear now taking place of tumultuous joy, the gates of the city were ordered to be shut, and no person to pass in or out without the knowledge of MAHOMMED HASSAN; so that they already seemed to repent of their conduct. In the evening I first observed the comet which appeared at this time in the heavens, and was now a little to the south-west of my habitation.

The 20th, SADOE AGA declared that in a day or two he intended to make incursions into MAZANDERAN, which was also ripe for a revolt; but the inhabitants of that province had too mean an opinion of the AS-TRABAD chiefs, to declare in their favour. HAHDGEE MYRZA MAHOMMED, who had hitherto magnified the difficulties of my escape, now represented it more practicable. With regard to the rebellion he had pulled off the mask intirely, by the great joy he expressed upon a report, that 4000 deserters from the SHAH's camp were come in to their assistance: an event which appeared highly improbable. But such was the infatuation of those miserable people, that they greedily swallowed down this news, which was one instance of that fatal credulity, which induced them to take up arms. The 4000 men in fact, proved only to be four OUSBEG couriers, whom the SHAH had sent to KHIEVA for recruits, and were now in their way thither. These men boldly reported that the SHAH had a great army not far from GHILAN.

The TURKUMANS were already exceeding clamorous, pretending that they had been promised the value of 40,000 crowns in cloth, and a considerable sum of money, which they affirmed they had not received in any such proportion, notwithstanding the SHAH's treasure of 17,000 crowns had been at length discovered. Upon this several quarrels ensued, in which one of the TURKUMANS was cut to pieces, this induced a considerable body of them to retire from the camp. In the interim a certain

tain woman, in an enthusiastic, and indeed prophetic rage, ran about the streets beating her breast, and tearing her hair; saying, "now for 'this T——d of a KHAN', will this poor city be put to the sword!"

MAHOMMED KHAN BEG was very inquisitive when I intended to set out on my journey to GHILAN. This gave me some uneasiness; for the treatment I had received from him, and the great encomiums he had bestowed on the TURKUMAN chiefs, made me suspect, that he would not scruple to point out to them by what means they might carry us off, since they could not obtain us by the general consent of the KHAJARS.

On the 21st, The news of the plunder brought an additional reinforcement of one hundred TURKUMANS to the rebel-camp, who from an impatient desire each had of being the first in paying his respects to MAHOMMED HASSAN, created some disturbance. In the mean while, as they before challenged us in relation to our faith as CHRISTIANS, we were now represented by some superstitious or malicious persons, as men who did not believe in the supreme BEING; and indeed I was apprehensive that they meant to draw from this principle a reason for disposing of us in what manner they pleased, without the violation of any divine law. This was an opinion of a dangerous tendency, but too gross to be swallowed by the wiser part of them. The rebels had already taken our TARTAR boy, and detained him for some time: this increased the panic of the rest of my servants, who at length resolved to share my fortune in getting out of the town. I was the more impatient to see myself free of all impediment, as I determined to seek the SHAH, and appeal to him for justice; though I dared not at that time to talk of any such matter.

The 22d, My interpreter delivered to MAHOMMED HASSAN a regular account of the real value of the goods; and the better to carry on the farce, desired a bill of him for the amount; which he accordingly gave. After we had engaged the HAHDGEE to provide us ten of his armed villagers as a guard, and agreed for horses to carry us, we determined to leave the town the next day a little before sun-rising.

^a Meaning MAHOMMED HASSAN the rebel-chief.



C H A P. XXXII.

The author arrives at BALFRUSH, and joins a party of the SHAH's forces; he is obliged to leave his interpreter and servants at BALFRUSH. The several adventures which befel him in retiring before the TURKUMAN TARTARS.

IT was not till the 24th of January that we took our leave of AS-TRABAD, under the convoy of the HAHDGEE, his brother, his two sons, and about twenty armed villagers. Just without the gates we met a party of 50 persons gallantly dressed, well mounted and armed, who were come from MAZANDERAN to join the rebels: I could not but consider them as so many victims to their own folly and rashness. We carried with us all our baggage, and even our arms, and arrived safe after a day's journey at KOORDIEMALLA, a village belonging to the HAHDGEE. His brother, whose character was not the most amiable, would have conducted us to his house in the adjacent mountain; but we absolutely refused to go; in which resolution we were confirmed by the carriers, who expressed their fears of him by saying: "God only knows of his secret retirements."

It

It was my intention to have refreshed myself and horses, and then to have proceeded by the most secret roads without taking up my lodging with the HAHDGEE, especially as I knew that SADOE AGA was the next day to make an incursion into MAZANDERAN with a party of TARTARS by the common rout. The HAHDGEE had otherwise determined: he imagined I was yet possessed of some things of value, and thought it inconsistent with his interest to suffer me to carry them off. His demure countenance, and strict observance of the letter of the law, shewed him to be a true PHARISEE; for his pretence to a more than common sanctity, was but the greater violation of substantial virtue. He had now got us into his possession, and made no scruple to declare, that he would not answer for our safety a single mile further; and that the carriers, who were under his jurisdiction, should not proceed with us, unless I left my baggage with him. He mentioned at the same time a silver-mounted bridle, some gold stuff, plate, and other things, which he supposed were yet in my possession. I represented to him my impatience to proceed, and that I would run all hazards: but he replied with a treacherous smile, "YOU ARE VERY WISE." This crafty old man, whose perfidiousness was exceeded by nothing but his hypocrisy, determined to play a cunning game. If the rebellion succeeded, he would make a prize of my baggage; and if it did not succeed, he would plead his loyalty by preserving it for me, under the pretence of affording protection to a person, of whose circumstances he knew very well the SHAH must be minutely acquainted, if I escaped with my life. To prove a man to be a villain by pulling off the mask, in which he thinks himself disguised, oftentimes makes him such in a more desperate degree; so that I was afraid to reproach him, lest I should bring on a worse evil than the loss of my baggage; for he pretended all the while to be highly interested for my safety. I saw myself entirely at his mercy, and was apprehensive if I had taken my baggage from his house, I should not be able to keep it long from other thieves, who might not be so civil in their manners as this courtly robber. The HAHDGEE having entertained us handsomely at supper, I retired to my apartment, where I determined to play the game which he had taught me, though upon very different principles. I cut off the silver from my bridle,

bridle, with the trimmings from my cloaths, and also concealed what little plate I had. Not knowing how to dispose of some yards of rich silk which I had brought off from **ASTRABAD**, without a suspicion of having concealed things of value, I now delivered it to my servant, who wrapped it round his body. Thus hiding every thing that was portable in a small compass, I sealed up the remainder.

Early the next morning I delivered the gross of my baggage to the **HAHDGEE**, who was very desirous to know why I sealed it up. I told him smiling, "It is usual among **EUROPEANS**, when they leave any thing in the custody of **A FRIEND**, to use this method." I then desired he would restore me my money which remained in his hands, "otherwise, **AFTER ALL HIS FRIENDSHIP**, I must perish on my journey;" for though he knew most of my affairs, yet he was ignorant that I had saved any money. The sum due from the **HAHDGEE** was about 150 crowns, as already mentioned, of which he had the charity to pay me about sixty, twenty of which was in bad money; and to make up for the inconvenience he suffered in this **CHARITABLE** payment, he robbed me of the only horse I had, not belonging to the carriers; at least the horse was not to be found the next morning, and I went away without him.

We advanced through by-paths about 20 **ENGLISH** miles, without any apparent danger; for the few peasants whom we saw at different times, ran from us into the woods, taking us for enemies; and that night we lay in the open fields. The 26th, After travelling over ditches, and through pathless woods, we arrived at a ruined cottage, which was however very acceptable to us in our condition. The greatest concern I had was to prevent the **SHACKALLS** from running away with my accoutrements: these animals, with which the woods abound, are remarkably fond of leather: they are also very domestic, insomuch that several of them passed over my bed during the night. I was determined to part with my conductors as soon as convenient; for they sowed rebellion wherever they went. The little children in the villages, taking us for **TARTARS**, called out "**TURKUMANÆ**;" as if they meant to receive us as their **DELIVERERS**. The people every where complained aloud, that the

SHAH had reduced them to the extremest misery *. We passed by the ruins of the palace at FARABAD, once famous for the residence of the PERSIAN kings. This city having been often plundered by the TURKUMANS, is now abandoned; there being only a few PERSIAN and ARME-
 NIAN inhabitants. From hence we passed to a little village upon a lake, where several peasants support themselves by catching wild ducks. They go in boats during the night, near the marshy banks, which are covered with rushes, and carry great lights on the stern; then ringing a number of small bells, the birds are confounded, and fly into their very hands.

The carriers had engaged to conduct us to BALFRUSH, the capital of MAZANDERAN, which was yet about 20 miles distant; but hearing that MAHOMMED KHAN, the admiral of the sea-coasts, was levying forces to oppose the ASTRABAD rebels, they would not proceed with me any farther. I was in a country surrounded by marshes, where no horses, nor any other cattle were to be had, and therefore desired they would at least conduct me to some place where we could procure horses; but this they also refused, alledging, that as we were near the sea, we might go by water. Accordingly, the 27th in the morning, they conducted us to a poor fisherman's hut on the sea-coast; he had a canoe, which was very leaky, and too small for six persons; besides, it could be navigated only with oars near the shore, where the surf ran so high, that I had no conception how it was possible for such a boat to convey us 20 miles. I therefore repeated my instances to the carriers, that they would either find me horses according to their engagement, or at least carry me where I

* Mr. OTTER of the academy of PARIS, who travelled in PERSIA a few years before this time, mentions a remarkable speech which was made him by a poor peasant, when he questioned him why he did not cloath his daughter better. "You," says the peasant, "ask this question much at your ease; but I fancy you do not know NADIR SHAH. Instead of thinking of our cloaths, it is well if we can get a morsel of bread: Are we not obliged to sell all we have to find him money, and prevent our being bastonaded to death? They now demand of me three TOMANS (30 crowns) I know not where to get them: My cattle, my flocks, and my moveables are already carried off by the SHAH's collectors (MUHASSILS.) I have only two or three sheep left, whose milk serves to nourish me, and this poor girl, whom I would gladly sell, even to a foreigner, if I could get for her the sum they demand of me: she can never be in a worse condition than she is here, especially if she should have the misfortune to lose me, which must infallibly happen, if I am not in a condition to pay this money."

could procure them. They treated my demand with contempt ; which obliged me to threaten them to use force : upon this two of them, being armed with match-locks, lighted their matches : two had bows and arrows ; and all of them, being six in number, had sabres ; they also put themselves in a posture of defence. I collected my company, among whom were four muskets, a blunderbuss, and a pair of pistols ; but I could hardly depend on more than two of my servants. In this situation we parleyed for some time, till at length I submitted to run the risk of being drowned ; rather than engage in a fray, where I might have more probably ended my life, but could not possibly obtain any honour or advantage, except the precarious use of horses, through a country entirely unknown to us. Trusting therefore to providence, we embarked in the canoe. We made our way with paddles along the shore, in four or five feet water, within banks of sand, so that we had breakers on both sides of us. Had the wind come from the north, it would have been impossible for the canoe to live : but gentle breezes from the east, with the skilfulness of our boatman in this sort of navigation, brought us safe to MESCHEDIZAR. On the 28th, I learnt that the governor of this province (MAZANDERAN) had collected a thousand men to make head against the rebels ; but their unwillingness to fight, from their disaffection to the government, had induced them to separate ; the governor himself had also retired. However the admiral MAHOMMED KHAN was there endeavouring by all means to collect a body of forces : SHAHVERDIE BEG, a colonel in the marine, was also with him. I sent an ARMENIAN servant to inform them of my arrival, and to beg their protection ; on which SHAHVERDIE BEG sent me a horse handsomely caparisoned, and four mules for my servants. The 30th, We came to BALFRUSH, where I had the satisfaction to learn the opinion of the PERSIAN merchants, that the SHAH would make good my loss. MAHOMMED KHAN congratulated me on my arrival in his jurisdiction out of the hands of the rebels, and told me that I was happy in having escaped with my life ; that he was himself under very melancholy circumstances, having only a small number of forces to oppose the rebels ; and that he wished to be in GHILAN ; but could not return thither, for fear of the king's dis-

displeasure. He recommended to me to continue my rout by water, otherwise I must be exposed again to the rebels in a defenceless city. I had no inclination for any more such voyages, in which, with every puff of wind, I must be exposed to be drowned, or driven, without any of the necessaries of life, upon a wild and friendless shore. However, to gratify the admiral, who knew less of the water than many children of five years of age, I made enquiry if it was practicable; and found that the inhabitants of MESCHEDIZAR being afraid of the TURKUMANS, had deserted the place the day I left it, and that it would be to no purpose to return thither.

MATTEUSE, my interpreter, was much distressed with fatigue and fear, and instead of assisting me with his council, talked of retiring to a monastery, which he thought would be more proper for his age and turn of mind, than such perilous wanderings; and resolved at the same time to remain in BALFRUSH. His incapacity of keeping pace on the road, and his jealousy that I did not confide in him, made his company irksome, though he was a very good old man.

The 31st, SADOE AGA having now advanced at the head of a party of TURKUMANS within a few miles of this city; MAHOMMED KHAN went out to reconnoitre his situation. The KHAN had with him only about 80 men, and though these were well mounted and armed, they were too few to come to action, had his courage disposed him to it: nor had the TURKUMANS, on the other hand, half so great an inclination to fight as to plunder. Indeed the gallant figure which this party made, induced me to hope they would not put it to the issue of an unequal engagement. On the KHAN's return to the city, I waited on him, to thank him for the advice he had given me; but that it was not practicable to follow it; MESCHEDIZAR being deserted by the inhabitants: therefore I desired a supply of horses for myself and servants. He now seemed cold and indifferent to my application; though, in general terms, he still promised I should have them, but without saying what number, or when: he complained at the same time, that he did not know but to-morrow might

be his last ; as he was neither in a condition to fight, nor, for fear of his master's displeasure, dared to retire.

February the 1st, I sent a message to the KHAN to remind him of his promise ; and he assured my interpreter, that he would take care of us ; but did not yet give any orders for horses or mules. The TARTARS were every hour expected in the city ; the shops were shut, and every countenance full of distraction. I resolved therefore to depend no longer on the promises of the KHAN ; but endeavoured to find horses, mules, or even asses, where-ever I could procure them, intending to venture with my servants, if I could get no other company : but I found it impossible to hire any beast of burthen ; for the greatest part of the people had fled with their most valuable effects, and others were preparing to follow their example. The weather was very rainy, so that neither the match-locks, nor even the fire-locks of the PERSIANS could be of any great use to them against the bows and arrows of the TARTARS. Under these circumstances I had nothing to do, but prepare to receive my conquerors the second time, or to walk off by myself unattended ; and of these alternatives I chose the former. The next day MAHOMMED KHAN, as if he meant to insult me, sent a horse extremely poor in flesh, and mortally distempered. I was some time in doubt whether I should accept of him or not ; but at length I took my leave of my interpreter and servants, offering them what money they should have occasion for ; and leaving with them the rebels passport, I recommended them to providence.

The TARTARS were already entering one gate, when I went out at the other. I fell in with a party who conducted the baggage of MAHOMMED KHAN, and himself with his few forces soon followed ; but it was not possible for me to keep pace with them. The TARTAR boy followed me on foot ; but he soon tired, and entreated me most earnestly to take him up behind me. Before we had got six miles the horse's hind-quarters gave way, and he sat upon his tail like a dog, so that we were both obliged to dismount. I now began to wish myself in the city again, hardly knowing what method to pursue : I had wrapped my body round with soft PERSIAN sashes, that I might be defended as much possible

sible against the injuries of the weather at this season, which is generally severe in these parts; so that I was but in a bad condition for walking. I had no guide, and understood but few words of the language; however with the assistance of the TARTAR boy, who spoke TURKISH and RUSS, I found my way to the sea-coast. I had with me a blunderbuss and a pair of pistols, intending to keep on my guard. The peasants generally entertain an opinion that EUROPEANS have something valuable about them; and this was my case, for I still retained the greatest part of the money I had concealed: and it now seemed necessary to disguise myself in the best manner I could. My cloaths were already very mean; and the better to deceive any robbers, I set the boy on the horse, which I led by the bridle, as he was yet able to creep along with a small weight. There were several rivers to pass, at which I had the good fortune to find ferries, and pleading poverty I passed gratis. In this manner I continued my journey for about ten ENGLISH miles, perplexed, and extremely harrassed. At length the KHAN's company, to my great joy, having halted, I got up with them, and procured shelter from the weather, with a mat to lay on. By this time Mr. HOGG[†] and my RUSSIAN menial servant came up with me, having had better fortune than myself; for the KHAN had procured them a conveyance on horseback in company with his own servants.

Early the next day I sent to the KHAN, to acquaint him that it was impossible to proceed on the horse which he had sent me: he then ordered others, for which he demanded more than five times the value. As I knew by experience that the possession of them must be precarious; and finding a person, who offered to supply us with better horses for hire, I declined the KHAN's insulting offer. We proceeded a short day's journey to a little village on the sea-coast, where we halted, and I was again deprived of my horse. The KHAN now made a feint, as if he intended to stop the progress of the rebels, who were already advanced in pursuit of him as far as AMUL: observing the beauty of my pistols, which were mounted with silver, he desired the loan of them, alledging that he was going on a party to reconnoitre the rebels. I begged his acceptance of them, reminding him at the same time, that neither myself, nor the three per-

[†] My clerk mentioned in page 83.

sons who were yet with me, had any carriage but what depended on accident, and the charity of the soldiers: upon this he again assured me, through the little TARTAR interpreter, he would take care of us. After a few hours absence he returned in some confusion, and ordered all the avenues in the woods to be guarded to prevent a surprize, a body of rebels being then very near. I had not then eaten any thing for near 40 hours except a few parched pease, so that I was obliged to beg what I dared not, and indeed could not buy, but SHAHVERDIE BEG relieved me.

All the men and baggage being collected within the walls of the vizir's house, where the KHAN was lodged; I concluded they either intended a secret flight, or to defend themselves within those walls in case of an attack. I accordingly joined them, and repeated my instances for horses whenever they should march; on which the KHAN bid me not be uneasy, and promised that he would not leave any of us behind. When night came on, they began their march, and I had the mortification to find that every thing, even to the least valuable baggage, was carried off, great part on very good horses; while myself, Mr. HOGG, my RUSSIAN servant, and the little boy, were left alone. My eyes were now opened, and it seemed apparent, that the KHAN meant to make a sacrifice of us, and that we should be safer in the hands of the TARTARS than in his; nor was I without many self-reproaches, for my refusal to buy the bad horses which the KHAN had offered me, though his demands were insolent and oppressive: but I had no experience of such a necessity, nor was I accustomed to servile compliances, so that I was easily betrayed into this* mistake. I thought indeed the present of 60 crowns value in the pistols was sufficient to procure the loan of a few bad horses for 3 or 4 days, even upon the narrow principle of gain; but where generosity is a stranger, gratitude has seldom any admittance. Trusting to the goodness of providence I was determined to follow the KHAN, and try if any means yet remained to procure some kind of conveyance.* I had not strength to walk far, and there was a deep water to pass before we could reach the sea-shore. Here we had the good fortune to find a ferry, and having passed the river we came into a wood, where the road was deep and
marshy

marshy. It rained hard, and the night was very dark; but the baggage-horses being heavy laden, moved very slowly, so that I was enabled to keep up with them. Under these painful circumstances I walked for near four miles: being quite jaded, and finding no other expedient, I determined to seize the bridle of the horse on which the KHAN himself was mounted, and try if the word SHAH had any magic to bring him to that sense of duty, which neither his promise, nor the dictates of humanity, had yet obtained. Having collected some broken words, and the copy of the SHAH's decree^a, which I had in my pocket, I advanced towards the KHAN, and calling him by his name, he halted. My situation pleaded its own cause without the assistance of many words, and he immediately ordered his vizir^b to take me up behind him.

Being thus mounted we went slowly for some miles, till the KHAN ordered a horse loaded with baggage to be delivered to me, for which I was to pay 50 crowns. It was too dark to discover if it was a horse, or any other animal: I found that I was obliged to pay a very exorbitant price for a precarious relief, but I consented, as I now should have done, if he had asked 500. One of the conductors of the baggage had compassion on the TARTAR boy, and took him up. As for Mr. HOGG and the RUSSIAN servant, they had hitherto strength to walk; but at length Mr. HOGG complained to me, that he was not able to move any farther, and begged I would relieve him with the use of my horse, to which I consented; but I was soon reduced to the alternative of dismounting my fellow-traveller, or being left on the shore. From that time I saw no more of Mr. HOGG till some days after my arrival in GHILAN.

The apprehensions which the KHAN had conceived of the TURKUMANS carried him on from seven in the evening, till the same hour the next morning; when after a short refreshment, we continued our march till four in the evening. The darkness of the night had been increased by continual rain, whilst the wind, and the beating of the waves on the shore, together with the apprehensions of a savage enemy, added

^a RAGAM.^b Writer, or secretary.

horror to the scene. These circumstances rendered my situation not easy to be understood, except by those who have suffered the severities of a winter-campaign without any of the necessities of life: but inexperience of such kind of trials adds some weight to them. I was more than once overcome with sleep, and left alone, still it was my good fortune to get up with my company; for our march was often interrupted by the rivers, which at this time were hardly fordable.

The 4th, We received intelligence that a body of TARTARS had been at the house which we left the night before. The fears of MAHOMMED KHAN magnified his danger, insomuch that every shrub appeared to him as a party of the enemy: and during the night he often drew up his men in order of battle, and obliged them to keep their matches lighted. This morning the advanced guard gave the alarm, as if they had discovered a body of armed TURKUMANS posted in a wood by which we must pass, the sea being on the opposite side. The KHAN immediately changed his cloaths, and preparing for battle, gave orders to fire in upon them. When I came up, I found five miserable wretches weltering in their blood, and expiring with the wounds they had received. This formidable enemy proved to be only a party of 20 unarmed AFGHANS, who were going to NADIR's camp as recruits. The next day and night we travelled 20 hours, and at length halted at a village to refresh ourselves, where an odd adventure happened to me. I had hired a barber to shave me, who being questioned if he knew that I was a CHRISTIAN, and consequently unclean, left me in the midst of his work. I could hardly forbear laughing at the figure I made upon this occasion; at the same time I reflected on the folly of the man, or rather of his religion. He was indeed right in one sense; for my cloaths were very dirty, not having been off my back for thirteen days. I was now obliged to forget that tenderness which my constitution seemed to require; and lay on the bare earth, though sometimes I had the fortune to procure a little straw.

The inroads of the CASPIAN, and the torrents from the mountains, had formed many rivers and channels of water, some of which were hardly passable. The north-wind also made so great a surge on the shore where
we

we were obliged to pass, that many horses belonging to our company were thrown down by its violence, and their riders in danger of being drowned. The 6th, I obtained a discharge of the baggage under which my horse laboured: but I found him so weak on his legs, that I chose rather to trust to my own in passing these channels, where I seldom escaped without being wet to the middle. In the evening we arrived at ESPUCHIN, a little village on the sea-shore, where by the kindness of SHAHVERDIE BEG I procured some refreshments. I was soon informed that the KHAN was preparing to march, which surprized me very much, as there had been no time to rest his cavalry: but the ill impressions which I had received of him, induced me to go immediately in search of intelligence. The village was situated in a wood very marshy, and abounding in ditches, and the houses scattered in a wild irregular manner. I intended to go where the KHAN was lodged, but night coming on suddenly, I knew not which way to take, or how to recover my own lodgings; so that I wandered a considerable time through ditches and bogs. After being extremely fatigued and perplexed, I discovered a light, and made to it. Here I found one of the AFGHANS, whose companions I mentioned to have been murdered on the sea-shore: he had some women with him, and was preparing for flight: my figure surprized him, and he made a show of defence; but when he learnt that my business was only to find MAHOMMED KHAN, he directed me to him. I would now have gladly cleaned myself, but that was impossible: the KHAN seemed extremely surprized, and I could not explain to him the reason of so extraordinary a visit; but desired to be conducted to my own lodging. The most stupid and ungenerous have their fits of benevolence. I was agreeably surprized to see victuals set before me, with water to wash myself, and a pan of charcoals to warm me. As far as I could discover from gestures, and a few words, the KHAN represented Mr. ELTON's conduct and mine as very extravagant, in attempting to transport our merchandize through ASTRABAD to MESCHED, and expressed a great sensibility of the danger his own person had been exposed to in consequence of the rebellion. At length I was conducted to my lodging, where I found my RUSSIAN servant, who had supported himself very well under his fatigue, and was extremely faithful to me: he was under the utmost

most anxiety on my account, having in vain searched after me for some hours.

The 7th, After a forced march the KHAN, thinking himself out of danger, gave his women in charge of SHAHVERDIE BEG, and went to TUNICABUNE, where he pretended he would stop the progress of the rebels. But the truth was, SADOQ AGA, with his TURKUMANS, proceeded no farther in quest of us; for the news of a powerful diversion, with which the main body of the rebels were threatened in KHORASAN, induced him to return back. SHAHVERDIE BEG being now detached from the KHAN, treated me with the greater civility; but having no conveniences of life with him more than what related to his own person, he could not assist me with any thing but provisions.

It is not the custom in travelling in PERSIA for any man to come near the women, except their lord or his servants: but the circumstances we had been in, prevented a scrupulous regard to this distinction, and I had once the office, not the most dignified in PERSIA, of guarding the women. My RUSSIAN servant had yet preserved my blunderbuss, which appeared very formidable to the PERSIANS; for I was several times asked, "if it carried a ball as big as the bore." Those females who are purchasable like other animals, and change their master as often as their cloaths, are but ill entitled to a defence that may endanger one's life; though there are others of the sex for whom one would dare to die. The roads through the woods were very marshy, whilst the sand on the shore, and the trees which the sea had washed down, rendered travelling very disagreeable; but the temperate quality of the air was extremely refreshing. I now first observed the delightful situation of many recesses in the mountains, where they have plenty of delicious running water, with a profusion of vines, orange, and lemon trees.

The 10th, We had passed through the whole province of MAZANDERAN, great part of it in the night, and consequently with very little opportunity of observation, had my mind been enough composed for it. In three and twenty days, since the city of ASTRABAD was taken by the rebels,

rebels, I had not enjoyed an hour of security, or unbroken sleep. We were drawing near to LANGAROOD, whence I had departed about seven weeks before, and was now as desirous to see it again, as if it had been my proper home. Mr. ELTON having been informed that I was on the road, sent Mr. LOFTUS his interpreter, with a servant, and one of his best horses, to meet me. I was much surprized to find, that the news of the ASTRABAD rebellion had not reached Mr. ELTON above two days, though the distance does not much exceed 200 miles: but there is no civilized country, if PERSIA may be called such, where there is so little communication, or more irregular intelligence.

I took my leave of SHAHVERDIE BEG, and returned him my sincerest thanks for the kindness he had shewn me, to which my preservation was in a great degree owing: it was therefore the greater concern to me to hear, that the character he bore was not much superior to that of MAHOMMED KHAN. The SHAH, not long before this time, had given SHAHVERDIE BEG directions about the execution of a certain business, and ordered him at the same time to be bastinadoed. The king then asked him: "Do you know why you have been beaten?" He answered in the negative: "It is," says the SHAH, "that in remembering the blows, you may remember also the charge I have given you; and without which I am sure you would have forgotten it." Extraordinary as this conduct may appear, it was an instance of NADIR's sagacity, according to the principles by which he was generally directed. For SHAHVERDIE BEG, though my friend, was a thoughtless, vain fellow, whose affinity with some great men in the camp, had been the only means of saving him more than once from much severer punishments. I related to Mr. LOFTUS the treatment I had received from MAHOMMED KHAN, and soon discovered that Mr. ELTON and the KHAN were not friends. The latter was envious of Mr. ELTON's growing power with the SHAH, and instead of forwarding, sought to obstruct the new design of building ships on the CASPIAN; and knowing the relation I had to Mr. ELTON, he had acted, as the reader may judge, as if he was very indifferent about my preservation.

C H A P. XXXIII.

The author is kindly received by Mr. ELTON. He resolves to go in search of the SHAH ; and in the way is received by HAHDGEE ZAMON with great politeness. Character of MAHOMMED KHAN. State of PERSIA in regard to rebellion. PERSIAN manner of eating, and the nature of their beds.

MR. ELTON received me with open arms, and congratulated me on having escaped with my life and liberty. He seemed confident that the SHAH would do us justice, and indeed the people, as I came along, were every where of that opinion, though they very much arraigned his prudence and my own for making this attempt. I had already resolved, if necessary, to go in search of the SHAH, who was then in TURKEY ; but my legs and feet were much swelled and bruised, my boots not having been off for sixteen days : some time was also necessary to provide myself fresh cloathing, not having saved any part of what I carried to ASTRABAD.

I acquainted Mr. ELTON where I had left MATTEUSE, and the other ARMENIAN servant, and also my clerk Mr. HOGG, whose situation I was very apprehensive would expose him to some misfortune. Mr. ELTON immediately sent servants and horses in quest of him, and after a few days he was brought home. He had overtaken MAHOMMED KHAN near the borders of GHILAN, who according to the treatment I had received of him, had provided Mr. HOGG a horse, for which he was to pay a considerable price, though the beast fell under him before he had advanced two miles. Mr. HOGG now appeared as a man expiring in a lingering consumption : he had been two days and three nights exposed to the cold and rain without any food or shelter ; five several times robbed, till they left him almost naked, and being often in danger of his life, was at length relieved by the charity of some monks*, whose retreat in the mountains he had the good fortune to discover. As to MATTEUSE, and the other ARMENIAN whom I left at BALFRUSH, they did

* There are certain DERVISES, or religious men among the PERSIANS, who lead a recluse life.

not come home till three weeks after, so that they escaped these severe hardships. SADOE AGA gave them a passport at BALFRUSH under his seal, the pompous style of which, considering his circumstances, will give the reader an idea of oriental language, as well as of PERSIAN folly.

“ To the victorious armies be it known, that MATTEUSE the ARMENIAN
“ is here. Let him not be molested, but live under our shadow.”

The 12th, I received the news, that Mr. PANTON, one of the ENGLISH factors, died of a jaundice at CASBIN, in his way to MESCHED. He was the fifth person that died since 1740 out of sixteen EUROPEANS, who had been employed in the BRITISH CASPIAN trade.

Mr. ELTON finding that he could not procure men for the ship-yard, notwithstanding SHAHVERDIE BEG had received the SHAH's orders to supply them; sent out a small party armed with clubs to take them by force; but instead of executing their business, they laid down their arms, and deserted. This had irritated SHAVERDIE BEG in such a manner, that we expected to be attacked in our turn. Being thus upon terms of enmity, Mr. ELTON ordered the two three pounders, which were planted before his door, to be loaded with cartridge shot; and we all put ourselves in a posture of defence.

As I had already been sufficiently entertained in the hostile way, and should not have chosen to pierce that breast^b, to which I had been a few days before indebted for my preservation, I took my leave of Mr. ELTON, and set out for RESHD. It had rained incessantly for several days, which rendered the roads extremely bad, till we advanced higher into the mountain, where the soil is gravelly. Though GHILAN was reputed to be under the least unhappy circumstances of any province in PERSIA, yet the villages were in a very ruinous condition. From LANGAROOD to LAHIJAN is about seven ENGLISH miles: the latter being on an eminence, and dry, is esteemed the most wholesome in the province; for here the mountains open a passage for the wind. The rains had filled a large spot of ground, and formed a square regular piece of water, in which were abundance of wild fowl: in the centre of it stood a grove upon a

^b SHAVERDIE BEG.

rising ground, which served to beautify the prospect, and render it as delightful as the rudeness of the season would admit. Here I was received by HAHDGEE ZAMON, who was distinguished for his good sense, as well as authority in that place.

The PERSIANS, who boast of the antiquity of their monarchy and government, have still a remembrance of that learning and politeness for which they have been for so many ages distinguished all over ASIA. Being ignorant of the vast improvements that are made by their neighbours the RUSSIANS, they consider themselves in general as greatly superior to them; the truth is, they see very few but their unpolished merchants, or ruder seamen. During our perilous journey through MAZANDERAN, my RUSSIAN servant had always slept in the same apartment with me; and now forgetting the distinction, he came into the room where we sat, and fell asleep. I begged the HAHDGEE's pardon, which with great politeness he granted; but not without making some remarks on the unpolished manners of the RUSSIANS; adding however that under their government GHILAN was rich, and that he believed the inhabitants would not think it any unhappiness if the RUSSIANS were again masters of that province. He then complained aloud of the present government, reflecting on the meanness of NADIR's birth, and of the persons employed by him; speaking in favour of none of the grandees, except KASSIM KHAN, and MUSTAPHA KHAN. I took notice to him in what manner I had been treated by MAHOMMED KHAN: "You must not be surprized," says he, "MAHOMMED KHAN is a very mean person. A few years since he was sent to the river ATTOK, to build rafts for the army, when the SHAH made his expedition into INDIA. The KHAN had also orders to collect provisions, which he performed to the satisfaction of the SHAH. He was afterwards sent to MAZANDERAN to collect timber to be transported by land a-cross the PERSIAN empire to GAMBROON; this he performed, though at the price of the ruin of that province, of which he was afterwards made governor. There he collected the taxes, according to the style of this country, very well; that is, with the utmost oppression. I am amazed at his

" treat-

“ treatment of you : it is true, he is extremely avaritious ; but the protection and even hospitality you was entitled to upon every principle of justice, could not have cost him any thing ; and would have been highly to his reputation : however you see how mean a soul he has.” Mr. LOFTUS, whom Mr. ELTON had now lent me as an interpreter, then took notice, that some officers and soldiers belonging to MAHOMMED KHAN, knowing we were going to the camp, had desired him to say nothing concerning the conduct of their general, who had behaved as ill to Mr. ELTON in the maritime business, as he had done to me in my distresses.

It is common for men in the fulness of the heart to complain of the evils they suffer, even when they enjoy a large portion of good. The HAHDGEE, who saw the miseries of his country, and had been pillaged in common with others, now broke out into many exclamations. “ I must confess,” says he, “ our king is a man of great natural parts, and inflexibly just in some instances ; but he acts as if he meant to ruin this poor country by the most despicable instruments : he employs only men of the lowest birth and education. It is true, he has cut off numbers of them for their wickedness ; but they are infatuated, and take no warning. The SHAH himself is in his nature cruel ; but these men improve on his cruelty : if they are sent to take my cap, they take my head also : for the distance of the court often encourages their insolence. Oppression will make a wise man mad ; and despair will drive people to rebellion, of which you have lately had a sad experience. When the farmers hear of insurrections near them, they oftentimes refuse not only to pay their taxes, but their rents also : this sometimes involves us in extreme misery : but the greatest distress of this country is owing to robbers, who bring all things into confusion, and these are the constant attendants upon rebellions.”

Supper being now brought in, a servant presented a basin of water, and a napkin hung over his shoulders : he went to every one in the company, and poured water on their hands to wash. In the court-yard stood a large lamp, which was supplied with tallow, and in the middle of the

the room upon the floor, was one large wax-candle; which they snuffed with scissers into a tea-cup of water. A large salver in form of a tea-board was set before every person, covered with a plate of plecto, on which was a small quantity of minced meat mixed up with fruits and spices. There were also plates of comfits, several china-basons of sherbets^c, as sweet, sour, and other waters, with cakes of rice, and others of wheat flower, on which were sprinkled the seeds of poppies, and others of the like nature. As they esteem it an abomination to cut either bread, or any kind of meat, after it is dressed, these cakes are made thin, that they may be easily broken with the hand, and their meat, which is generally mutton, or fowls, is so prepared, that they divide it with their fingers. When every thing was set in order before them, they eat fast, and without any ceremony, feeding themselves with their fingers. It must be confessed, that the PERSIANS are not very nice in their manner of eating; for they grease their hands, and besmear their beards. Supper was no sooner over, than warm water was brought to wash, which being done, they resumed their discourse. And here it is worthy of remark, that when the oldest man in the company speaks, though he be poor, and set at the lower end of the room, they all give a strict attention to his words.

Soon after supper the company retired, and beds were taken out of niches made in the wall for that purpose, and laid on the carpets. They consisted only of two thick cotton quilts, one of which was folded double, and served as a mattress, and the other as a covering, with a large flat pillow for the head. The PERSIANS usually sleep in their under garment and drawers, by which means they are less subject to catch cold than we are, as well as much sooner dressed and undressed. I was struck with this simplicity which renders useless so many things, that in EUROPE are thought essential to the well-being of life. This is the ordinary method; but their princes and great men, who indulge themselves in a higher taste, use sheets, and other delicate appurtenances of a bed; though without any of that parade which is practised in EUROPE; nor do they crowd their apartments with unnecessary and superfluous furniture.

^c This is a PERSIAN word, though well understood in EUROPE.

The 18th, I set forward for RESHD, well satisfied with the last night's entertainment. I found the trees blown down, and the roads much broken up; the fascines of which they were made, being uncovered. Though in general the country is marshy, yet the bridges are quite neglected. It rained incessantly for nine hours very heavily. Passing by several plantations of mulberry-trees, and the burying-ground of some of my countrymen lately dead, I arrived the next day at RESHD, where Mr. ELTON had his house for commercial affairs. Here I was visited by Mr. BROWN and Mr. WILDER, the only two ENGLISH gentlemen in that city, Mr. VAN MIEROP being gone to MESCHED. Though there was a great jealousy subsisting between Mr. BROWN and Mr. ELTON, yet I received great marks of friendship and politeness from the former: I had also a visit from three FRENCH missionaries, of whom one professed physick, and was afterwards in great esteem with NADIR SHAH, having cured him of a dangerous disorder. The SHAH expressed his gratitude by several presents of value; but this missionary happening unluckily to be in the camp when NADIR was put to death^d; he was stripped, and narrowly escaped being murdered. They were all three sensible, polite men, particularly father LE GARDE, who had been many years in PERSIA, and resided at ISFAHAN, when it was taken by the AFGHANS, and of whom I learnt some particulars in relation to NADIR SHAH.

The 20th, I visited ORDO KOULI BEG, governor of the province, whose usual residence is in RESHD. Here I had a specimen of PERSIAN insolence, by the opposition which, without any authority, and contrary to custom, a creature of MAHOMMED KHAN made to my going into the governor's presence. The governor, who was an old man, received me with great civility, and as the custom of EUROPEANS is well known in this province, he immediately ordered a chair to be set for me. I acquainted him of the misfortune that had befallen me, and that I was going to seek justice of the SHAH; and therefore desired he would inform me where I should most probably find him. He said he could not give me any exact intelligence, but believed the SHAH would be in TURKEY,

^d Above three years after this time.

or not far from the borders of SYRIA. The apartment was full of people seated on NÆMETS^c spread round the sides of the room, the servants and soldiers standing in the square below. I took my leave of the governor, and paid a visit to M. BAKOONIN the RUSSIAN consul: As he seemed to have always a desire to render the BRITISH factors of as little consideration as possible in the eye of the PERSIANS, he did not return my visit in three days: but being disposed to cultivate a good understanding with him, I sent him word, that I was sorry for his INDISPOSITION; he understood the reproof, and immediately came to see me that very day, making many excuses for his delay.

Having provided myself with cloaths, bedding, and kitchen furniture, likewise with tents, mules, and horses, as well as fire-locks and sabres for my five attendants, the 26th I set out on my journey. I observed on this occasion, that large mules are as dear here as in PORTUGAL; one, I remember, cost me 250 crowns^c: they are incomparably the most useful animal in rocky countries, being very sure footed, and able to carry great burthens for long journies. The country here about abounds with fields of rice, and plantations of mulberry-trees: some of the mountains are covered with cyprus-trees, others are naked rocks rising upon rocks to a vast height: lawns and arable lands with some mean villages are interspersed in the valleys. We travelled this day to KOHTUNE, which is about 18 miles from RESHD; the elders of the place being absent, we were obliged to set up in a caravanferai, which was really an old stable in ruin: from KOHTUNE, for 5 or 6 english miles the country is marshy. Passing the river KIZILAZAN we ascended the mountains by the RAHDAR^c of NOGLABAR, where, having no merchandize, we passed for a small acknowledgment. From thence we proceeded 22 miles to RUSTUMABAD, a ruined caravanferai, famous for having been the rendezvous of a band of robbers: From thence through LUAH 16 miles to ROODBAR, on the banks of the river KIZILASAN; the country is well covered with olive, orange, and other trees, and in the neighbourhood there is also dry arable land. This place lies on the declivity of a hill, from whence runs a

^c Felts of camels hair.^d Sixty-two pounds ten shillings.^e A PERSIAN toll.

stream of water conveyed by channels to the roots of the olive-trees, which the peasants cultivate with great assiduity. The heat of the weather, though we were now in February, fatigued us extremely.

The 28th, We passed the KIZILAZAN in canoes, into which we loaded our baggage, and swam over our horses and mules; the stream was so rapid, that it carried some of them near a quarter of a mile. As we ascended the mountains, the climate was much altered, and the wind blew so hard, that we were obliged to dismount, for fear of being blown down the precipice, for in many places the path is not two feet wide. The mountain rises steep on one side, and the valley, in which are some branches of the KIZILAZAN, is on the other. We travelled this day about 18 miles. The day following the road was very bad; for we were obliged to pass the same river about thirty times in two hours, as the path on different sides conducted us, while the rocks rose perpendicular from the river^f. We came about 25 miles to a caravanferai very much ruined, where we thought it necessary to keep a strict watch.

The 1st of March, we travelled three FARSANGS^g over mountains: this passage is so extremely narrow, that part of the SHAH's army, in passing that way not many months before, lost several men and horses, which tumbled down the precipices. At length we came upon the great plain of CASBIN, which was covered three feet deep with snow: a narrow foot-path was trodden, but our horses and mules often tumbled from it, and plunged into the snow; upon which occasions we were obliged to unload the mules in order to recover the path. The reflection of the sun upon the snow became so extremely painful to my eyes, that I could not proceed on my journey without great difficulty. The little villages upon this plain are built so, that half the houses are under the surface of the earth, and the tops of them formed into a cone, for the conveniency of carrying off the snow. We arrived that evening to a little village near AGA-BABA, where we were obliged to take up with a ruined stable, and also to keep watch all night. The day following we set out some time be-

^f This place is supposed to be the FAUCES HYRCANICÆ.

^g 12 miles.

fore sun-rise, as well to avoid the danger of being blinded by the reflection of the sun-beams, as to enjoy the benefit of a firmer road.

C H A P. XXXIV.

Description of the city of CASBIN, and of the palace built by NADIR SHAH. Conversation with a PERSIAN merchant with regard to the trade of PERSIA. Further conversation with the same merchant concerning the calamitous condition of PERSIA.

BEING arrived at CASBIN, I paid my compliments to HAHDGEE ABDULCRIM, the greatest merchant in the place. He provided me with a good house near his own, and told me that I must submit to stay some time in that city, as it was impossible to proceed on my journey on account of the snow; adding that 800 AFGHANS were in the city, who had been for some time prevented from continuing their march to the camp; and that for the same reason 50 camels loaden with rice for the use of the SHAH's army, had been obliged to return after one day's journey. Several couriers arrived, some of whom had their eyes so injured by the reflection of the sun on the snow, that they could not see at all. The HAHDGEE observed further, that they must submit to this inconvenience, for the plenty of their harvest depended in a great measure on the snow. The houses here are for the most part below the surface of the earth, as are many of the gardens joining to them, to obtain the convenience of water, which is brought to them from a considerable distance in channels; for as we usually bring water up to our houses, they level their houses to the water, which however are not the less agreeable in hot weather: they are generally built with sun-dried bricks, and their cement is a strong lime: the roofs are flat, so that it is easy and familiar to sleep on the house-tops. These buildings are enclosed with a mud-wall; they consist of two divisions, the outer stands in a large area, and consists of a spacious room*, one side of which is open, and supported with pillars. In these they dispatch their business, and also eat, when they do

* THE ALVAN.

not retire to the women's apartment. There are niches in the wall, which answer the purpose of tables : the floors are covered with large worsted carpets ; and on the sides of the room are felts about a yard broad, and are generally two or three yards long ; these are called *NÆMETS*, as already mentioned, and are made either with wool, or camels hair, and being very thick and soft, are used for sitting upon. In the wings of this apartment there are smaller rooms for lodging : and in the same yard are apartments for the servants, and also their stables. On the back part of this building is another, likewise enclosed by a wall ; which, for the sake of privacy, is generally entered by two turnings : here is the women's apartment^b, into which no man is suffered to enter except the master of it.

The water in *CASBIN* has an exceeding bad reputation ; I corrected its quality by boiling raisins and barley with it, by which means none of us found any inconvenience. The badness of this water, with the sudden changes of the weather, affect strangers in such a manner, that it is remarkable that numbers leave records of their sickness in writings on the walls of the great caravanserai.

This city stands on very high land, though a plain, which is surrounded with mountains at some miles distance ; the air is fine and subtil. In summer the heats and colds alternately succeed each other, and though the days are very hot, in the nights the winds are extremely piercing ; the abundance of fruit which the common people eat, contributes greatly to the unwholesomeness of the place. The 3d, I visited the *HAHDGEE*, who insisted on my dining with him : their hour is about 11 in the morning ; he had milks differently prepared, cheese somewhat like our curds, comfits, and cakes of bread. It is the custom here, as in most parts of *ASIA*, to make but two meals, of which the most considerable is in the evening, as practised in the southern parts of *EUROPE* : and at this season of the year they begin to sleep two or three hours after dinner. The *HAHDGEE* enquired how I liked *PERSIA* : I told him *ASTRABAD* and *RESHD* were the only places I had seen ; that he knew I was but ill treated in the for-

^b *HARAM*, this word signifies prohibited to men.

mer; he then enquired after that rebellion, and informed me with a seeming concern, that those rebels were already defeated. I acquainted him upon what business I was going, and asked his opinion of it; to which he answered: "You may be perfectly assured the king will do you justice. "One of our own merchants lately sold the value of 20,000 crowns to the BASHA of BABYLON, for the payment of which he received an order on the BASHA of BASSORA; in the interim the SHAH besieged BASSORA, so that the BASHA refused payment. The merchant then complained to the SHAH, who immediately ordered him payment out of any of his treasuries he should chuse; and accordingly he has been paid 10,000 crowns in RESHD, 5000 in ISFAHAN, and 5000 at CASHAN. The BASHA, not caring to be out-done in generosity, has repaid the money to the SHAH." He then added further: "You ought to thank GOD for your misfortune; if you had not been plundered in ASTRABAD, some worse evil would have befallen you. The trade to MESCHED is not proper for EUROPEANS; there is no-body can take off goods in any large quantities; the PERSIAN merchants are extremely poor." I observed to him, that the ENGLISH company at ISFAHAN had formerly a considerable trade all over the empire, and particularly in ISFAHAN and CASBIN. To which he replied: "CASBIN had then twelve thousand houses inhabited, and now it has only eleven hundred; see from this eminence how this poor city is in ruins! nor is ISFAHAN much better; that city had formerly a hundred thousand houses well inhabited, of which many were not much inferior in splendor to the royal palace, which is the glory of the world: but incredible as it may seem to you, I am assured that only 5000 houses are now inhabited. I have formerly been at ISFAHAN with a caravan of 30,000 crowns value, and in less than three months returned home with my capital, and a profit of 4000; now I could not sell 3000 crowns in ten months. Alas! sir, you know not to what misery we are reduced." To this I replied: "I am very sorry to hear your complaints, and to see so much reason for them; for CASBIN indeed appears in ruins. When your sovereign has accomplished his designs, surely he will change his system: he can never mean to destroy the people; for that would be in effect

“ effect to destroy himself. In EUROPE he is considered as a great prince
“ and conqueror, who has restored the PERSIAN monarchy, and filled the
“ royal treasuries with the spoils of INDIA. I am very sensible that it sel-
“ dom happens, that the ambition of princes contributes to the happiness
“ of their people, though it often occasions their misery. We have had
“ many instances of this in EUROPE. It is true, the king of SWEDEN
“ was at length as unfortunate as he was rash: and FRANCE, which is
“ one of the most formidable powers in EUROPE, has lately distressed her
“ subjects extremely by this vain desire of conquest.” The HAHDGEE
replied: “ Who was it that restored the PERSIAN empire but the PER-
“ SIANS; and who assisted the king to conquer INDIA but the PERSIANS?
“ He has now a foreign force, and governs us with an army of TARTARS.”
The circumstances I was in, made me think it proper to decline a further
discussion of so tender a point, and I took my leave.

I then went to see the new palace which NADIR SHAH had built in this
city adjoining the old one: the entrance of it is formed by an avenue of lofty
trees near three hundred yards long, and fifteen or twenty broad. The
wall round it is about an ENGLISH mile and a half in circumference; it is
thick and lofty, having only one entrance, which is an arched gate; the
top of this gate projects, and is formed into many small squares: within
are four large squares, with lofty trees, fountains, and running water, which
make the place awful and majestic. The apartments are raised about six
feet from the ground: the AIVAN, or open hall, is in the center, and
shuts in with falling doors. The apartments are ornamented in an IN-
DIAN taste; and the cielings formed into small squares, imbellished with
writings of moral sentences in very legible characters: most of the win-
dows are of thick-coloured glass, made transparent, and painted with such
art, and in such proper shades, that the glass seems cut into the several
figures it is designed to represent: many of the floors are only of hard
earth, others of a composition of beaten stone: the seeming defect
in this instance is made up by the constant use of carpets.

The HARRAM is magnificent, consisting of a square within its own
wall of brick, about 30 feet high and $2\frac{1}{2}$ thick: there are four distinct
apart-

apartments, in some of which are fountains, which serve to moderate the heat of summer, by giving the air a refreshing coolness. The rooms are lined with stucco work, painted in the INDIAN taste, with birds and flowers of different magnitudes, the colours beautiful, and set off with gilt edgings: the apartments have small chimney-pieces in a mean taste, and some are ornamented with looking-glasses in small squares, of many different dimensions, set into the walls. There are some few apartments below ground, admirably contrived for coolness. Near the HARRAM is the EUNUCH's apartment, remarkable only for its having but one door, and that a very strong one. The brick of which the whole of the modern building is made, appears to be ill prepared for duration. Here are also some old apartments built by SHAH ABAS yet standing, in which are some bad pieces of EUROPEAN figures by EUROPEAN painters: the PERSIANS themselves are as ignorant of shades as the CHINESE. The apartment, where the SHAH kept his CASBIN treasury, I was not permitted to see, not even the place where it stood: they said he had above twenty millions of crowns* there, of which part was in large ingots of gold, run into cavities in the earth, the better to secure it from being plundered.

CASBIN is famous for having driven out the AFGHANS on their first coming into PERSIA; but their revolt cost dear to the inhabitants of ISFAHAN, as I shall hereafter relate. This city is inclosed within a wall above a mile in each square, with a great number of regular turrets and port-holes for arrows. It is famous in story, as being one of the chief cities of the ancient PARTHIA, the residence of many of the PERSIAN kings, and the burial-place of EPHESTION the favourite of ALEXANDER the GREAT.

The 9th, Though the sun was warm, yet as the snow lay very deep, it was impossible to attempt the prosecution of my journey; and here were several companies and caravans in the same circumstances. I thought myself very happily lodged in the HANDGEE's house; but some part of it partook of the common ruin: for this day the top of the stable, in which my horses and mules were lodged, tumbled in; and it was with

* Four millions of our money.

difficulty we saved them from being suffocated ; but by a singular good fortune they escaped with a few bruises only.

The 10th, This being the PERSIAN new-years day, I went to pay my compliments to the HAHDGEE, and to wish him happiness. "Alas," said he, "what happiness have we to expect? I am now paying 5000 crowns a year to the SHAH in duties, and he demands 5000 more for subsistence-money; how am I to support my family? I am sure my trade will not do it; if the king goes on at this rate, in another year we must make money of wood, for neither gold nor silver will appear except in his treasuries. Nor is this the only calamity under which we groan; we are often beaten for what we have not: Human flesh and bones can never agree with a stick; what are men to do under such circumstances? If they do not take up arms against their sovereign, they must fly their country. I know that our king is a very extraordinary person; but he has no mercy, and acts more like a thief than a king." This discourse seemed to be the sequel of what he had a mind to say a few days before: I made answer, "I apprehend, Sir, the conquest of the AFGHANS about 20 years ago, and the ravages committed in consequence of foreign wars and intestine broils, have given a wrong bent to the minds of the PERSIANS; many of them certainly deserve chastisement, and their punishment must often involve the innocent in great calamities. It is true, I do not understand the politics of your king; but I hope he has some good in store for you." At this the company, several persons being present, lifting up their eyes to heaven, prayed that it might be so. The HAHDGEE then resumed the discourse, and asked me, "what I had observed in PERSIA": I told him, "that where-ever I had been, there seemed to be a great want of people, of industry, and of money:" to which he replied, "I have already told you in what distress we are in for want of money, and with what cruelty we are treated: this has induced thousands of our people to fly for shelter into INDIA^d; and though we

^d There has been always a considerable number of PERSIANS settled in INDIA, particularly in the trading towns on the coast of COROMANDEL and MALABAR; but the HAHDGEE alluded to those who had taken refuge in the northern and western parts of INDIA.

“ hate the TURKS more than we do the CHRISTIANS ; yet it is incredible
 “ what a number of PERSIANS have taken refuge in TURKEY.”

This sort of discourse, however interesting to the PERSIANS, was not altogether proper for me. I observed they made no sort of scruple of calling their king a RASCAL^e ; nor was he ignorant in general in what manner they treated him ; but he punished only those persons who were acute and refined in their lampoons, as I shall have occasion more fully to explain hereafter.

I had this day an opportunity of observing how ill the priests in some countries instruct the people in the essentials of religion ; my RUSSIAN servant, in whose commendation I have already spoken, had thrown some superfluous meat into the street, alledging that he would sooner give it to dogs than to MAHOMMEDANS, several miserable wretches being then waiting for it, whose hunger would not have suffered the nice distinction of refusing food from a CHRISTIAN.

Being near my departure, I rode about to see every thing that was worth notice ; in particular the market-place^f, which had once made a considerable figure ; three parts of it were now in ruins ; and old women appeared in several of the shops, which in former times was not practised. Here is a very noted caravanserai, with a large entrance and a magnificent dome ; it has a great square surrounded with piazzas, within which are lodgings and apartments for the reception of merchandize. This building cost 27,000 crowns : here we paid a visit to the governor of VARA-MIE, who was under the custody of a messenger, and going to the camp.

NESR KOULI MYRZA, the SHAH's second son, and general of his forces in SHIRVAN, had now demanded a supply of 500,000 crowns in silver, which required 150 mules. The governor, who had this commission, accordingly seized all the mules he could find, paying for them what price he pleased : he insisted upon mine till I represented to him the indignity he would offer me as a foreigner, and the violence as being under

^e The word they use is KURUMSACK.

^f BAZAR.

the king's immediate protection; that if he took the mules by force, he might be well assured, the king should be informed very minutely of it; upon which he thought proper to desist. At the same time a nephew of the SHAH's first secretary came to visit me, requesting that I would take a parcel for his uncle; but that he must first consult whether it was a lucky hour: he did not return, so that I concluded his priest had marked me out for further disasters.

C H A P. XXXV.

The author sets out from CASBIN for the PERSIAN camp. The most material events till his arrival in the camp. Remarkable instances of the superstition of the PERSIANS.

ON the 11th, the weather was now warm, and great part of the snow melted: the caravan with the 500,000 crowns, guarded by 800 AFGHANS, begun their march; I therefore set out on my journey, directing my course towards HAMADAN; for it was reported, that the several rebellions on foot, particularly that of SHIRAS, had induced the SHAH to return home, and that the army was in full march towards that city. I thought it essential to my security under so distracted a state of things, to join a large company who were going to the camp; among these was a young officer, the son of a wealthy merchant of ISFAHAN. It is a common custom for the kings of PERSIA, to take a son out of every rich family, that the wealth of the parents may be a security for the good conduct of the son. When men's interest do not clash, their being of the same profession often induces them to shew a more distinguished regard to each other; particularly among young persons, whose affections are untainted by the world: this young man, though a soldier by necessity, considered himself as a merchant, and shewed me great kindness.

As we travelled on hardly any thing took my sight but the ruins of towns and villages; the richness of the soil, and the softness of the climate, rendering this prospect so much the more lamentable. The next day we met four couriers from the camp, from whom we learnt, that the

SHAH was marching towards HAMADAN. This country abounds in elks, which seemed to be as fleet as birds ; for none of our horses could reach them : the PERSIANS call them GIRAN, and pretend there is musk near their tails. The skeletons of several camels were lying near the road, the flesh of which had been consumed by wolves : this animal is very ill qualified to travel upon the snow, or wet ground ; the breadth in which they carry their legs, when they slip, often occasions their splitting themselves ; so that when they fall with great burthens, they seldom rise again : they are most useful, as is well known, in deserts and plain dry countries, and will travel two or three days with little or no water. The weather was extremely delightful, but we could not travel above five leagues a day.

It seemed to be established as a custom in PERSIA, for military people to pillage where-ever they go, at least to compel the peasants to procure provisions for them : this often occasions the latter being deaf to all importunities on any principle of humanity, or the laws of hospitality. We arrived at a village, the houses of which were built with stone, and made so defensible, that we could not procure any entrance, till we prepared to take a house by scaling the walls.

The 13th, We met four couriers going to CASBIN, with orders for the forces there to march to SHIRVAN, to join NESR KOULI MYRZA : we were often necessitated to take up with lodgings in so ruinous a condition, that I was apprehensive of falling into the same circumstances as my horses had been in at CASBIN. Besides the distresses occasioned by NADIR's tyranny, most of the towns and villages, on the frontiers of TURKEY, having been ruined by the TURKS, and the inhabitants carried into slavery, the whole appeared as a scene of desolation : as we approached the few villages, the inhabitants taking us for soldiers or robbers, which was much the same, fled into the mountains, and left us to provide for our selves.

The 14th, Our advanced guard, discovering a party whom they took for robbers, detached a horseman to inform us of our danger ; upon which we halted, and put ourselves in a posture of defence. A youth
belong-

belonging to our company, by profession a writer, was missing ; his master, one of the SHAH's adjutants, began to rave, protesting he would find his writer, or finish his life ; for without him he could not settle his accounts with the SHAH : accordingly he demanded the assistance of a few others, and prepared to go in search of the youth ; but happily he came up with us, having escaped by the swiftness of his horse. I now first learnt, that all my PERSIAN fellow-travellers were in the custody of a messenger, who was conveying them to the camp, and consequently would not consent to their separation. Such were the terrors of NADIR's tyranny, that this single person kept eight or ten officers of distinction, with all their servants, as prisoners. I took particular notice of one of them, who was a BAL-LOUCHE of the tribes in the eastern parts of PERSIA, who are almost black : he was well mounted, armed, and attended ; but in debt to almost every one in the company, who apprehending him to be in no small danger of his life from the resentment of the SHAH, demanded his horse and armour in payment. He gave them a silver CAALLEAN gilt with gold, likewise his bow and arrows, the quiver of which was covered with black velvet, and studded with gold nails. Though this man's annual appointment did not exceed 240 crowns, and he had no other revenue ; yet the value of his horses and mules, and their appurtenances, did not fall short of 1000 crowns. He was very communicative, and finding me an EUROPEAN, he spoke without reserve : I am," says he, come from ISFAHAN, where I have been two years raising forces for the SHAH, and have procured him 2000 men ; one thousand is the usual number which he annually draws from that city. In requital he has lately taken from me 4000 crowns, and I am now under apprehension of some other act of violence. It is no unc customary thing with my master to send for a man in order to strangle him ; and indeed, as to my part, I should be glad to compound for a severe beating ;" intimating that he expected death. He was a rank predestinarian, as most of the MAHOMMEDANS are ; however he endeavoured to learn by heart a prayer composed by HUSEIN, one of ALI's sons, which if repeated right in the presence of the king, he said, it would divert his wrath ; but if falsely, increase it. He talked much of the force of words, and the power of the almighty : at

the same time he told us stories of the feats of MAHOMMED, particularly concerning his imaginary journey into heaven ; which were all the genuine produce of gross superstition. And here it is worthy of remark, that the MAHOMMEDANS do assign a very exalted state of glory to JESUS CHRIST ; and though they do not confess his divinity, they approach to that opinion. This officer had also another spell, which, by pretended divine authority, he proposed to use, viz. the repetition of ten particular letters in the alphabet, as he entered the royal tent, closing a finger at each, and keeping the fist clasped till he came before the throne, he was suddenly to open his hands, and by the discharge of this magic artillery, to subdue the king's wrath.

It is amazing to consider in how many instances the PERSIANS demonstrate the highest superstition : sneezing is held a most happy omen, especially when repeated often : the hands with the fingers interchanged, and some particular posture of the body, are considered as full of magic power, and if used maliciously, of dangerous consequence. As their minds are tainted with a fondness for whatever is marvellous, and a belief of the agency of invisible powers on the most trivial occasions ; they think the meteors that resemble falling stars, and which are vulgarly called so, are the blows of angels on the heads of the devils, who would pry into the secrets of paradise. Cats are held in great esteem, but dogs in abomination ; so that a dog is never permitted to come into any room : they sometimes however use them at their diversions. The TURKS are not much behind them in this folly : in the reign of SHAH ABAS the GRAND SEIGNIOR sent to that prince, to desire that as none but their prophet and his children had been dressed in green, none of his subjects might be permitted to wear that colour, especially in stockings. To this SHAH ABAS, who was a man of understanding, made answer, that if the GRAND SEIGNIOR would prevent the dogs pissing on the grass in TURKEY, he would comply with the request.

The learned men in PERSIA are fond of astrology, and often pretend to foretel events ; but NADIR treated their predictions with great contempt. It is said, that sometime since a certain person foretold the conquest of

PERSIA by the AFGHANS, with all its circumstances; adding, that PERSIA would be again restored by a person resembling NADIR; and that in a certain year of their era, the kingdom would flourish, and be governed with great equity. NADIR being apprized of all these predictions, took occasion to be very oppressive that year, as well to expose such opinions, as to gratify his own avarice.

But to resume my narrative: we travelled six leagues this day, of which two were out of our road, in order to obtain necessary accommodations; and now leaving the province of IRAK, we came into ABARSULTAN. The 15th, hail and extreme cold made this day's journey very disagreeable: the day following we came into the district of CALIMBRO, where HAMADAN is situated, having been eleven hours on horseback, in which time we had travelled seven FARSANG; part of the road being covered with snow, and very difficult to pass. The whole country still appeared a dreary waste: the great number of ruined towns and villages, gave proof of its former state; but hardly any of them were inhabited, except by robbers who infest the country. Barley is the common food for horses; but we could procure none for many leagues; so that we were obliged to give them wheat; a common feed of which for three horses and as many mules cost a crown.

On the 17th we came to a village, the gates of which were of stone; it was walled in, and made defensible, as well against robbers, as the wolves, which often destroy the cattle in hard weather. Here they keep their corn in large vessels of earth made like a tun, and set in the ground; they also warm themselves by wood-fires made in holes cut in the floor; when burnt to ashes they cover them with blankets, to confine the heat, which renders the air very suffocating.

As we approached to the camp, the dread of my companions increased, and with it their superstition. Finding the bone of a sheep, they set it, as they supposed, perpendicular, accounting that if it fell towards the camp, all would go well; if from it, they must prepare for their fate: it of course fell where they had given the poise, which was on the right side.

Soon after, two large wolves crossed the road not far before us ; this they considered also as a lucky omen ; but notwithstanding these good omens, they must beware of the camp ; for on this day three hundred thousand plagues are sent from heaven on the earth ; however the next day would be propitious, if they went to the camp at a certain hour.

About noon we arrived at a small village, where an advanced guard of the army were posted, to protect the villagers, as is customary when the camp is near. The commander of these forces declared, that he could not find quarters for the PERSIANS, who were in my company, and insisted that they must go directly to the camp ; but on their pleading, that they had paid honourably for every thing they had been supplied with on the road, and that they were also charged with the care of me, they were suffered to enter the village. The day following our PERSIAN CONVOY took their leave of us, not without sorrowful countenances ; demanding of their conductor why he hastened them : “ Do you not know,” said one of them, “ that to condemned persons every hour of life is of great moment ? ” I sent my interpreter to the SHAH’s minister appointed for the reception of strangers, to acquaint him of my arrival, and to enquire where I should pitch my tent. Though we were now so very near the SHAH, some of the soldiers in this village did not refrain from calling him a rascal^a in plain terms. The 20th, we set out for the camp ; on the way we met a number of camels loaded with the SHAH’s tents, of which he has two sets, that one may be always pitched for his reception.

C H A P. XXXVI.

The author arrives at the PERSIAN camp, and is kindly received by MUSTAPHA KHAN, who, by order of NADIR, enquires into the state of EUROPE. He obtains a decree from the SHAH for payment of his loss at ASTRABAD.

BEING now entered the camp, I pitched my tent near the royal standard, which was about a gun’s shot from the SHAH’s tent. HAMADAN^b, which was about a league to the southward, is said to be the

^a KURUMSACK.

^b To the south-east is the mountain ELVEND ; this city is said to be the ancient ECBATANE, which was destroyed by NEBUCHODONOSAR.

burying-place of queen ESTHER and MORDECAI : it was now the grand repository of NADIR's cannon, bombs, and other artillery, which seldom appear in the camp, but when some siege, or extraordinary expedition is designed. I had the satisfaction to learn, that the rebellion in ASTRABAD was suppressed ; and that the SHAH had declared, that the merchants should not be sufferers. I had no sooner pitched my tent, but an accident happened, which was very near depriving me of the means of ever telling my story : for the greater security, I had ordered our fire-arms to be set round the pole on the back part of my tent, which was partitioned off by a cotton-cloth ; I was walking in a pensive manner, at which time it is natural for men to stand and pause, especially when they have so small a space as four or five yards to move : in this interval one of the pieces went off, carried two slugs through the top, and made a hole perpendicularly over my head. This accident was occasioned by one of my servants moving the piece obliquely, and touching the trigger, which in very few PERSIAN muskets has any guard : I had very narrowly escaped twice before on the road from an accident of this kind, owing to the carelessness of my servants ; but now I was extremely alarmed lest the report of the musket, so near the royal tent, should give offence. My own tent, being of cotton, was set on fire, but we soon extinguished the flame ; and this accident had no other consequence, nor was any enquiry made about it.

- I waited immediately on MUSTAPHA KHAN, who received me with great expressions of kindness, and obliged me to dine with him : in the interim I delivered my petition to the chancery, with regard to the loss I had sustained at ASTRABAD. The KHAN assured me, that justice would be done : he then demanded what presents I had brought for the SHAH ? This question startled me, as I imagined the character in which I appeared as a petitioner, would have rendered presents to the SHAH a gross impropriety. I excused myself by saying, that nothing worthy the acceptance of so great a prince could be found in GHILAN, when I departed from thence ; and it was really true, that no fables, nor rich stuffs, were at that time obtainable, in case I had been inclined to carry the SHAH a present,

present, as I should have done if I had been rightly informed. My interpreter told me upon this occasion, that a short time before, one of the ministers declared, that it was not the SHAH's custom to accept of presents; but as Mr. ELTON was a subject of so worthy a nation, he received what was then offered to do him honour: the truth is, that this antient custom of the east is rooted deep in their hearts, and converted into a species of corruption, from which their princes are not exempt. One of the company enquired of me, in relation to the PERSIANS in whose company I came from CASBIN; adding, that he knew not what account they had given of themselves to the SHAH; but he believed his majesty would pardon them to do me honour; making at the same time several lavish and hyperbolical compliments. It is incredible how far this sort of gallantry is carried in PERSIA, when it is meant to shew a distinguished regard to strangers who are under their protection. I told him, that I knew very little of those persons, and nothing at all of their crimes: whether the SHAH was at that time very much distressed in his affairs, or for some other reason, but the accounts of my fellow-travellers were actually accepted, and the wages of the merchant's son considerably advanced.

The king was in his tent of audience from seven in the morning till ten at night, retiring only for a short time; he had with him but 30,000 effective men, though with the servants of the soldiers, and attendants upon the camp, they were in the whole near thrice that number; a large body of forces was left towards ERIVAN; near 30,000 men were in SHIRVAN; 25,000 in SHIRAS, besides a body of forces in KHORASAN, and a formidable army on the banks of the INDUS. The numerous rebellions then on foot called on NADIR for the utmost attention, and he had taken measures for the suppression of them all at one and the same time.

This day a PERSIAN of some distinction made me a visit, and enquired what I had observed in PERSIA. I told him, I was amazed that so fine a country had so few inhabitants. "It is true," says he, our country is ruined; but it cannot be otherwise; for the SHAH has supported all his forces in one continued campaign of four years, by the taxes
 "drawn

“ drawn from his people, who have now but little left to support themselves : and indeed none but him, or an almighty power, could have maintained so vast an army by such means. Now the affairs of the empire are settled, and the frontiers peopled with such families as he can depend on, we hope all will go well.” This last part of the discourse did not seem to flow from his heart so much as the former, nor was it much to be expected : it was a kind of proverbial saying among the PERSIANS ; “ what mighty things will be done so long as the king lives : ” but it seemed to carry this sense with it also, that with him all the glory of PERSIA must expire. Indeed few of them appeared to be endowed with a sufficient understanding to argue upon probable events, or to look into the dark prospect of futurity.

The SHAH passing from his HARRAM to his tent of audience, gave me an opportunity of seeing him : he was very plainly dressed, except in precious stones *. The same day MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, the father of MAHOMMED ZAMON BEG, governor of ASTRABAD, arrived from SHIRVAN, where he had a great share in the reduction of that formidable rebellion. I visited QUIRIM BEG, the ajutant-general, who had the care of the SHAH’S records, and he bid me hope that I should soon receive a favourable decree ; but was very reserved in his acceptance of a present of some fine cloth and rich silk, which I had prepared for him. I desired that he would procure me a copy of the several decrees in favour of foreign merchants in PERSIA, which he gave me.

I paid my respects a second time to MUSTAPHA KHAN, who in the ordinary complimentary strain, assured me he had spoken in my praise to the SHAH, who had ordered him to ask me, if I knew whether any of the CHRISTIAN powers had attacked the TURKS in EUROPE, or might probably engage in a war with them. I answered the KHAN to this effect : “ The RUSSIANS having been harrassed with wars for near forty years, now enjoy repose, and as far as I apprehend, will not engage in an offensive war with the TURK, or any other power. The hereditary enemy of the TURK in EUROPE, his majesty knows, is the queen of HUNGARY ; she has her hands full, being cruelly oppressed in every quarter by the

* The reader will find an account of his person in the last volume of this work.

“ FRENCH king, and is consequently in no condition to attack the TURK :
 “ but should the latter embrace this opportunity to break with her, it is
 “ highly probable, that the RUSSIANS will appear in her defence. GREAT
 “ BRITAIN has been engaged in a war with SPAIN already for some
 “ time: and we expect to hear that she has broke with FRANCE also.
 “ Thus the raging flames of war seem to threaten the greatest part of EU-
 “ ROPE.” But all the nations, as well as princes of that quarter of the
 “ world, have heard with wonder, the atchievements of the SHAH your
 “ master; and consider the TURK as much inferior to him in strength and
 “ fortune, as he is apparently superior to them in knowledge of the art of
 “ war.” With this account the KHAN seemed to be satisfied, and I took my
 leave of him. In the evening a person was dragged out of the royal tent, who
 had been strangled for desertion; the executioner finding life yet in him,
 gave him a violent blow on the breast.

The 22d, The royal standard being taken down, as a signal for striking the tents, we decamped, and came about two leagues and a half north-east, where the SHAH's tents being already prepared, I pitched mine in company with the whole camp. Heavy showers falling upon a rich soil, made it extremely troublesome, and it was with difficulty that we could, by the help of oil-cloths and other conveniencies, keep ourselves dry in our tent, round which we were obliged to make a channel to carry off the water. All the cattle belonging to the camp, being exposed to the weather, were over their fet-locks in dirt: and here I observed, that the incessant fatigues of long marches, and the rigor and inclemency of the seasons, had ruined the PERSIAN cavalry, renowned for so many ages. There are however some good horses, which exceed in size, but few of them are of equal fire and beauty with the ARABIANS; nor do they manage their mouths well; most of them being spoilt with the harshness of their bits. These horses being never under cover, commonly carry their body-cloths on their backs, which are made of a coarse felt, very heavy, and so hot, that I imagine they enervate a horse very much. They dye the tails of those which are of a light-colour with red or orange: NADIR's horses were led promiscuously in the crowd of the army; and these had suffered in common with the rest.

MUSTAPHA KHAN having been informed, that I was possessed of a bill from MAHOMMED HASSAN, chief of the rebellion at ASTRABAD, for the amount of my loss, demanded a sight of it. With this I the more readily complied, as it served me as a voucher of the value, as well as gratified the curiosity of the KHAN, and probably of the SHAH himself; for his decree, which was this day delivered to me, was made out according to that value. The contents of this decree were, “ that I
 “ should give the particulars of the loss in writing to BEHBUD KHAN, the
 “ SHAH’s general in ASTRABAD, who had orders to deliver to me what-
 “ ever part of the goods might possibly be found, and to restore them in
 “ kind, and the deficiency to be paid out of the sequestered estates of the
 “ rebels without delay, to the last DENAER.” This was not quite the thing which I wished for, because it laid me under a necessity of returning to that wretched place, ASTRABAD; however I could not but acknowledge the highest obligation for so signal a mark of justice and clemency.

C H A P. XXXVII.

Description of the PERSIAN camp and army. A circumstantial account of their tents, standards, arms, market-place. Of the SHAH’s women, and their manner of travelling. Of the use of elephants and camels. Different bodies of which the army is composed, and of the military exercises of the PERSIANS.

BEING now easy in my mind on the subject of my loss at ASTRABAD, I rode entirely through the PERSIAN camp, attended by my interpreter, and another person, as far as the quarter of the elephants, and informed myself as minutely as possible, of every particular relating to the army.

In placing the camp a general regularity is observed, as far as is agreeable to the size and shape of the ground; it being a rule constantly pursued, to place the tents of certain principal ministers and officers in the front, or to the right or left of the SHAH’s quarters, that some of them

may be always near him. The circuit of the quarter allotted to the SHAH's own tents is very large : the entrance consists on one side of a line of uniform tents, serving for guard-rooms ; and the other, of the tents in which the affairs of the chancery, and the like public concerns, are transacted. About 200 yards beyond this avenue is the pavilion in which the SHAH usually sits, to give audience, and transact business : it is oblong, supported by three poles, adorned with gilded balls at the top ; the covering is of a cotton cloth of a brick colour, and the lining of clouded silk : the floor is covered either with carpets or cloths, and the body of the pavilion has on each side a kind of alley, through which the attendants may walk round ; sometimes the SHAH sits upon a large SOPHA, or chair, cross-legged ^a, and sometimes on the floor. The hind-part of this tent is divided into small apartments, where the officers who do not appear in his majesty's presence, attend : there is nothing sumptuous in this pavilion, the front of which is always open, even in the worst weather ; however when it is extremely cold, several pots of lighted charcoal are placed in the middle. At a considerable distance behind were placed the SHAH's private tents, to some of which he retired at his meals : and in order to render them warm, he had INDIAN pannels, which were occasionally set up, and formed the linings of two small apartments : to these were admitted only his secret emissaries, when they had any remarkable intelligence to communicate ; but in the last years of his life he had no familiarity with any of them.

Almost contiguous to these were the tents of the SHAH's ladies, which differed from the others in having several curtains that formed separate apartments one within another. The boundaries of the SHAH's quarter were occupied by his eunuchs and female slaves, and almost this whole circuit, especially towards the residence of the women, was surrounded by a strong fence of net-work, round which the night-guard patrolled, and severely punished all intruders. As there were no lights in these parts, nor any tents near them, it frequently happened that people, coming to the camp by night, ignorantly straggled thither, and were sure to be ill treated when this happened.

^a The ordinary method is with their legs under them.

I observed, that none but the officers in immediate waiting were admitted into the royal pavilion ; for the officers of state, and people in business, stood in the open air in all weathers, forming a semicircle in front of the tent : if they were brought to answer for their conduct, they were held under the arm by proper officers, to prevent their escape, or committing any acts of violence. The same ceremony, with very little difference, was observed also towards foreign embassadors, or great men ; the last indeed was under pretence of respect, but it also served to prevent any accident ; an attempt having been once made on the SHAH's life, as I shall relate in his history.

The PERSIANS use a certain glazing in their cotton tents, which, in some degree, prevents their being penetrated by water. The tents of persons of distinction are of various shapes, but most commonly oblong, and supported by three poles : the outside is always of coarse cotton cloth, and the inside is either lined with the same, or with woollen, or silk, according to the different seasons of the year, and circumstances of the owners : the ground is spread with a thick cotton cloth, or mat, and over that is laid a carpet, or woollen printed cloth^a of several colours ; besides this covering, the square of the floor is laid round with felts, as already described, and these supply the place of bedsteads and featherbeds ; though some have their beds raised a little above the damp of the earth. The top and sides of the tents of great officers are sometimes lined with pannels, which are wrought with flowers, and variety of figures : large tents are often divided into two rooms, or apartments, by pannels or curtains ; the back part is appropriated for the use of the women ; but such grandees as have several women, place a set of tents for them at a distance from their own, which are surrounded with cotton cloths, to prevent their being seen : they have also, at a convenient nearness to their tents, a hole dug, enclosed by a cotton-screen of four folds, to answer the necessary purposes of nature.

That part of the camp called in TURKISH the ORDUBAZAR or camp-market, begins at the end of the square fronting the guard-rooms, and is

^a Of BRITISH manufacture.

about half a mile long : it consists of tents on each side like a street, running as direct as the nature of the ground will admit : these tents are often supplied with a variety of provisions, apparel, horse-furniture, and other necessaries, which are brought hither for sale ; not to mention the continual change of property arising from the daily confiscations made by the SHAH. The care of this market is committed to an officer called ORDUBAZARI, who often rides up and down to keep order ; and when any disputes arise, they are brought before the DEROGA BAZAR, or superintendent of the market, who acquires a considerable income from rents, fees, presents, and extortions. Many of the shop-keepers were little better than common futlers ; but such as carry on great business, are under the protection of some of the principal courtiers, who are the grand dealers in flower and rice, of which there is always a great consumption : and as these courtiers have frequently many supernumerary servants, camels and mules, they send them to the distant provinces that produce rice, which they bring to the camp for sale, and make great profits. But if the shop-keepers, or other traders, interfere with them in these branches of trade, they generally mark them out for destruction.

NADIR often enquired into the price of necessaries, and reduced them as he thought proper, fining the market-people upon every transgression : but the most notorious instance of injustice to the shop-keepers, was his obliging them, when his tents and their appurtenances were grown old, to take them, and pay him the value of new ones.

The two imperial standards were placed on the right of the square already mentioned : one of them was in stripes of red, blue, and white, and the other of red, blue, white, and yellow, without any other ornament : though the old standards required 12 men to move them, the SHAH lengthened their staffs, and made them yet heavier ; he also put new colours of silk upon them, the one red and yellow striped, the other yellow edged with red : they were made of such an enormous size, to prevent their being carried off by the enemy, except by an entire defeat^b. The regimental

^b The loss of the battle of KERKOUK in 1733, seemed to be owing to the standard-bearer, riding off the field with the standard.

colours were a narrow slip of silk sloped to a point, some were red, some white, and some striped: several hours before the moving of the camp, one of the standards was taken down by way of signal, and carried forwards to the place where the new camp was to be pitched. The SHAH's set of tents, and those of the great men went with it attended by a convoy. The bulk of the army often marched an hour or two before the SHAH; for in removing from one encampment to another, he sometimes galloped the whole way.

The SHAH had about 60 women, and very near the same number of eunuchs, who generally rode near his person, and kept pace with him: before him were his SHATIRS^c, preceded by the CHIAUX^d, and before them the KESHIKEHI^e, being the foremost of his body-guard, who were best acquainted with the track the SHAH was to take: these spread a mile or two before him and terminating in a kind of angle, gave notice of the SHAH's approach, by crying out in TURKISH, YERRIE, or make way: this is called the KOURUCK, which is always troublesome, and sometimes fatal to such as cannot get out of their way; for when they meet with people in the SHAH's rout, rivers, precipices, and rocks are no excuse; they drive at them with their maces, and make all before them fly at their approach.

When NADIR travelled with his women, the army was kept at almost a mile distance; but when he went without them, people were * permitted to come nearer. In the latter part of his reign he seldom did travel without them; probably the better to avoid any evil designs against his person. The SHAH's women, and indeed others of distinction, rode on white horses, in the manner as men ride; but when they did not go in his company, they were usually carried on camels, seated in machines resembling a covered waggon, and hung like panniers over a pack-saddle, which I have already mentioned. On these occasions they were entirely concealed under a covering of crimson-cloth; and in this manner they rode one on each side, conducted with the usual pomp: the motion is very disagreeable, and apt to create a disorder, not unlike the sea-sickness. The

^c Running footmen.^d Chanters.^e Watch-guard.

sick ladies, and female servants of the court, were always concealed in the same manner, under a covering of crimson cloth: other women, of no particular distinction, rode on horses, or mules; these mixed among the crowd, but had a linen veil over their faces, and wore great coats, resembling those of the men; but the poorer sort had a white veil, which covered their whole body. The women belonging to the OUSBEG TARTARS were not so scrupulous about hiding their faces as the PERSIANS. The number of women in the camp, except upon perilous enterprizes, in proportion to the men, is generally one to ten.

The SHAH when sick used to be carried in a horse-litter: other people of fashion were seated, or laid on mules upon a large flat pack-saddle, bolstered up: but the common way of carrying their sick men, is to fix two poles to meet in the middle over the neck of the horse, at the point of the saddle, the breast and shoulders resting between the interstices of the poles.

Upon extraordinary occasions the rear-guard was said to be very numerous, consisting of 8000 YESAUL: their business was not only to secure the rear of the army; but to prevent straggling or desertion; therefore they examined every one who quitted the camp; and if there was the least ground of suspicion, they would not suffer even a stranger to go about his business without a bribe. If the beasts belonging to travellers happened to tire while the camp was removing; these fellows, instead of assisting them, frequently drove the owners away, and converted the cattle and baggage to their own use.

In marching, greatest part of the soldiery, as well as the YESAUL, kept in a collected, but irregular body: the followers of the camp covered several miles. The elephants and camels were employed only in carrying great burthens: the last are of several kinds, but the most serviceable is that called the MAJE, which have two bunches on their backs: they are generally fed with balls made of meal; and though very hardy, they frequently die of epidemical distempers.

NADIR's standing forces were never fixed to any determinate number ; though they were computed at 200,000 men. The following is as perfect a sketch as I could procure, of his principal attendants and soldiery ; for the support of which PERSIA has been ruined, and INDIA spoiled of 120 millions sterling, with more than as many thousand souls, viz.

60 Black eunuchs : there were few or no white ones in his service.

200 SHATIR, or running footmen.

1,000 RIKAH, or stirrup-holders.

10,000 KULAM, or slaves belonging to the king : their chief in the TURKISH language is called KULLER AGASI¹, and the inferior KULAMS are those soldiers which the provinces equip by the SHAH's order: he paid them but they were a kind of servants to the KULAMS.

2000 BEGZADE'E, or gentlemen's sons.

1000 KITCHUDAZADE'E, or sons of elders : the last three were the gentlest of the soldiery ; many of them were employed in guarding the treasury at KÆLAT, and on other important occasions.

4000 KESHIKEHI, or watch-guard, otherwise called HEMISHI KISHIK, because they were always on duty : they wore white turbans ; some of them carried sabres, and others sabres and pikes ; their pay was 250 crowns per annum : this watch was continually called over in the night.

900 CHIAUX : they carried in their hand a batton with a double silver crook on the end of it ; they had also a feather with a silver boss on their cap, which was flat on the top : these frequently chanted moral sentences and encomiums on the SHAH, occasionally proclaiming also his victories as he passed along.

500 GIARKEHIE, who wore in their caps the beard of an arrow in brass, and were employed as criers and heralds.

150 FERRASH, under two chiefs because of the different branches of their business ; one of them performed executions in the SHAH's presence ; and therefore a party of these attended at a small distance from his pavilion, where they were employed as the instruments of his vengeance : the o-

¹ Chief of the slaves.

ther superintended the pitching and dressing of the SHAH's tents, and had the care of the presents brought to his majesty.

8000 YESAUL, who wore a brass-knob on their caps: they were distinguished into two sorts, the YESAUL KUR and YESAUL SONBET. Their leaders were in great consideration on account of their near attendance on the king's person: they formerly acted as grand marshals, and judges of the household, and latterly as masters of the ceremonies.

250 NÆSSAKHCHI, these are known by a feather in their caps: they have large pay, and great power, punishing offenders in the neighbourhood of the camp, without bringing them before any higher officer or magistrate; these at the head of other scouts are also dispersed to guard the avenues; for it is not uncommon for robbers to rip open tents, and carry off baggage during the night, even in the camp.

100 GILODAR; those who are charged with the direction of the couriers, and their horses: all these different ranks are horsemen.

12,000 GIZAIRES, these are foot-soldiers; they are well clothed, and carry very heavy musquets with wide bores: they form a body, which has an imperfect resemblance of the EUROPEAN infantry, and were modelled by NADIR himself to be of great use, which PERSIAN foot-soldiers seldom were before his time.

40,000 KARA-KUSHUN^a, are also foot-soldiers, whose pay is only 30 crowns per annum: the name is TURKISH and signifies black guard, and they make but an indifferent appearance, compared with the others already mentioned.

The following are called after the name of the nations or countries from whence they come.

50,000 AFGHANS; these have lands assigned them in KANDAHAR, besides 80 crowns per annum: they use the bow, lance, and sword, and are very brave. But this denomination also includes the ABDOLLEES.

20,000 AFSHAKS^b.

6000 OUSBEG-TARTARS, of KHIEVA, BOKHARA, and SAMARCAND.

^a I have put these, and the 13 preceding denominations of soldiery in the singular number, as corresponding most with the PERSIAN pronunciation.

^b NADIR himself was of their tribes: they live mostly in tents, and inhabit part of the province of KHORASAN and the country to the eastward of it.

6000 TURKUMAN¹ TARTARS of TURKUMANIA.

6000 BULUG, or BALOUCHE^k, of the tribes in the southern coast of PERSIA.

The above computation falls short of 200,000 men; but they may be reckoned in this proportion.

The pay given to the soldiers by NADIR, was computed at 100 crowns per annum one with another, besides an allowance which chiefly consisted of rice; but the dearth of provisions, and the expensive manner of living in the camp, rendered this large pay absolutely necessary. They wear no uniform, but are obliged to buy all their cloathing of the SHAH at an extravagant price, and to keep YETIMS^l at their own expence.

They amuse themselves by galloping before the army 8 or 10 at a time, discharging their pieces at each other with powder: it was a circumstance which surprized me, that they were permitted even in the camp to fire off their pieces, blow their trumpets, and beat their drums for their amusement; but this might arise from a political cause to prevent their caballing: they are seldom exercised except in shooting with the bow, or with a single ball at a mark, at which they are very expert, and no less exact in loading their piece; for except it be in time of action, they weigh their powder, as well as fit the ball to the bore: but the barrels of these pieces, some of which are match-locks, are so ill tempered, that they will not bear a quick fire. The greatest part of their regular forces carry a musquet and sabre; but the OUSBEGS, and several others in the army, are not so well provided; some having a spear, or a battle-ax, others a bow and arrow, others a single pistol; but all of them wear sabres, in the use of which they, as well as the PERSIANS, are very dextrous. As to bayonets, by which the EUROPEAN forces have sometimes performed such feats, they have no notion of them.

¹ This name is common to another people near the borders of TURKEY, being transplanted in consequence of the conquest made by TAMERLANE; the original people of this name being the inhabitants of the eastern coast of the CASPIAN.

^k Sometimes considered as a tribe of AFGHANS, whom they resemble in their countenance; but are not so well civilized in their manners, nor live so much in cities.

^l YETIM signifies an orphan; but these are considered as servants, who when their masters die, or fall in battle, are ready to serve as soldiers.

NADIR, according to the custom of the PERSIAN kings, had the policy to oblige some, and to encourage all his army in the use of costly furniture: the officers, and even the soldiers of rank, have the bridles of their horses mounted with silver, with a mane-piece of plate, and an ornamental chain^m; likewise their sword, belts, and leathern accoutrements are mounted with the same metal: the handles of their battle-axes are also for the most part studded or covered with thin silver plates, and in their sashes about their waist they wear a knife, the handle and case of which is also covered with silver; but the workmanship is indifferent. Certain officers, and persons of distinction, were obliged to wear gold-cased knives, and some of their great men, had silver stirrups.

It has been observed, that soldiers generally fight best when they have something to lose, if their wealth does not involve them in effeminacy. ALEXANDER indeed encouraged his MACEDONIANS, by representing the PERSIAN riches as an object of plunder, and consequently as a motive to exert themselves; but under NADIR, we do not find that any of their enemies considered the valuable effects of the PERSIAN soldiery in that light. This method served also to keep them dependent, by their being obliged to expend their money in articles of vanity: thus the late king of PORTUGAL humbled his nobility by indulging their pride; and other CHRISTIAN princes have done the same by their subjects with great success.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

A brief account of the immense value of the horse-furniture belonging to NADIR SHAH. Conversation with MUSTAPHA KHAN upon that subject. A remarkable instance of NADIR's cruelty, and his manner of giving audience to EUROPEANS. Suppression of the rebellion in SHIRASS.

HAVING now visited the camp at large, and informed myself of these particulars concerning it; I was desirous to see that part of the SHAH's riches, which consisted in horse-furniture. He had four

^m See representation of NADIR's horse in the frontispiece of the fourth volume.

complete sets, one mounted with pearls, another with rubies, a third with emeralds, and the last with diamonds, most of which were of so prodigious a size as hardly to merit belief; for many of them appeared as big as a pigeon's egg^a. I could not but regard them with wonder, not more for their immense value, than for the barbarous taste in which they were set; for some of them did not appear to have any art at all bestowed on them. I visited MUSTAPHA KHAN, and took occasion to mention my surprize at the prodigious value of the SHAH's horse-furniture, which so much exceeded any thing I had ever formed an idea of in that kind: I observed to him at the same time, that jewels in EUROPE appear incomparably brighter and neater set; and that if his majesty would trust me with one of those bridles, I would procure a complete horse-furniture to be made in EUROPE, which should exceed any thing that had yet appeared in the world: I said this because it naturally arose from the subject, and not that I expected NADIR under his circumstances would consent to part with his bridle for any such purpose; however at another visit I took occasion to hint the same thing, and the KHAN politely said, "My master has not patience enough to wait till it should be finished."

MUSTAPHA KHAN, as already observed from the testimony of HAHN-GEE ZAMON, was considered as the most upright man in the PERSIAN court, and the SHAH now allowed him 10,000 crowns a year. I thought myself happy in the regard which he shewed me during my stay in the camp; and gratitude as well as policy seemed to call on me to make him a present, which consisted of a gold repeating watch, some fine cloth, and rich silk^b: he shewed some repugnance, till I insisted on his accepting so trifling a mark of my gratitude. In return he presented me with some jewels, part of the plunder of DEHLI, which had once adorned the cap of some unhappy INDIAN: the principal jewel consisted of a large saphir in gold, set round with diamonds; these last were not only small, but bored

^a What became of those bridles I have not yet heard; for I make no doubt but they were plundered in common with the rest of the camp, when NADIR was killed about three years after this time.

^b It may be necessary to observe, that only so much of the present was charged to the adventurers, as exceeded the value of the jewels which the KHAN gave me in return.

through in the manner the ASIATICS often spoil their precious stones: the reverse of this piece was enamelled with flowers. The KHAN had formerly been a prisoner in TURKEY, where he had acquired some knowledge of the interest of the OTTOMAN court; but he seemed to know nothing of any other. At the time of NADIR's death he had the good fortune to be on the road on an embassy to TURKEY, and by that means escaped the fate he might otherwise have met with as a favourite of his master.

The 24th in the evening a man was executed with circumstances that gave me strong impressions of the cruel disposition of NADIR, who, in the article of death, could jest with a malefactor. A person who had collected taxes, was complained of by the peasants, of whom it appeared he had made greater exactions than he had accounted for to the SHAH: this was capital, and he was accordingly condemned to death: NADIR, as if he had recollected something particular of this person, said to him: "I understand you can dance well; dance, and I will save your life." The man immediately began to dance, no doubt with some transports of joy; but the SHAH ordered the executioner to strike him upon the legs, which necessarily prevented his performance: this tyrant then cried: "the rascal does not dance well; kill him." After his execution he was brought out near my tent, whence his friends removed him in the night. This was not the only instance of NADIR's cruelty that fell under my observation while I was in the camp; for I saw several persons of distinction, who rode about with their feet wrapt in white cloths, having been beaten till their nails came off their toes, and the sinews made bare, which is no extraordinary thing to people of the first quality: and since I am upon this subject, I will give another example of NADIR's avarice and barbarity, which happened a little before I was in the camp.

The SHAH having appointed a certain general as governor of a province, imposed an exorbitant tax on it, to be levied in six months: at the expiration of the time the governor was sent for to the camp, and ordered to produce the account. He did so, but it amounted only to half the sum demanded. The SHAH called him a rascal; and telling him he had stolen

stolen the other half of the money, ordered the executioners to bastonade him to death : his estate also being confiscated, all his effects fell very short of the demands. The servants of the deceased were then ordered to come into the SHAH's presence, and he enquired of them if there was any thing left belonging to their master ; to which they answered, ONLY A DOG. He then commanded the dog to be brought before him ; and observed that he appeared to be much honefter than his master had been ; however that he should be led through the camp from tent to tent, and beaten with sticks, and wherever he expired, the master of such tent should pay the sum deficient. Accordingly the dog was carried to the tents of the ministers successively, who hearing the case, immediately gave sums of money according to their abilities, to procure the removal of the dog ; by which means the whole sum the SHAH demanded was raised in a few hours time.

Cruel as this tyrant was, some of his predecessors have not fallen much short of him : how will custom render the heart obdurate to the impressions of humanity, and the ear deaf to the calls of mercy ! It was an ancient punishment in PERSIA for an offender to be put between two boards, and sawn asunder. SHAH ABAS the GREAT is said to have cut off a man's nose, and the flesh from other parts of his body with his own hand, and afterwards obliged the sufferer to eat them.

To resume my own story : being uncertain which rout the army would take, and by no means convenient to stay any longer in the camp ; the 25th I visited MUSTAPHA KHAN, and begged, as he had honoured me with so many marks of his politeness and friendship, that he would now assist me with his advice, what rout I ought to take to ASTRABAD : for considering the situation of PERSIA, and the dangers I had already gone through, I thought I could not take too much care. The KHAN told me very ingenuously, " You must not go the direct road to ASTRABAD ;
" for the passage through the mountains to the north-east of CASBIN is
" inhabited by people who are in circumstances to do any desperate ac-
" tion. I advise you to return back to GHILAN, and if you cannot go
" from thence by water to ASTRABAD, you must take your chance by
" land

“ land through MAZANDERAN ; but carry a good guard with you. I will give you two faithful soldiers, who shall see you safe from hence to A-BAR ; there you may take other soldiers.” I had now with me a fresh company, my RUSSIAN servant only having been with me at ASTRABAD ; and of these some refused to go at all, and others were diffident what rout we ought to take.

The next day arrived news, that the king's forces had recovered all the country about SHIRASS, and were preparing to take the city by storm. I had flattered myself, that the SHAH would have called me before him ; but either from the distressed situation of his affairs, or his persuasion of the truth of the account I gave in, I had no opportunity of being questioned, or of indulging my curiosity so fully as I desired. The manner in which EUROPEANS were presented to him is this : they walked fast into his presence, bowing three times ; and though the PERSIANS do not uncover themselves, yet as he knew it is a mark of respect among EUROPEANS, he required it of them. NADIR took occasion more than once to observe of the ENGLISH, “ that they are bold, and appear like men of business.” He was now expecting further news from SHIRASS, and by his slow marches towards CASBIN, seemed as if he intended to go himself, if his forces did not succeed in the southern part of the empire. It is hardly credible with what untired attention he applied himself to business.

COSSIM KHAN the chancellor being much in favour with the SHAH, was employed in writing an account of his wars : I question if those writings have at present any existence ; but if they have, as NADIR had a sight of them himself from time to time, they must be suspected of great partiality. I have had occasion to observe, that the chancellor, as well as MUSTAPHA KHAN supported his reputation ; and as the former had given several marks of his attention to our commercial interest, I thought it proper to make him a present, though he also shewed some repugnance to the acceptance of it. I then took my leave of MUSTAPHA KHAN,

* He had in past times frequent occasion to see the servants of the EAST-INDIA company.

and received his commissions for certain things which he wanted from EUROPE^d. He delivered me into the charge of an under-officer and a foldier, to attend me as far as ABAR.

C H A P. XXXIX.

The author's journey from the PERSIAN camp to LANGAROOD. Regulations of the postmasters in PERSIA : a remarkable story of one of them ; with an account of the PERSIAN couriers.

THE 27th of March we set out from the camp, the officer and foldier charged with the care of us were of the YESAUL, who, as I have observed, are distinguished by their caps ; and whose office it is in time of action, to shoot those who turn their back on the enemy. These men had been in INDIA with the SHAH, and informed me of some particulars in relation to that memorable expedition. This day we travelled about 6 leagues to the village of SHUBOCHI. The different rout I now took, exhibited the same melancholy prospect of vast tracts of excellent arable land lying waste in one of the finest climates in the world ; so that I could not comprehend how the SHAH supported his army : the houses supplied only fuel, and we saw several maroders pulling them down for that purpose. The next day we passed through a ruined village, covered on the opposite side with an inaccessible mountain : here we discovered five persons, who as we approached, ran to their horses, which were ready saddled, and tied to trees : they took to their arms as if they meant to attack us ; on our part we prepared for a defence. Our two soldiers, who did not seem to have our preservation much at heart, loitered behind, and entered into a parley with them : this gave me some uneasiness, and induced me to stop upon an eminence attended by one servant, to see the issue of their conference ; but my interpreter soon rode back full speed, and reproached me for staying behind, declaring that if we did not keep together upon our guard, we might be cut off ; for that he had discovered four of those men were gone round the hill, whilst

^d The subsequent state of our affairs never permitted the execution of this commission.

one kept the foldiers in parley. His fears were not without foundation, for the foldiers who soon came up with us, had taken a stolen horse in exchange from one of them, who acknowledged to him, that the reputation which the EUROPEANS have acquired for their dexterity in the use of fire-arms, had been our greatest security. At last we reached ASDOLEN, one of the least deserted villages I had seen in this journey; we had been eight hours on the road, but found ourselves advanced only five computed leagues.

The 29th, We ascended a mountain, the several turnings of the road making between three and four miles: the air on the top was so extremely rarified, and the winds so piercing, that it was with difficulty I drew my breath. In the valley we found a very different climate, and ABAR appeared before us in a delightful situation: this city however was much in the same circumstances as the others, and it was not without difficulty we obtained a lodging. The garrison here was commanded by a son of MAGHMUD the AFGHAN, who, as the PERSIANS say, set out with only 12,000 men, when he conquered so great a part of this empire. The mountains, over which lay our direct road, being covered with snow, we were under a necessity of going near three leagues about; and in the space of four leagues, the road was so formed, that we were obliged to pass a branch of the KIZILAZAN sixty-five times; one of my company having had the curiosity to count them: this river was about thirty feet wide, and two or three feet deep, full of rocks and round stones, and the stream rapid. After ten hours journey we arrived at a desolate caravanferai, where we found nothing but water; we had however provided ourselves at a village on the road, where the inhabitants entertained us with great hospitality: I observed a tree with a number of rags tied to the branches, these were so many charms which passengers coming from GHILAN, a province remarkable for agues, had left there in a fond expectation of leaving their disease also on the same spot.

The 31st, We travelled near ten hours without finding any provision on the road: as we approached the mountains which cover GHILAN, we found the reflection of the sun so strong, that it was with difficulty we defended

defended ourselves against the scorching heat. At length we descried ARSEVIL, a small village, the sight of which supported our drooping spirits, almost exhausted with fatigue and hunger; but we had themortification to find only one narrow pass to it, and that was fenced up with large fir-trees, and a great bank of earth: we suspected that the village was in state of rebellion, and to force ourselves into it, might be attended with some dangerous consequences: however necessity silenced our scruples, and we summoned all our strength, to remove the impediment, which cost us no small labour; it seems the villagers, out of fear of the SHAH's couriers, had made use of this expedient.

Spring was already advanced to the fulness of its charms: the brightness of the sky, the falls of water from the rocks, the variety of verdure on the different trees on the mountains, the lawns and corn-fields, filled the imagination with the most pleasing ideas: we had now before us a noble and extensive prospect, stupendous mountains rising gradually on each other, some of them with their summits covered with snow, whilst others concealed their heads in clouds. In the valley appeared many ruined villages; but the serpentine channel of the KIZILAZAN, with the variety of lawns and woods, formed a delightful scene. The course of this river, which is one of the most famous in PERSIA, is rapid, and the soil it passes over in many places, tinges its waters with a red colour^a. The return of spring naturally delights the mind; and to me it afforded so much the more pleasure, as my past winter had been attended with many circumstances of distress. How happy, thought I, might PERSIA be, if a general depravity of manners did not involve her inhabitants in such an inextricable confusion; but how much more happy are those countries, whose government is not despotic, and whose people are inspired with sentiments of virtue and true religion; the only means of blunting the edge of those calamities to which human life is subject. The desolate country through which we had travelled for so many days, made GHILAN the more striking. ARZEVIL was bordered by olive-trees: the walks in their gardens were covered with vines, and their fruit-trees in

^a KIZIL signifying red, it is probable this river may be called KIZILAZAN from some such reason.

bloffom: here were few marks of art, but nature, with a little industry, seemed to furnish all that was needful or pleafant.

Upon our entrance into the village, we were received with marks of hofpitality; for the peafants knew we fhould pay for what our occasions required; but they were much alarmed on account of the king's couriers^b, who without pity take, and without mercy ride the horfes of the poor inhabitants. In fact we had not been in the village two hours before eight of them arrived, who contrary to the ufual cuftom, were armed with mufquets, though in general they wear only fabres: their bufinefs was to examine, and take the depofition of the villagers concerning thirty robbers, who had lately infefted the country, and of whom we had feen a party of five, three days before.

These couriers wear a white fafh girded from their fhoulders to their waift many times round their bodies, by which means they are enabled to ride for many days without great fatigue: they take horfes wherever they can find them, which frequently are not returned to the owners: they even difmount travellers, and often leave them to walk with their baggage. The injuftice of this behaviour occasions their being fometimes repulfed and feverely treated; though according to the laws, an intire fubmiffion is required, as they are employed for the king's bufinefs. Post-mafters are fupplied by the king's orders with 30, 40, or 50 horfes, according to their appointments; but as the demand is frequently greater than they are able to fupply, and the SHAH's allowance very fmall, they are often obliged to abfcond, which is a great caufe of the barbarity of the couriers. One of thefe poftmafters being challenged upon this account by NADIR, answered in thefe terms: "That I have not fupplied your couriers with horfes, is moft certain; becaufe for every ten horfes you provided, you fent me twenty couriers: a man had better die at once, than live to ferve a rafcal;" and immediately he ftabbed himfelf^c. The SHAH cried out "that is a brave fellow; fave him:" but it was too late.

^b Whom the PERSIANS call CHOPPARS.

^c This is but the fecond inftance that I have known of a PERSIAN's being guilty of fuidice.

Whilst I was in this village I observed, not without indignation, boys of twenty, armed with a military authority, giving blows on the heads of those, whose grey beards spoke their age, and the reverence due to it. This sort of treatment was practised sometimes for very trifling offences, and frequently for no offence at all: nor could I restrain my own ARME-NIAN servants on many occasions from following this BRAVE example; till I assured them they should receive ten strokes for one they gave. Having refreshed ourselves, we departed in the evening, taking our rout over a high mountain, from whence we descended into a pleasant and fruitful valley, and crossing the KIZILAZAN, we took up our lodging two leagues distance from ARSEVIL.

The 1st of April, we passed through the narrow paths in the mountains which guard the province of GHILAN, in view of many pleasant valleys, and travelling 7 leagues, arrived at CUEDUN; here we lodged in a very mean caravanserai, which we left early the next morning, and arrived happily at RESHD.

C H A P. XL.

The author arrives at LANGAROOD, and finds naval preparations making for an expedition to BALKHAN. He is visited by a MULLAH, with whom he enters into a conversation. The MULLAH's notion of marriage, also of temperance, dress, &c. An account of the women, their marriages, domestic slavery, and subjection in PERSIA. Thoughts on jealousy, and marriages in EUROPE compared with those of ASIA.

AFTER the pleasure of seeing Mr. BROWN, and any other friends in RESHD, the 4th of April I departed from thence, and arrived early the next morning at LANGAROOD, where I was for the third time, kindly received by Mr. ELTON, and two of the FRENCH missionaries, who were then with him. They informed me, that all the ships and vessels on the PERSIAN coast of the CASPIAN, had been taken into the SHAH's service, in order to carry provisions to BALKHAN; the king pur-
suing

suings his intention of erecting a fortification in that place, with a view to keep the TURKUMAN TARTARS in awe; and by driving them from that advantageous retreat, in some measure prevent their incursions". This affair was so warmly prosecuted, that the ships already laden at ENZELLE by the RUSSIAN and ARMENIAN merchants for ASTRACHAN, were threatened to have their cargoes taken out. These naval preparations were conducted by the admiral MAHOMMED KHAN, whose ignorance of maritime affairs I have already mentioned: he was so little a master of his business, that he did not know the necessity of navigating ships at some distance from the shore; nor that boats, on the other hand, must coast it. Finding me returned successfully from the camp, he appeared jealous of my resentment of his former conduct; and apprehensive that the value of the pistols I had presented him was greater than it really was^b; being ignorant also how to use the screw-barrils, he offered to return them; to which I had no objection.

Policy did not require the semblance of resentment on my part; and charity seldom warrants the reality of it. A mind superior to the injuries we suffer by the weakness or wickedness of others, seems to be the surest mark of that generosity of spirit which christianity requires, and bids fairest to secure that tranquility which constitutes in great measure our temporal happiness. If we reflect that men generally act like themselves, and are no better than their heads and their hearts permit them to be; at the same time that this consideration teaches us whom to trust in the affairs of the world, it should instruct us also how to stifle our resentments; and to think it our greatest glory to triumph over the pride, that is, the weakness of human nature. This is most certainly the lesson which the great law-giver of the CHRISTIAN world both taught and practised.

MAHOMMED KHAN was ordered to march towards ASTRABAD with the forces under his command. I visited him to enquire of what was passing in ASTRABAD; and understood that things were yet in the utmost disorder. He and his family were under great affliction, news being come that MIR HASSAN BEG, a general, and one of his near relations, was run

^a See Chap. XX.

^b He had heard that those sent to ALI KOULI KHAN were worth 1000 crowns.
from

from the SHAH's camp to the rebels at SHIRASS: nor were his thoughts less perplexed on account of the difficulties he apprehended in the expedition to TURKUMANIA. He pretended to have received orders in relation to the decree which the SHAH had granted, for the payment of my loss at ASTRABAD, and demanded an account of the particulars of it, which I gave him.

I was visited here by a MULLAH, who came in company with SHAHVERDIE BEG, the person to whom I was so much obliged: they entertained us with several quotations out of their poets, particularly with regard to the pleasures and miseries of life, arising from the society of women; and expressed themselves upon this subject with great delicacy. SHAHVERDIE BEG was an admirer of BACCHUS, as well as of VENUS. After other remarks the MULLAH observed to me, that though their law permitted a plurality of wives, and did not restrain men in their number of concubines; yet they always considered him as the most virtuous man, who confined himself to one wife, without any concubine: he intimated his opinion at the same time, that celibacy seemed to be a war against nature, and was consequently a vice.

The tendency of the MULLAH's doctrine was plainly upon the CHRISTIAN scheme, of ONE to ONE; and that the state of marriage is the state of nature; considering man as an animal, a rational, a social, or an accountable being. The practice of the MAHOMMEDANS however seems to oppose all these principles, except the first: no man can have a natural right to a plurality of women, because of his superior wealth and fortune; for if he has many, the poor man cannot have one, unless we suppose the lives of men to be considerably shorter than those of women, which is not the case; neither are there more women born than men. It has been a subject often disputed, if polygamy tends to the encrease of mankind: it is true in countries where it is allowed, hardly a single woman is to be found after the age of 16 or 18; whereas this is not the case in CHRISTENDOM: yet if marriage among the CHRISTIANS was so universal as among the MAHOMMEDANS, it may be presumed they would have the advantage, if they have it not as the case now stands; because a
defect

defect in nature in one man, could render only one woman infertile; whereas among the polygamists it renders many so. There are other reasons in favour of the CHRISTIANS, arising from the freedom so natural to mankind even from their infancy, which MAHOMMEDAN women and children do not enjoy: add to this, the plagues, wars, cruelties, and famines which happen among the latter, more than in CHRISTENDOM: but it is a matter of no great moment which has the advantage, if it is presumed that it will not make any difference in the religion or politics of either.

Only four wives for life are esteemed honourable in PERSIA; and though men of fortune have generally more women, the rest are held as concubines. The notion of their marrying their sisters has been long exploded. Before marriage the woman is examined in regard to her person by the mother, or other relation of the man; as the man is by the parents or friends of the woman. A report being made, the woman's parents demand the price, which being paid, the judge^c, or, where there is none, the priest^d, having received notice that the parties are ready, marries them, oftentimes without their having ever seen each other. The PERSIANS may marry for a month, or any time agreed upon between the parties, in the presence of the priest, and separate when the time is expired; but the woman must not marry again immediately, unless she is certain of not being with child. If she is pregnant, the man is obliged to support her for a year; and if the child is a male, it is his; if a female, hers. But marriage does not give them any liberty; for the women, to all appearance, are considered as little more than servile creatures formed for the pleasure and indulgence of their lord.

Happy were it for the CHRISTIAN world if women were more generally taught from the earliest time of life, that rebellion against husbands in EUROPE is at least as great a crime as ASIATIC tyranny over wives; and the thoughts of the latter must necessarily make them shudder. The medium may be found in some countries^e; but the extreme is apt to prevail. Women are not often taught the doctrine of subordination otherwise than by

^a HAZEL.^d MULLAH.^e Perhaps as much in ENGLAND as any where.

custom;

custom ; which they sometimes call, and much oftener think an arbitrary invasion of their rights : the understanding and the heart ought to subscribe to this doctrine, in order to establish this rule of conduct upon a solid basis. Thus women might more generally comprehend, that subordination is necessary to the very being of government ; that the pre-eminence which men enjoy, consists chiefly in a superior toil ; that whether a man has the mind of an angel, or a brute, still the gentle passions, and a submissive conduct of a wife, must establish her power in the heart of her husband more permanently than all the arts of pride and rebellion ; thus it must be if she means to possess his affections : and if she does not mean it, he has the greater reason to maintain that superiority with which nature has invested him. And as providence has appointed man the guardian and protector of woman, he ought therefore to be the chief object of her love ; not in an abstracted speculation, but in a manner suitable to the great ends of providence.

To enter deep into this argument, is not my purpose ; I only mean to recommend an observance of the wise dispositions of providence, and to shew how reciprocal the happiness of mankind, as social beings, must necessarily be, as well from the make of the human mind, as from the necessities to which our condition is subjected. But there is one particular which I think ought never to be forgotten : the sensible part of mankind are ever lamenting the great want of friendship in the world : they form high ideas of the charms of it : they pursue it with anxious desires : but how few have virtue enough to enjoy it ; and of those few, how small is the number of such as are so fortunate to find their equals ; insomuch that it has been emphatically said, “ there are as many kings as friends.” It is a common observation, that men excel women in friendship, as women do men in love : it is certain the first depends most on the understanding, the last on the affections ; but it would not be any subject of wonder, considering the modern polite education of EUROPEAN women, if they were deficient in both : to the former at least great discernment, as well as goodness of heart are essentially necessary : however as this amounts to no more than opinion, I may declare mine ; that if there are not many friendships

in the wedded state, there are yet fewer in any other ; consequently those who are adventurers for a friend, ought to run the risk of marriage, if they can so temper their passions with judgment, as to discern the difference between love and friendship, and make a happy mixture of both.

Mankind are in many respects the same in all countries ; but the MAHOMMEDANS certainly deviate from the laws of GOD and nature, by an arbitrary invasion of the RIGHTS of one half of the species. Tell a MAHOMMEDAN, that EUROPEAN women are permitted to walk abroad with their faces uncovered, to see, and to speak to men : he cries with astonishment ! “ How is it possible that the CHRISTIANS can suffer such an abuse ? ” By this we see he has no notion of a PRINCIPLE arising from education and religion. Talk to him of making wives the guardians of their own honour, with some prudent restrictions, as women may be differently circumstanced : he says, “ Alas ! women are the same in all countries ; if this “ conduct was permitted among us, instead of a plurality of wives, what “ security could we have in the property of one ? I thank my stars that I “ was born a MAHOMMEDAN.” In the light which they see things, this is very easy to imagine ; but they forget, that their women would have a juster reason to bless their STARS, had they been born CHRISTIANS, at least in countries where they enjoy one common liberty with the men.

Women in ASIA may sometimes live in harmony in the HARRAM : their lord may have a security in the possession of their persons : kind treatment may even engage their hearts, but not upon solid principles. We often see custom and habit prevail over nature ; but can a woman who loves a man, bear a competition for his distinguished regard, without suffering the corroding pains of jealousy ?

The joys of an EUROPEAN husband, who understands his religion as a CHRISTIAN, and his obligations as a social being, are certainly founded in reason and nature : but to abate the triumphs of their boasted superiority over the MAHOMMEDANS, let us consider the number whose lives are rendered unpleasant ; how few are completely happy, and how many miserable by the methods established in EUROPE in the marriage-state. These evils

evils seem to arise chiefly from one capital error, which men are apt to fall into. Our passions are as essential a part of our nature as our reason; and women, with some difference of objects, are equally subject to them with men. Where an ABSURD EDUCATION does not make their vanity preponderate, love will ever prove the ruling passion in a woman's breast; it will tincture all her thoughts, and give a bias to every part of her conduct; nor is this her crime, but her virtue and felicity, the order of providence, and the wise destination of nature. The great secret of life then, is to find a proper object for that passion: the husband must be himself the lover, if he means to be beloved: by the consistency of his own conduct he must inspire his wife with true notions of happiness, that is, with sentiments of true virtue and religion; and thus he may preserve inviolate in the highest sense the exclusive property to which he is intitled.

But there is a great difference between a manly rational love, and a passionate fondness. The esteem which women of sentiments usually have for men, rises or falls in proportion to the opinion they have of their wisdom; but the effeminate servilities of a doating fondness bid fair to bring on that satiety or contempt which he is most solicitous to prevent. However strong the passion of sovereignty may be in the breast of some women, the man who renounces his superiority, will for that reason, become an object of her contempt. A masculine tenderness, and politeness of manners, are the best means of tying the bands of wedlock, and making them graceful, honourable, and productive of solid happiness; towards women of distinguished beauty, because they are most in danger, and always think themselves most entitled to regard: to her who is not beautiful, because this distinction, if she has any ingeniousness of nature, will inspire her heart with a reciprocal love; and as it must flatter her opinion of her own merit, will give a proof of the taste and understanding of her husband. Thus in either case, he will receive the strongest security of her fidelity, and the best earnest of a mutual felicity. Marriage, upon the CHRISTIAN scheme, is undoubtedly well calculated for the happiness of mankind: all conditions have their peculiar calamities; but I am persuaded that most of the miseries which are imputed to that state, are really

ally owing to the abuse of it ; for we ought to remember, that the man or woman, who is a fool before marriage, will not be changed by a miracle ; but if there is good sense on either side, this may be a natural means of their becoming wife.

There is an UTOPIAN scheme which promises well ; but perhaps it is calculated only for UTOPIA : it is indeed too good for the present age : I do not mean that of buying wives, as they do in PERSIA, but to take them without dowry : the inheritance of the female, when she first marries should revert to the male heir of a family. This scheme is not the worse because it will flatter a rich maid bred up in the splendor of a court : human nature would be the same ; MEN WOULD MARRY : the desire of happiness would be the same, AND MEN WOULD MARRY THE SOONER, because they might rationally promise themselves MORE happiness than experience can now ordinarily justify. In proportion to THEIR felicity would THAT of their wives necessarily be : MORE men would marry, because they would follow reason and nature more, without being perplexed with the desires of gratifications, founded in avarice or vanity : and as “ no marriage would be made without love, fewer loves would follow without marriage.” Virtue, and consequently happiness amongst women, would be cultivated ; because they would have only their beauty and accomplishments to inspire the breast of men. This scheme would also enforce filial piety and duty to parents : children would draw this blessing on their heads ; for it would create a stronger connexion by the dependance which they would have on their parents, who in cases of unfortunate marriages, might the better be relieved ; whereas parents, by the large dowries now given, are generally incapable of giving more ; and their affections often become cold, by their not being shewn that respect from married children, which they would naturally receive under the stronger influence of interest.

This design might indeed be the worse for the rich, who have neither beauty, virtue, sense, or any accomplishment, except their gilding ; but the number of these, which I hope is not large at present, would then be very small. As to the variety of opinions among men concerning female

male charms, they would be more free and genuine, because unbiassed by any consideration foreign to nature: and if one woman was by this scheme excluded from marriage, ten would find husbands, who now languish through life in a wretched celibacy; women in general are therefore interested to consent to this proposal. The riches of the world would be neither more nor less than they are now: the RIGHTS of a wife in a free country would not be abridged, except the RIGHTS of independency in point of fortune; and what would they lose by this, when it is well known, that from hence arises the notion of a separate interest, which may be pursued WHEN AND HOW they please; and the frequent consequence of this opinion is nothing less than MISERY to both husband and wife, as some thousands I believe are ready to attest.

Whatever may be the consequence of too much liberty in EUROPE; in ASIA, at least in that part of it which is the subject of these remarks; the women are the abject slaves of men's appetites, being but little removed from prostitutes: and with regard to the men, their pleasures cannot go much deeper than their senses. It is not discoverable from the manner in which they treat the subject, and as little from the nature of their correspondence with women, that there are many traces of friendship mixed with love; consequently few partnerships in the cares or calamities of life; and as to the pleasures and amusements of it, they are necessarily confined within very narrow bounds. But for the greater security of their property in their wives, the only one which NADIR seemed to have any regard to, on his coming to the crown he published an ordinance, which made it present death for any person whomsoever, who should attempt to corrupt another man's wife, or forcibly take a married woman from her husband; for which reason those who have beautiful daughters give them in marriage very young, that they may not be exposed to any violence. In the reign of HUSSEIN, men of great distinction were wont to seize upon what women they pleased, whether married or single; but as NADIR himself was a strict observer of the law just mentioned, very few persons had the boldness to violate it in his time.

The women of GHILAN are very industrious; the common sort are often seen abroad without veils, planting rice, and performing other offices of agriculture: and within doors they are employed in spinning and working in different manufactures: but women of superior quality work very little, if at all. QUINTUS CURTIUS mentions ALEXANDER's sending to DARIUS's mother several pieces of purple, and other rich vestures, which he had received from MACEDON; that if the manufacture pleased her, she might cause her grandchildren to be taught how to make them for their diversion. This, as the historian represents, was resented as a great indignity, it being esteemed mean and dishonourable for ladies in PERSIA to work in wool. ALEXANDER excused himself as being ignorant of their customs, alledging that his sister had worked the robe in which he was arrayed. The PERSIAN ladies are still of that opinion; nor is this surprising, if we consider that in EUROPE, where industry is reckoned a principal virtue, there are many women, whose birth, fortune, and beauty, might challenge the highest attention, who chuse to be ignorant of the essential duties of life, rather than of the vain ceremonies and amusements of it.

The women in GHILAN are fair, their eyes and hair black; but here, as in other places, they often use a drug with which they blacken their eyes: they appear at least to have received a tincture from it, but it leaves a blackness on the eye-lids: they esteem large eyes, insomuch that as a figure to express the highest idea of the beauty of a woman, the females of paradise are represented with prodigious large eyes. In this province their features are small; those, as well as their stature, partaking much of the DELICATE. But in general the GEORGIANS are most esteemed for the charms of their persons. Their children are bred up in the HARRAM, and like the PORTUGUESE and JEWS, are very handsome when young; but the males soon change their countenance. The females who do not labour in the field, are seldom seen abroad except in a morning before the sun rises, and then they are covered with veils, which reach down to their feet. When they travel on horseback, every lady of distinction is not only veiled, but has generally a servant, who runs or rides before

fore her to clear the way ; and on such occasions the men, even in the market-places, always turn their backs till the women are past, it being thought the highest ill manners to look at them ; but this awful respect is but a proof of the slavery in which they are doomed to live. The care which they take to conceal their faces, to avoid the imputation of acting indelicately, and contrary to custom, has made so strong an impression on them, that I was told of a woman, who being accidentally surprized in bathing, shewed her whole person except her face ; to hide which, all her solicitude was employed.

The notion which the PERSIANS have imbibed concerning the female world, prevents their being involved in the distresses of love, such as losing their senses for the sake of a woman, though they are betrayed into many improprieties of conduct on this account. Jealousy which generally prevails in the warmest climates, is not unknown to the heart of a PERSIAN ; the nearer approach to the sun, may affect MAHOMMEDANS as well as CHRISTIANS ; but as in the politer countries of CHRISTENDOM, women are generally considered, in most respects, upon an equality with men ; and in PERSIA, as much inferior to them ; there must consequently be among CHRISTIANS a greater regard to conjugal love. The difference in religions, as well as in the customs and manners of countries, will hardly admit a comparison ; but as jealousy sometimes occasions the infidelity of women in EUROPE, it is always a safeguard to them in ASIA, where they are never constituted the guardians of their own honour.

We find custom has a great influence on the manners of mankind in all countries. In FRANCE there is a more liberal indulgence of women than in ENGLAND ; and yet, contrary to this rule, I believe it is beyond dispute that ENGLISH wives greatly exceed the FRENCH in chastity ; nor in saying this do I so much depreciate the women of that nation, as ascribe the natural effect to the cause ; for the superior excellence of our religion makes a stronger hold ; whilst the custom of FRANCE, and genius of the people with regard to their gaiety, is a temptation ; for though chastity, and great vivacity of spirit, are things very consistent ; yet the latter is, in its nature, apt to deceive the guards who watch the avenues to the heart,
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and to flatter them into a persuasion, that there is no danger near; whereas a more serious turn of mind creates an awe, and keeps the enemy at a distance. On the other hand, in PORTUGAL, and other countries in the south of EUROPE, where jealousy abounds most, and where the least confidence is reposed in women, there is most incontinence: so that it is hard to say, whether jealousy has tended most to this immorality; or this immorality established jealousy, as a kind of national vice. This passion, which seems to have its foundation partly in constitution, must arise also from indiscreet engagements, from whence proceed those sad apprehensions of being unamiable to the object beloved: but it is natural to conclude, in most cases, that the more vicious men are, the more they suspect others; and consequently are themselves the more subject to alarms.

Now that I am fallen upon so delicate a subject, I cannot help remarking, that although men of sentiments are very cautious of acknowledging, that this passion has in the least tinged their minds, nor is it in the nature of things, that they can be ingenuous in confessions of this sort; yet I believe there are very few men without a degree of it. The aged, the proud, the timorous, and the tender, are perhaps the most susceptible of this passion, where there are any circumstances in the object beloved, to awaken it; but ashamed as men usually are in this instance, the question is, if jealousy is not a natural passion of the mind, as a compound of pride, love, hope, and fear; and if it may by a skilful direction answer several of the great ends of providence, as well as the other passions from whence I suppose jealousy to be derived? What the fatal effects of the excess of every passion are, the history of the world can furnish us with instances innumerable. Pride, love, fear, kill a thousand different ways, entirely unobserved by the generality of men, whilst one desperate act of jealousy is entered upon record, and transmitted to future generations.

If we consider jealousy as a passion distinct from all others, and that it MAY be employed to good purposes; the poison of it will in a great measure evaporate; for every passion was certainly given us for wise ends. I believe there are not many men, and perhaps fewer women, who having endea-

endeavoured to pass through life with innocence, are not without singular obligations to this passion; I mean, with regard to **THEMSELVES**, as that which has constantly waited on them like a guardian angel, to protect them in their fidelity to their own principles; for if jealousy is a natural passion, its influence necessarily extends to **OURSELVES**, though in common life we do not often make **OURSELVES** the objects of it^s. This principle being granted, how often might it have guarded the honour of families, and prevented that distress in which we have seen them involved. There is a vulgar notion prevails amongst women, such at least who are not very wise, as well as those who are not very virtuous, that suspicion is a great provocation to infidelity: whereas jealousy, though it implies a diffidence, may be only such as is founded in a general knowledge of human nature; or a great infirmity of mind; and though it is often a proof of pride, it can hardly exist without love; but a woman might, with the same propriety, beat out her husband's brains, because his head aches, as be unfaithful to him, because he is jealous; for it can by no means alter the nature of her obligations. On the other hand, it is a duty in men to remember, that this passion, if indulged, is an indignity to a woman, and does sometimes bring on the very evil it is employed to prevent.

In countries where women are considered as equally entitled to the privileges of human nature, and are not only exempt from the servile subjections of the **EAST**, but enjoy the honour of being free, as well as the liberty of being virtuous, they can hardly be devoid of sentiment: and it must necessarily follow, that in proportion as a woman loves a man, she will avoid what is injurious to his peace: whilst **HE**, conscious of this sickness of mind, will be equally watchful that it shall not offend her: and thus, by a skilful management, their very frailties may be converted into a blessing, and exhibit a thousand latent virtues, which, for want of trial, might never have been called forth.

I have considered jealousy in a different light from that in which it is generally shewn; but mankind are agreed, that all the sweets of love

^s This is using the term jealousy for suspicion and diffidence; but it must be remembered that this term is warrantable, as when a man is **JEALOUS** of his honour; which, though a figurative expression, is very apposite to this opinion.

are no counterpoise for the bitter pangs of this corroding passion : and that men are as highly interested not to instruct themselves in the art of self-torment, as not to teach their wives an evil lesson. It may be also remarked, that jealousy, abstracted from all regards to women ; as in acquaintance, friendship, and the intercourse of the world at large, shews itself most in the weakest men ; though all men of TENDER MINDS are extremely susceptible of it. Pride is generally its companion, and fear its guide ; sorrow and vexation of spirit support its banners, and it leads us into the paths of misery. This is the case when we suffer it to get the ascendancy ; but when subservient to the ends of life, it is, I think, productive of the good I have painted out.

To return to my conversation with the MULLAH, from whence these reflexions took their rise, he afforded me yet further occasion for moralizing. He observed that I did not eat nor drink any thing that was offered me, and being himself a VALETUDINARIAN, he asked the reason of my abstinence : I told him, " It is a common saying in EUROPE, that a man " is a fool, or his own physician by the age of forty ; I want many years " of that period ; yet my constitution has given me great experience how " tottering these fabrics of our bodies are." Here it may be observed, that an impatience of certain foods, and other gratifications, is sometimes as prevalent in men of infirm constitutions, as in others. Mr. POPE, by what he says of himself, has set this matter in a clear light ; and happy are those who can truly apply it to themselves : " My youth" says this author, as well as I remember, " has dealt fairly and honestly by me ; and, " by early intimations of mortality, checked my career, and prevented " many injurious, and perhaps criminal excesses into which my passions " might have betrayed me." The MULLAH expressed his approbation of the proverbial saying I have quoted, arraigned mankind, and condemned himself in particular, for want of that common attention to health, without which, he observed, it is next to impossible for some men to pass through life exempt from pain ; and besides the misery and perturbations of mind which it creates, it also disqualifies us for the affairs of the world.

We now changed our subject ; and he said with an ingenuous freedom :
“ How comes it that you, who are abstemious in your food, are not of a piece in your apparel ; there ought to be an uniformity in a man’s conduct.” I thanked him for his admonition, and replied : “ In things I do not find injurious in their consequences, it seems to me a kind of duty to conform to the custom of those with whom we associate. You may impute as much as you please to vanity ; but I must confess to you my philosophy does admit of some indulgence of this kind : different occasions, and the different kinds of people with whom we associate, must, in some measure, determine in what manner a man ought to dress. Several eminent philosophers in EUROPE have recommended the garb to be rather above, than below a man’s fortune, in which I presume they allude to certain ranks in life : a good coat will often procure a man admittance, where a bad one will expose him to contempt. This is no where more true than in your country, of which I have already had a painful experience : and since the world in general is governed chiefly by outward appearances ; and that innocence of life, or even strength of reason alone, will not purchase much esteem ; we may, I think, accommodate ourselves to the world in things which are indifferent in their nature, whatever may be urged by those philosophers and divines, who are apt to consider how things ought to be, rather than how they are.” The MULLAH shook his head, and acknowledged the application of the argument with regard to PERSIA.

I had indeed been taught on several occasions, how necessary externals were in that country, as well to prevent being treated insolently, as to purchase that respect, which is of great use to the good conduct of business in that country. In trading nations, where the supposed pecuniary worth of men constitutes the greatest part of the respect paid them, cloaths are less essential : but as these externals among others, are material distinctions of an affluent fortune ; even in such nations, some respect will be ever paid to a man’s coat ; particularly among the young, the gay, or the female world, which constitute a very great part of mankind ; and that part which he is no philosopher who despises.

With regard to motives of policy and custom, this notion had carried our factors in the south of PERSIA much farther than us who came from the cold regions of RUSSIA: they had their gold CAALLEANS, rich SHASHES, running footmen, led horses, &c. Their dress was PERSIAN, except the hat and wig, and their garments for parade were lined with SABLES. SHAH SULTAN HUSSEIN gave them a noble palace and fine gardens; and once, at a public entertainment made for this prince, the factors spread the ground with scarlet-cloth for him to walk on from the royal palace to their own, and afterwards gave the cloth to the soldiers. This conduct was in some instances political amongst so ostentatious a people as the PERSIANS, and no doubt had its good effects; and the trade, whilst it was in a flourishing condition, might possibly support a considerable expence: but the invasion of the AFGHANS no longer permitted the continuance of it, and other prudential reasons now restrain these factors in a very great measure. Mr. ELTON however thought it becoming the rank he bore in his master's service, to have four running footmen to attend him; his adjutant was gallantly mounted, and carried a light fowling-piece at the head of the cavalcade: the rear was brought up by the CAALLEAN bearer on horseback, who carried a YAKTAN^b with provisions, outward garments, and the like: but I cannot say, this shadow of a precarious pomp was any addition to my pleasure, because I knew his appointments of 2500 crowns^c a year were not equal to it.

The conversation of the MULLAH gave occasion to many other reflexions; but those already mentioned exceed the bounds I have prescribed to myself in this work.

^b Leather pannier.

^c This was the salary allowed by NADIR SHAH, to which he added an occasional present or two of 500 crowns, and VERY LARGE promises, which probably would not have produced any thing.

C H A P. XLI.

*The author detained in expectation of the arrival of captain WOODROOFE.
Description of the province of GHILAN.*

THE month of April being now almost expired, I grew still more impatient to see captain WOODROOFE, intending to go to ASTRABAD by sea. Mr. ELTON endeavoured to render my hours as pleasant as so wretched a place as LANGAROOD could make them, and obliged me often with the use of the fine horse which the SHAH had given him.

I now sent a second courier to NASEER AGA, to inform him in what situation I was, and that I determined to go by land, if the ship did not arrive in two or three days. Providence seemed to order things apparently for the best: the heavy oppressions which had induced the people of ASTRABAD to rebel, and the dreadful consequences of that rebellion, could not but draw commiseration. But my sentiments of their sufferings afforded me no assurance of their regard to justice, much less of their forbearance to injure me in the prosecution of my business, if they had an opportunity of doing it. During my stay in GHILAN many of the rebels were removed by death, whom my presence could not have saved, and their adherents being the more humbled, were probably the less disposed to acts of violence. The several journies which I made in GHILAN afforded me an opportunity of making some remarks on that province: and my leisure allowed me time to commit them to writing.

GHILAN is covered on one side by a mountain, nearly in form of a crescent; and what adds much to its beauty is the abundance of timber, and other wood, and the several romantic scenes which the various face of the earth affords. At the foot of the mountain to the eastward, near the bay is a hot bath, the water of which is of a yellowish colour, and much esteemed for its medicinal qualities. The several passes into GHILAN are all very difficult; the narrow pass which leads to it from the east through ASTRABAD and MAZANDERAN, and from the west by Lenger-KUNAN, are not much inferior to that of PILE-RUBAR already mentioned.

tioned. From hence it arose, that the kings of PERSIA have ever found it very difficult to keep the inhabitants of the southern coast of the CASPIAN in subjection, and still more, to reduce them when they have once rebelled: NADIR seemed to make it a maxim, never to keep any troops on this coast.

RESHD, the chief city in GHILAN, about 20 years ago was surrounded by a thick wood, which rendered it extremely unwholesome; inasmuch that the ARMENIANS, who came from TURKEY to buy silk, usually stopped a day's journey short of this place, and sent their servants into the city. But the RUSSIANS no sooner possessed this best part of the province, than they cleared the ground for near fifteen miles to the southward, and a prospect is now opened which is bounded only by the mountains: these are very lofty, their tops being generally covered with snow through the whole year. The air of GHILAN, though admirably adapted to the cultivation of raw silk and rice, of which no province has such plenty, is far from being healthful; the sudden changes of it are productive of agues, especially to those who are careless in their cloathing. The numerous marshes occasioned by the inundation of the CASPIAN, the rice-fields often laid under water, and the vicinity of the mountains which are covered with wood, all contribute to hurt the air, especially when the heat of the sun is violent, and consequently the exhalations strong. There are frogs and gnats innumerable, nor are spiders less abundant; the extreme moisture of the earth breeds insects even in their houses, whilst the air is so productive of rust, that even the work of a watch can with difficulty be preserved. The inhabitants of the province observe, that women, mules, and poultry enjoy health, when all other animals pine away with sickness; from whence it may be concluded, that the confinement of the women contributes to their preservation. June, July, and August are their most unhealthy months: in October, November, and December they have generally heavy rains. In the year 1741 an incredible quantity of snow fell, inasmuch that the people of RESHD had no communication with each other for some days, but from their house-tops, which however are not very lofty: they even assured me that the snow was, in some places, to the depth of seven yards.

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They enjoy here a long spring : their lawns and meadows are strewed with flowers, and the bushes with honey-suckles, sweet biars, and roses. The soil is exceeding fertile, producing some hemp and hops, and almost every kind of fruit without culture ; for besides oranges, lemons, peaches, and pomegranates, here are abundance of grapes, the vines supporting themselves on the trees, and growing wild in the mountains with great luxuriancy ; so that a considerable part of this province is quite a paradise, notwithstanding the many great inconveniences which attend it. Their grapes, for want of cultivation, are not of the most excellent kind ; nor will they make tolerable wine, without a mixture of raisins from the southern parts of the empire ; but these fermented together produce very good wine. Their other fruits are not reckoned wholesome, especially to foreigners ; the peaches and figs, in particular, partake much of the pernicious moisture which predominates in the lower parts of the province. GHILAN is also remarkable for producing great quantities of box-wood, for which camels have an extreme fondness, though it is their immediate death if they eat of it ; for this reason there are few or no camels brought into this province, their caravans consisting of horses, mules, and cows*.

There are several rivers and inlets on the coast of GHILAN that abound in fish : the most remarkable in the river of LANGAROOD, are pike, carp, a species of cod, and an oily fish called COTTOOME, much esteemed by the PERSIANS ; the head of it resembles that of a mullet, but the colour, fins, and scales are like those of a carp. There is another fish found in most of the rivers and inlets on the PERSIAN coast, and also in the VOLGA, but never seen at sea : it is called SOOME, the head is very large, and has the nearest resemblance to that of a dog-fish, but the colour and shape of the body is like a cod ; it has no scales, but from the navel to the tail there runs a soft fin on the belly, as well as the back : this fish, as I have been told, is very ravenous, and devours like a shark, though it has no teeth ; the flesh of it when boiled is extremely soft, and is never eaten by the PERSIANS.

* These carry burthens like other animals.



Ant. Walker del. et Sculp.

C H A P. XLII.

Ignorance of the PERSIANS in regard to maritime affairs. The author sets out on his second journey from LANGAROOD to ASTRABAD. Description of the province of MAZANDERAN, with the cities of AMUL, BALFRUSH, &c. he is kindly received by the governor of the province. The modern PERSIANS debauched by spirituous liquors.

IN the close of this month of April Mr. ELTON set up the stem and stern of the ship he was building; upon which occasion we drank the SHAH's health, and fired the cannon we had on shore. The PERSIANS have very little maritime strength: in the gulph of PERSIA they once had between 20 and 30 ships, partly built in EUROPE, and some in PEGU and SURAT; but they were navigated by INDIANS and PORTUGUESE. Their ship-carpenters on the CASPIAN were mostly INDIANS, who perform their business with delicacy, but are very slow, and unfit for large work; neither do they understand much of the structure of vessels, or of the method of navigating them. But there cannot be a stronger instance of the ignorance of the PERSIANS in regard to maritime affairs, than that of MYRZA MEHTIE, who was appointed admiral of the coast before

fore he had ever seen a ship: this was the man who was afterwards nominated by NADIR, to examine into the CHRISTIAN religion. Being now as tired of idleness, as impatient to bring my business to an issue, I determined to wait no longer, and accordingly the first of May in the evening we set out for ASTRABAD.

Besides Mr. LOTUS, who had been with me in the camp, and on whom I depended as an interpreter, I took also MATTEUSE, the old ARMENIAN, who was with me when the rebellion broke out. We were six persons well armed, and MAHOMMED KHAN had promised to furnish us with a convoy of fifty soldiers, if necessary; for some of the inhabitants of MAZANDERAN, as well as ASTRABAD, had been in the rebellion; and knowing upon what business we were going, and that part of the money must be levied on them or their relations, it was not unreasonable to apprehend, that they would make no scruple to obstruct our journey, if they had a favourable opportunity.

The first evening we were benighted and lost in a wood: we had successively procured several guides; but they all ran from us, apprehending we should treat them injuriously. In this perplexity we made towards a house, where we saw a light, but found the entrance barricadoed with trees: we used some entreaties to persuade the master of it to conduct us to RUDIZAR; but as we could not make any impression on him, we broke into his house, and tying a rope to one of his arms, compelled him to conduct us. However unwarrantable this conduct may appear, it was quite agreeable to the practice of PERSIA in such cases, and now seemed absolutely necessary, especially as we meant no harm; on the contrary, after the man had conducted us to RUDIZAR, he was handsomely paid for his trouble.

The 2d, We saw a ship in the offing^a, upon which we stopt at a little village in the mountains, and sent an express to LANGAROOD; but receiving answer the next day, that this ship was not captain WOODROOFE'S, we proceeded on our journey without any more flattering expectations.

^a Sea-term for a ship which appears on a coast.

Travelling about six leagues, we soon entered the province of MAZANDERAN, the weather being extremely delightful. Two of the carriers of my baggage through fear, or some worse cause, left us and their loads in a very abrupt manner. The 4th, my horses and mules being at pasture, were visited by a wolf of a very extraordinary size, of which there are numbers in these mountains; being driven off by the guard which was set for such purposes, this animal contented himself with killing a cow. In the morning we set out early, and came up with a detachment of fifty soldiers, the commander of which very courteously offered his service to convoy us.

I observed that some of the lower parts of MAZANDERAN very much resemble GHILAN; but they are not so closely encircled by mountains, and the air is more free and pure. This province also abounds in water, of which many streams issue from the springs in the mountains; but the rice-fields require a plentiful distribution of it. They tell a story of an inhabitant of the low-lands, who being asked the length of the province, answered, "TOOL up to the waist," the word TOOL in PERSIC signifies length; but, in the dialect of the province, mud. In the time of ALEXANDER the GREAT these people were called MARDI, and the antient name of the province of MAZANDERAN was MARGIANA. This country is as fruitful as GHILAN, and much more healthful; in fact the inhabitants are stronger, and more robust. It produces great quantities of cotton, which are sent in large boats to the market at RESHD, from whence part of it is carried into RUSSIA; and this is the only province in the north of PERSIA that produces sugar.

This day we arrived at KIRCULLI, a little village near the sea-shore, where we met with a courier from MAHOMMED KHAN, with an open letter, requiring the commander of the fifty men to march along the coast, and seize all the boats for the SHAH's service. This order was conducted with so little secrecy, that besides the letter being open, it was delivered by mistake to my interpreter. The peasants and boatmen, having had previous notice, concealed in the creeks the few boats that were on the coast. The usual method, in such cases, is to oblige the elders to make report in writing of what boats belong to the village; and if they are discovered

to conceal any, they are severely fined. I presented the commander of the fifty men with cloth for a coat, and obtained a detachment of ten of his foldiers for our convoy.

The earth having been refreshed with heavy showers of rain, we made two stages, and travelled eleven hours. As we advanced deeper into the province, the villagers grew more insolent, infomuch that one of them seized the commander of my ten men by his throat. It is very dangerous to come to extremities with these peasants, whose numbers and resolution enable them to contend: for if they beat or distress any one, they are often called to an account in such a manner, that, of the two evils, they think murder the least, in hopes it may prevent enquiry; or at worst they can hide themselves in their mountains. The house assigned for my lodging, was inhabited by women and children, to whose intreaties it was my duty to submit, though contrary to custom in such cases; I therefore pitched my tent. Night drawing on, we discovered ourselves to be in a very bad neighbourhood; the villagers here had appeared in arms in the late rebellion, and formed a design of attacking MAHOMMED KHAN, as he retired before the TURKUMANS; their situation being such, that ten men might have defeated the KHAN, and his whole party. These people now imagining us to be extremely rich, would not be persuaded that our brass buttons were not gold: their chief boasted of his great dexterity in the use of fire-arms, as a specimen of which he killed a small bird on a lofty tree with a single ball. The villagers being now alarmed with apprehensions, that my convoy had orders to apprehend them, took to their arms, and retired, refusing to supply the foldiers with any provisions; however I procured food for them, upon condition that they, together with some of my own people, should remain under arms during the night. The inhabitants in the neighbouring mountains were also no less disaffected; and several horsemen came into the village during the night, but finding us on our guard, they feigned excuses for their unseasonable motions, and retired.

The 6th, The dangerous situation in which I had slept, produced an equal satisfaction on my departure. By seven in the morning the sun was extremely hot; I observed that the PERSIANS are not cautious of the im-

pressions of the sun in any degree equal to the PORTUGUEZE; for the last seldom travel without a cloak and umbrello, they also use scull-caps of paper, or a cabbage-leaf under their hats; here the common people only guard the crown of the head, which is often bare in other parts, with a silk-quilted scull-cap. The intense action of the sun, even in more moderate climates, I conceive to be injurious beyond the common attention of physicians, especially to feverish constitutions; and that the evils arising from it are oftentimes not traced to their real cause. About nine, we took shelter in a wood, and pitched our tents, determining to travel only in the evenings, or at night. The 7th, we travelled five leagues: on the road we met several peasants returning home with rice, which the SHAH had caused to be distributed among them; and we understood likewise they were excused from taxes, which they COULD NOT pay. Early the next morning we struck our tents; the soldiers, contrary to their engagement, having left us in the night to take care of ourselves.

As we approached towards AMUL, the country appeared still more pleasant: this city is situated in a plain at the foot of that part of mount TAURUS, where the PERSIANS say ALEXANDER encamped, and refreshed his army: it is watered by a river, over which there is a sumptuous bridge of 12 arches. They have a tradition, that if any governor or commander pass over it on horseback, he will soon be deprived of his office, if not of his life; and that whoever would not be pursued by ill fortune, ought to walk over it: this however is certain, that although the stream is rapid, and the water foul, the PERSIANS generally ford it: and as I did not chuse to be regarded as a person excluded from the common bounties of heaven, I thought proper to comply so far as to lead my horse, and walk over the bridge. Here we found the ruins of an old fortress, which had been very strong and regular, beyond any I saw in PERSIA: the walls were of brick, and of great thickness; they say it has been repaired every two hundred years since the time of the original foundation, said to be 4000 years ago; but this unluckily happens to be before the deluge, according to our accounts. It is certain however that this is one of the cities of the antient PERSIANS, and much esteemed for its situation by the
love-

sovereigns of this country. Here is a palace built with stone, which the famous SHAH ABAS often made his residence: it has two stories which command a pleasant prospect, and is well contrived for coolness and conveniency. The garden is remarkable for the size and height of its cyprus-trees.

In this city I met a writer in the service of MAHOMMED KHAN, who received me with great civility, and expressed much concern that he was ignorant of my circumstances, when I was in his company retiring before the TURKUMANS. He informed us, that SADOQ AGA, and his TARTARS, when they came into this place, were not above 150 in number; but as his master the KHAN had only 60 fighting men with him, they would certainly have attacked us, if the townsmen of AMUL had not magnified our strength, pretending that we had received a reinforcement from SHIRVAN. "We were afraid," said he, "not only of the TARTARS, but of the inhabitants of the province, who were ripe for a revolt. SADOQ AGA demanded money and provision of this city, and, to give a greater impression of the force of the rebel-army, he required also no less than fifty-thousand pair of horse-shoes. As soon as the townsmen thought that MAHOMMED KHAN was marched out of danger, they assured SADOQ AGA they should make no difficulty in serving him, provided he took MAHOMMED KHAN prisoner. The rebels accordingly pursued the KHAN; but after a few days, news arriving from KHORASAN of the defeat of MAHOMMED HASSAN, and the main body of the rebel army; these people prepared to give SADOQ AGA a warm reception, in case he should return this way. Several of his party took to the mountains, but sixty of them came here, of which half were TURKUMANS: many of these fought very gallantly, twelve were killed on the spot, and 18 taken prisoners, and put to death. The thirty KHAJARS surrendered themselves, and having been deprived of their fight by order of the SHAH, are now in this city."

The secretary, having given me this information concerning the fate of those rash men, invited me to hear his music, of which one instrument resembled a flute, another a kettle-drum, a third a gittar; an old
man

man and two boys at the same time sung and danced. It must be noted, that neither of these accomplishments are taught, except to persons who hire themselves for this purpose; in others they are considered as mean and ignoble. Here I observed the same kind of movements as in PORTUGAL; and it is probable that the PORTUGUEZE brought these dances from this country, as before the conquest of ORMUS they had an intimate connexion with the PERSIANS. The boys moved their heads, legs, and arms at the same time in a very extravagant manner; the writer however acknowledged the entertainment was not the most perfect of its kind: he then sent for a priest, remarkable as a good singer; this man raised his voice to a degree of amazement, his quavers were mixed with a very harsh guttural, and the distortions of his visage such, as rather created horror than delight; nor was their instrumental music less ungrateful to my ear.

The people of AMUL, as in many other parts of this coast, begin in May to retire into the neighbouring mountains, where they live in tents, and enjoy cool breezes, delightful shades, plenty of fruits, the most delicious water, with an extensive prospect of a fine country below them. Near this place are mines well furnished with iron ore, where the SHAH had his chief foundery for his cannon, ball, and bomb-shells, as also forges for horse-shoes: and supposing the PERSIAN marine would succeed, they intended also to make anchors. They have plenty of rice and wheat, and also printed cottons, in which articles they trade with the neighbouring provinces.

The 9th, in the evening we left AMUL, and travelled through a delightful country till two in the morning, when, after resting ourselves in tents, we departed for BALFRUSH, the capital of the province. My first enquiry was concerning the conduct of the rebels when I left the place in february last, and I received the following account.. The townsmen, apprehensive of the cruelty of the TURKUMANS, or little concerned about their loyalty to NADIR SHAH, submitted very quietly to SADOQ AGA. When he went in pursuit of MAHOMMED KHAN, he appointed ISMAEL BEG, a person of some distinction, as their governor, but without leaving

ing him any forces. Upon the news of the defeat of the rebels, their governor was seized, and holes being cut in his flesh, they set lighted candles into them; in this barbarous manner they led him about the market-place naked, till with loss of blood he expired.

If we consider a people universally alienated from their sovereign, and yet exercising such horrid cruelties for what they esteemed no crime; it can be reconciled only by habit, and a custom of insensibility, joined to the terrors of this tyrant's power, which thus conjured up so many millions of diabolical spirits to torment and destroy each other.

The 11th, I visited MAHOMMED KHAN, whose house was a few miles from the city, in a delightful situation. There was nothing grand about it; but the adjacent woods and rivulets gave it an air of simplicity, and afforded more pleasure than the most sumptuous palace, where we see only finished strokes of art. In the area before his house were drawn up under arms 150 men, in two double lines. I alighted, according to custom, some yards distance from the house, and bowing with my hand on my breast, advanced towards him: the KHAN was seated in his AIVAN, and received me with great expressions of kindness: as a more convincing proof of his regard, he released a man who was tied, and condemned to be beaten; telling me, that he did it for my sake, and to do me honour. I made him a present of some fine cloth and a case of choice drams, of which this irreligious MAHOMMEDAN was immoderately fond. He told me I must be his guest, with many assurances that a proper and sufficient guard should be provided to attend us to ASTRABAD; which province he said was entirely ruined by the rebellion, and the fatal consequences of it; desiring for my own sake, that I would make as short a stay in that city as possible. He observed further that BEHBUD KHAN the king's general, was a very worthy man, but loved presents; and that this general, as well as the others at ASTRABAD, were ordered by the king on an expedition to BALKHAN.

As I had consented to take up my lodgings with him that night, he ordered poultry and sheep to be killed, meaning to shew me so much favour,

your, as to wipe off the stains his reputation had suffered by his ill treatment of me before ; for he now pretended, that he was then entirely ignorant of my condition, or he had certainly provided me with a sufficient number of horses, and all things necessary for my journey. At dinner we had very little conversation ; for it is not the custom of the PERSIANS, on that occasion, to talk much ; nor did the ignorance of the KHAN admit of his making many pertinent enquiries. As he was desirous to do me pleasure, he sent for his dancers and music, with which I was tormented the whole evening, my nerves being too weak to bear so much noise as was made by eight instruments and three singers : and here it may be worth observing, that though an EUROPEAN ear cannot be reconciled to their taste in music, yet ours is agreeable to them. When they had performed their business, the dancing-men presented me an orange, which was a civil way of demanding payment for their trouble. After dinner the KHAN invited me to drink brandy with him ; upon my refusal he expressed great surprize, that I being an EUROPEAN and a CHRISTIAN, did not delight in spirituous liquors. As soon as I retired, he and his companions could not resist making trial of the strong waters I had presented him : their usual way is for each person to set a plate of sweet-meats before him, and drink their liquor in tea-cups till they are drunk, which is generally effected in a very short time.

The next morning we visited the monument of the KHAN's favourite wife, who had been lately buried in a wood near his house. There was an epitaph, not differing much from the EUROPEAN manner : the author, according to the common sense of mankind, compared life to a flower that blossoms in the spring, and in the summer appears in the full lustre of its beauty ; but in autumn begins to wither and decline, and when winter comes on, every gust of wind blows it to the ground, where it lays and rots.

Before I took my leave of the KHAN, I desired he would tell me definitively what number of men he would give me for a guard ; he replied, as many as I pleased : but I soon found, that five men must be the number as far as KOLEBAWD, from whence only, he said, there was any danger ; and that there I might obtain any number of soldiers.

C H A P. XLIII.

The author's journey through MAZANDERAN. A short description of SHAH ABAS's causeway and of the antient temple of the worshippers of fire; as also of the famous palace of ASHREFF. Pyramids of human heads at the entrance of ASTRABAD.

ON the 13th of May, I dispatched a courier to Mr. ELTON, to inform him of what had passed in relation to the king's business, and the intended expedition to BALKHAN, for which captain WOODROOFE was required to be the leading ship: by the same courier I informed him concerning the buffaloes, which he required to be sent from ASTRABAD to draw timber: I was informed that these animals are yet stronger than oxen; but if provoked, are dangerous and intractable: they are very hot in their constitution, and delight much in water and marshy grounds.

Leaving BALFRUSH, we travelled three leagues through a delightful country to ALLEABAD, where is a palace of mean appearance, but pleasantly situated. The most important and useful monument of antiquity in this country is the cause-way built by SHAH ABAS the GREAT, about the beginning of the last century, which runs from KESKAR, in the south-west corner of the CASPIAN, by ASTRABAD in the south-east corner, and several leagues yet further, being in all near 300 ENGLISH miles. During this period it has hardly been ever repaired; it must be observed however, that few or no wheel-carriages are in use in this country, so that the pavement is yet preserved in many places very perfect: in some parts it is above 20 yards broad, being raised in the middle with ditches on each side; there are many bridges upon it, under which water is conveyed to the rice-fields; but these are made level, and do not interrupt the prospect. From ALLEABAD to SARI there are some perspectives from south-west to north-east for above a league together, bordered on each side by a thick wood, whose luxuriant branches afford a delightful shelter to travellers. There are also many avenues into meadows and rice-fields, which variegate the prospect, and delight the imagination.

The inhabitants at SARI were in a very miserable condition, complaining loudly of the king, and no less of SADOQ AGA, and his TURKUMAN TARTARS, who had been with them for some days, on the occasion of their incursion into MAZANDERAN. Here we learnt, that four thousand men from the king's camp were arrived at HAZAR-JEREB, and that a body of forces, levied in this province, were ordered to take possession of all the avenues, to prevent the inhabitants from running away : thus the condition of the people being rendered more desperate, those who had appeared in arms against the king, were become the more dangerous to travellers.

SARI was built by the ancient PERSIANS ; there are yet four temples of the GEBRES, or worshippers of fire, who formerly inhabited all this coast : it seemed inconsistent, that the PERSIANS suffered these temples to remain unmolested, after the abolition of a religion, which they now esteem grossly idolatrous : but they are made of the most durable materials. These edifices are rotund as of about thirty feet diameter, raised in height to a point near 120 feet. Of the religion of these people, I shall have occasion to say more, when I come to speak of the everlasting fire at BAKU.

The 14th, We continued our rout through a most delightful country to ASHREFF : here the cause-way was much decayed. SHAH ABAS delighted greatly in the southern coast of the CASPIAN, and particularly in MAZANDERAN : he built a lodge every two leagues for his refreshment in travelling ; many of these buildings were yet habitable. The custom of the PERSIANS forbids any subject to sit in the palaces of their kings, whether they are absent, or not ; but this ceremony by no means suited us who were fatigued. From one of these buildings we had a fair view of the great mountain DEMOAN, on which the PERSIANS say the ark rested, whilst the ARMENIANS ascribe this honour to mount ARARAT, which is also visible in clear weather on the western coast of the CASPIAN, if what was shewn me as such, is the real ARARAT, because the distance seems to be rather too great.

In the afternoon we arrived at ASHREFF, where with difficulty we obtained lodgings ; my ARMENIAN servants attempted to beat the peasants, and

and compel them to procure quarters, though they had no better authority for it, than what was derived from their being armed. The PERSIANS have been now so long accustomed to this kind of severity, that I hardly observed a single instance of that private resentment and revenge, so common amongst christians, particularly in the south of EUROPE.

In this place is a celebrated palace built by SHAH ABAS, far exceeding any on the whole coast of the CASPIAN sea. Over the gate which forms the entrance, are the arms of PERSIA, being a lion with the sun rising behind it*, alluding to the strength and glory of the PERSIAN monarchy. Within this gate is a long avenue, on each side of which are thirty apartments intended for a royal guard: the next gate in front opens into a garden, in the middle of which is a channel made with stone, about three feet wide, and one deep: In this channel runs a stream of water, which has four falls of about an ell high, thirty yards distance from each other, each having a small bason and fountain: these falls must have a fine effect; for on the side near the stream, holes are cut to fix candles at equal distances, to the number of about a thousand: at the head of these is a large stone-bason about six feet deep. In the building there is near this bason a sumptuous AIVAN painted with gold flowers on a blue ground very well executed: here are also several portraits, which seem to have been done by a HOLLANDER, but no masterly hand. On the sides of the AIVAN are several small apartments, and behind this building are three other falls of water, which pour down from the side of a steep mountain covered with wood.

The garden consists chiefly in walks, bordered by very large pines, orange, and other fruit-trees dispersed in beds, with streams of water running between them. From thence we were carried into another garden much in the same taste, in which stood the HARRAM: there was no body in it; yet being the women's apartment, it was considered as sacred, and we were not permitted to go into it. Before it is a large bason of water, and a square with marble benches at each corner; a sycamore of prodigious size in the center, shaded the whole with it's extended branches:

* See frontispiece of this volume.

here were also cascades in the same manner as related in the other garden. From thence we were conducted to a banqueting-house, which was dedicated to a grandson of ALI; out of respect to this place we were required to leave our swords at the door. The solemnity with which we were conducted, struck me with a kind of religious awe; but this was soon changed into contempt; for I was surprized to find the room adorned with paintings, such as could please only a voluptuous MAHOMMEDAN. Here were also portraits of SHAH ABAS the first and second, and of some other persons, all by an EUROPEAN hand, but meanly performed. It had no furniture but rich carpets, which were then piled into great heaps.

We were now shewn a fourth house and garden, in which was the spring that gave water to the greatest part of the whole: in this was a stately dome, whose top was indifferently well painted, and the walls were covered with DUTCH tiles as high as the gallery. At some distance from this on an eminence is a small building, which seemed to be intended for an observatory. The whole commands a view of a very fine country, the CASPIAN sea being about five miles distance: the vicinity of the mountains on the back of this palace, the numerous cascades, and the music of the birds, gave me many pleasing ideas: but the unhappy situation of the people still returned to my thoughts, and blunted the edge of that pleasure which I might have otherwise enjoyed.

The 15th, we left ASHREEFF, and travelled four leagues to KOLEBAWD; through this village runs a stream of water, which parts the provinces of MAZANDERAN and ASTRABAD. Upon the road we met a courier with a letter from HAHDGEE MYRZA MAHOMMED, to acquaint me that his estate had been seized upon, his sons obliged to fly, himself imprisoned, and in great danger of being put to death: he therefore besought I would hasten my journey, and use my interest to save his life. MAHOMMED KHAN had assured me, that in this village I might procure a guard to ASTRABAD of any number of men; but according to the ordinary uncertainty of such assurances in PERSIA, no guard at all could be found; for the peasants, not liking their situation, had deserted the village: what added



added to this disappointment was, that besides the robbers which were in the adjacent mountains, the COURTJOY pirates had made a descent at this place a few days before, and murdered several people after plundering their houses. We were fourteen in number well armed, and determined to defend ourselves: the house in which we took up our lodging had been plundered by the TURKUMANS and KHAJARS during the late rebellion, but upon the reverse of their fortune, the owner had received his own goods again, with the charge of other effects.

Having spent the night with a watchful uneasiness, the next day we went forward for ASTRABAD, passing by several detachments of armed villagers, who had thrown up an intrenchment fortified with palisadoes; they were ordered to examine passengers, and keep the road free. As we approached to ASTRABAD, we met several armed horsemen carrying home the peasants whose eyes had been put out, the blood yet running down their faces. Near the entrance of the city on each side was a pyramid built of stone whitened over, and made full of niches; these pyramids were about sixteen or twenty feet diameter at the basis, rising gradually into a point to near forty feet; at the top of each was a single head. This being towards the close of the execution, the greatest part of the niches were filled with human heads, of which several had beards, and being set a little projecting, added to the horror of this object. I had been fourteen days on my journey from LANGAROD, and found the nearest computation of the distance to be about 250 ENGLISH miles.

to the small of his leg, and riveted together : there was also a heavy triangular collar of wood about his neck ; one of the parts being made longer than the other two, served as a hand-cuff to his left wrist, so that if he attempted to rest his arm, it must press on his neck. The general asked me, if that man had taken my goods ; I told him, I did not remember to have ever seen him before. He was then questioned for some time, and at length ordered to be beaten with sticks, which was performed by two soldiers with such severity, as if they meant to kill him. The soldiers were then ordered to spit in his face, an indignity of great antiquity in the east ; this, and the cutting off beards, which I shall have occasion to mention, brought to my mind the sufferings recorded in the prophetic history of our Saviour ^b. The close of this hideous scene was an order to cut out the eyes of this unhappy man : the soldiers were dragging him to execution, whilst he begged with bitter cries, that he might rather suffer death : the general, whose heart seemed to be made of the same kind of stuff as his sword, did not grant this cruel mercy ; but the man, being recalled for further enquiry, the execution was suspended for that day.

SADOC AGA was then brought before the general. The reader will remember, that this young man was distinguished among the rebels by the rank of a general, and had the command of that detachment which was sent into MAZANDERAN. He had also a principal share in taking my caravan of cloth, and insulting me by his jests. EMIR KHAN his father was in such great favour with the king, that the son might have been pardoned for his sake ; but EMIR KHAN, fearing his interposition might involve himself in part of his son's disgrace, declared to the SHAH, that if SADOC AGA had been really his son, it was not possible he should have rebelled ^c. This young man was taken prisoner in MAZANDERAN, and brought before the governor of that province, who bid him " be patient, and consider his condition as a picture of the world, sometimes to ride, and sometimes to carry the saddle," alluding to a story of one of

^b " He gave his back to the smiters, and his cheeks to them that plucked off the hair ; he hid not his face from shame and spitting."

^c This is a common-place compliment to oriental tyrants, and has been often prostituted to the disgrace of humanity.

their prophets, whose horse died under him. SADOE AGA being sent prisoner to ASTRABAD, had his beard cut off, his face was rubbed with dirt, and his eyes were cut out. He was a youth of more than common vivacity, and when I saw him last, was richly dressed, well armed, and full of mirth. Alas! the scene was now changed, his garb was mean, and his eyes deprived of their light: he drooped his head, and his voice was changed. The general asked him concerning my goods, and told him he must pay for them; to which he answered, "All that I know of his merchandize is, that they were taken by MAHOMMED HASSAN, and by him distributed to his people. Would to GOD that MAHOMMED HASSAN, and his whole house, had been buried deep in the earth ere I had heard of his name. And how can I pay for the goods? I have nothing left but this mean garb which you see upon my back: indeed this is sufficient; you have already deprived me of my sight, and of what use is life to me?" This he expressed in pathetic terms, and with that emotion which is natural to a daring spirit, though in the deepest distress; but upon his saying these words, the general ordered him to be struck a-cross the mouth to silence him; which was done with such violence, that the blood issued forth.

SADOE AGA being removed, HAHDGEE MYRZA MAHOMMED was brought, with a collar and log, in the manner already related of the other prisoners. I might now have said, HOW WISE YOU ARE! as he told me when I saw him last; but there never can be a proper time to insult the wretched. Perhaps, in strict justice, I ought not to have put any gloss upon this man's perfidious conduct; but in mercy, which seemed to be most wanted there, I was silent, and took my leave abruptly, having my heart too full to suffer this sort of entertainment.

From thence I went to MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, to whom I also made a present: this person has been already mentioned as father of him who was the governor of ASTRABAD at the time of the rebellion. The KHAN had been charged with the murder of SHAH TÆHMAS, and probably was glad to perpetrate this crime, fearing this prince's restoration, in case NADIR had died in his expedition to INDIA: this old man was how-

ever in the greatest confidence with the king, and honoured with the pompous title of, "the high and mighty minister of ministers, partner of a kingdom, and nearest to the throne; MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, lord of lords of ASTRABAD." He received me with great politeness, assuring me in the strongest terms, that he would not leave the place till my business was done agreeable to the SHAH's orders: "the king," added he, "has shewn great favour and kindness to GEMAL BEG and you: you are the king's guests, and therefore ought to be mine: and you are now to consider BEHBUD KHAN and myself as friends. I am charged with a particular commission from the king to see the rebels punished: I must do that for which I know I shall be damned; so the king will have it. I know the people here hate me, and have shewn the height of their resentment; but I am amazed they were deaf to the entreaties of NA-SEER AGA, a man without guile, who could have no intention but to preserve them. How strange it is that a king, whom all the princes of the earth revere, should not be obeyed by his own people! what could these rebels be so mad to think? But whatever they thought, how could they answer plundering you? well! to-morrow is a day of blood, and I will make them pay you, though I pull the money out of their throats."

My situation was not so unhappy as to induce me to thank him for his bloody intentions; for though these unhappy men had been rash to a degree of madness, and had acted as if they meant to devote themselves to ruin; yet to oppose such execrable tyranny wanted only more force and wisdom to stamp their action with a mark of glory. Nor could I behold without horror a man, whom a blind obedience to his prince could induce to shake hands with everlasting perdition; for so I understood the extraordinary declaration he had made. It is not improbable but the great share he had in murdering SHAH TÆHMAS, the last of their lawful kings, might now come fresh into his memory, and help to draw from him this confession. I told the KHAN, that I apprehended great part of the money which ought to be paid to me, was already recovered; he acknowledged that it was, but had been appropriated to the king's use; adding,

adding, that I should soon be paid : upon which I took my leave of him.

I could not help reflecting on these unhappy men, who suffered the deprivation of their sight : although this must be confessed a great calamity, according to the common sense of mankind ; yet we find some instances of men ^d, whose internal sight has been exalted by it much beyond what they might have otherwise enjoyed. The PERSIANS submit patiently to the dispensation of providence in this instance : few of them are instructed in the arts of contemplative life, and yet they seem to arrive at a certain tranquility as it were by custom and natural disposition. It is probable that blind men are the more sincerely reconciled to the thoughts of death, and have so far an advantage : the darkness in which they are involved, may make them long to break the chains of mortality, and bring them to the sight of the intellectual world. The PERSIANS regard blind men as dead, apprehending no mischief from them ; for when they are incapable of acting in person, they think their counsel cannot be of great consequence.

I had now a favourable opportunity of enquiring into the more secret causes of this rebellion, besides the obvious motives of robbing the king's treasure, and my caravan ; and also in what manner they conducted themselves after I left them. FATEY ALI KHAN, the father of MAHOMMED HASSAN ^e, I have observed, had some years before been put to death by NADIR, as I shall more particularly relate in the history of this great usurper. This created a strong jealousy in MAHOMMED HASSAN, that the late governor of ASTRABAD ^f meant to destroy him also : for he knew the governor was entirely in the king's interest ; and this increased his fear. SADOQ AGA, and MAHOMMED KHAN BEG, who were but a remove from boys, pleased with the hopes of a little plunder, and puffed up with military pride, fell into the same opinion ; besides this, MAHOMMED HASSAN had been in correspondence with the pretender RADE, whom the TURKS espoused, and in whose behalf he had lately appeared in

^d HOMER, MILTON, LUCAS, and others.

^e The rebel-chief.

^f The son of

AGAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN above-mentioned, and a creature of NADIR.

arms in SHIRVAN, at the head of a body of 15,000 PERSIANS and LESGEEs, and cut out great work for the king's forces. Those rebel-troops had been entirely defeated some months before, which, had there been the least wisdom among the conspirators at ASTRABAD, must have prevented MAHOMMED HASSAN BEG, and his followers, from appearing in arms. Weak and unexperienced as this young man was, to engage in so daring an enterprize, he flattered himself into a belief that what he wished would happen, though he did not discern by what means: he knew indeed that the king had no forces in MAZANDERAN nor GHILAN, and but a small body in the parts of KHORASAN near ASTRABAD. Thus circumstanced he bribed into his alliance 1000 TURKUMANS, all cavalry; and between force and persuasion, he induced 2000 people of the province, and the adjacent mountains, who were mostly infantry, to share in his fortune. The people of this province are called KHAJARS, and are some of the remains of the antient BACTRIANS^d, so much distinguished for their treachery, as well as courage, by antient historians: they were not many years ago eight or ten thousand in number; they have often plundered great towns, and several times repulsed the forces of the former kings, enriching themselves by spoil.

When the governor and NASEER AGA fled the evening before the rebels took the city, they went several days journey into KHORASAN, where they found BEHBUD KHAN with the command of 1500 of the king's best cavalry; but it was not till NASEER AGA challenged the courage and loyalty of this KHAN, that he consented to march against a force, which he apprehended would be much superior to his own: and indeed a singular providence intervened, or this body of troops had met an entire defeat. When the armies were near each other, one of the KHAJAR officers who had been forced into the rebel-army, went secretly to BEHBUD KHAN, and told him, if he would give quarter to him and his company, he would bring them all over to the king's party. This being accordingly promised, the officer secretly represented to his men the impossibility of supporting themselves, magnifying the number of the king's troops, which

^d Some include KHORASAN, and other parts of independent TARTARY, in the antient BACTRIA, but it probably included the province of ASTRABAD.

he pretended were marching upon their rear, as well as front. The two armies being come to an engagement a few days journey to the eastward of ASTRABAD; at the first onset the rebels killed 50 men of the king's troops, and made the whole body give way: this advantage however was not followed, the rebels being mostly infantry: the KHAJAR officer above mentioned, and his company, turning the muzzles of their musquets down, now rode over to the king's troops: this gave such a shock to the KHAJARS, not knowing whom to trust, that they gave way in their turn: the TURKUMANS, who hitherto were only spectators, and perhaps never intended to act, except to plunder the camp of the vanquished, left the field. The pursuit and slaughter of the rebels ensued, and many of them fell. MAHOMMED HASSAN BEG, with about one hundred KHAJARS only, and almost every TURKUMAN, got safe into the deserts, where poverty, and want of water, secured them from a pursuit; but made their condition amongst those barbarians hardly to be preferred to death. Besides these, about one hundred fled to SHIRAS, to join the rebels there, and near the same number went to BABYLON; but the BASHA of that place put collars of wood about their necks, and sent them to NADIR's camp mounted on asses. The king thanked the BASHA; but desired their arms and horses might also be restored.

NADIR's forces marched immediately to ASTRABAD, where they brought the news of their own victory, and securing both the gates of the city, hemmed in several of the principal persons concerned in the rebellion, amongst whom was the governor BABA SADOQ. The great humanity and regard which I experienced from this man, gave me the greater sensibility of his misfortune, when I heard that his eyes were cut out; and after some days of pain, he was beheaded, and quartered, and the parts of his body exposed in different places in the city.



Ant. Walker del. et sc.

C H A P. XLV.

The manner of executing malefactors in PERSIA. The character and number of the TURKUMANS. The author solicits a reprieve for HAHDGEE MYRZA MAHOMMED. He is offered payment of his loss in women slaves. Superstitious apprehensions of the PERSIANS.

ON the 18th of May I received, in single pieces and cuts of cloth, to the amount of 1600 crowns, which the general had ordered to be delivered. There was a much greater value in cloth found in the city, but the general thought proper to convert it to his own use; which, the better to conceal, and at the same time to encrease his emoluments, he desired 50 GAZE more, which I delivered.

In the evening eight TURKUMAN TARTARS were taken in the road near the city, and brought prisoners; upon which the general expressed great satisfaction, observing that there was yet many niches in his pyramid unfilled; one of the two pyramids being called HIS, the other was in the name of MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN. The condemnation of a malefactor in PERSIA is conducted with very little ceremony, nor is the execution attended

attended with any pomp. He is usually carried to a field, or open place near the residence of the military judge ; and the executioner causing him to kneel, the delinquent pronounces his creed : " There is but one GOD, " MAHOMMED is his prophet, and ALI is his friend," and then his head is taken off with the motion of a sabre in a thrusting cut, which in drawing back compleats the operation.

I now went to visit my good friend NASEER AGA, who had received a donative of honour from the king, for the service he had done in the rebellion. This old man expressed a high satisfaction in seeing me again, after the great dangers we had both been in : he complained heavily of the losses he had sustained, which, though true in part, I considered as political, in regard to the resentment he had brought on himself, for his infidelity in the king's service. He declined talking of the rebellion, saying in general terms, " God would not permit that the rebels should succeed against the king."

The 19th, I went to MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, who gave me fresh assurances of dispatch ; and that a considerable payment should be made in a day or two. Whilst I was there, one of the TURKUMAN chiefs, supposed to be in friendship with the king, came to pay homage to the KHAN, and mentioning several circumstances in relation to his countrymen, observed that they were retired towards BALKHAN : upon which the KHAN, in an imperious and contemptuous stile, delivered himself in these terms : " I will burn and destroy all the corn you have on the frontiers of PERSIA, and try if you will give me battle. I know that you are all liars and villains, but a remove from beasts : honour and religion you have none. Your cloathing is filthy, and full of vermin ; shake your caps, and they even cover the ground : your very eye-brows are not free. You have no better food than mare's milk ; but if you have grass to cut into it, you devour it greedily. As to your wealth, if a man has two camels, and as many horses, he thinks himself immensely rich." The TURKUMAN heard him without the least emotion, and indeed what the KHAN had said was in great measure true ; except that they profess the MAHOMMEDAN religion, and that they eat mutton and horse-flesh, as well

well grafs and mare's milk. They have only a finall tract of arable land near ASTRABAD, which they cannot enjoy without the friendship of the PERSIANS; but the last are generally the most afraid. They reckon 2500 families of the TURKUMANS on the east coast of the CASPIAN, near this frontier: in each family are about seven persons, of which two are supposed to be fighting men. Towards KHIEVA they are more numerous: in those places where the country will admit of their being pursued, they are kept in awe.

NASEER AGA now informed me by letter, of the arrival of captain WOODROOFE in ASTRABAD-road, and as the TURKUMANS and OGURT-JOYS were in arms against the PERSIANS, and possessed of a large number of boats, he thought it unsafe for our ship to lay in the road. I answered his letter, and thanked him for his advice; telling him, we did not fear those barbarians; and though they should come in number like a swarm of bees, if it pleased GOD, they would meet their destruction from our great guns. This was proper language to talk where the TURKUMANS had their spies; and was it not for the terror of our four 4 three pounders, the sum of money, which I was preparing to send on board, might have induced them to attack our ship at anchor. We had fired upon their boats on several occasions, to intimidate them; for as some of these boats had twelve or fifteen hands all armed, we should have found it difficult to defend the ship; however we had provided close quarters and powder-chests, so that they could not have taken us without an encounter, to which they were entire strangers.

The 21st, HAHIDGEE MYRZA MAHOMMED delivered the greatest part of my baggage, of which he had been so extremely careful as to conceal it in a well, so that it received some damage: he also paid such part of the small sum he owed me, as he said was in his power. Nothing was more evident than the game he intended to play: if the rebellion had succeeded, he would have robbed me of my baggage, and other things, to the value of near a thousand crowns: but he was now reduced to his last stake, and depended on the clemency of the two KHANS for his life, and I resolved to try my interest in his favour. In the morning I went to them.
when

when they were both together, having just condemned, and ordered to execution, twenty-one persons belonging to KOORDIEMALLA. I acquainted them that the HAHDGEE had delivered my baggage, and I hoped would receive the king's mercy. MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN said to me, "Have you a desire that he should be saved?" I answered in the affirmative, "and that I should look on his mercy to the HAHDGEE as a particular mark of his favour done to me;" to which he replied: "For your sake then he shall be saved. His majesty has shewn you great honour, it is my business to do the same," with many hyperbolical professions of regard. I returned him my thanks, with assurance of the high sense I had of his favour and protection. The HAHDGEE being then sent for, the KHAN, pointing to me, said, "for his sake I pardon you;" and immediately his collar and log were cut off; for the nails were driven so hard that the parts could not be otherwise separated. The HAHDGEE, from his knowledge of agriculture, and great experience in the management of his district, was a very useful man, especially as the province was now almost unpeopled: and it is highly probable the KHAN was glad for this reason to save him.

I then acquainted the KHAN of the fears which NASEER AGA had expressed in his letter concerning the OGURTJOY and TURKUMAN pirates, and of the answer I had made: he approved of it, and desired me to consider his house as my own, and the general and himself as brothers. I took my leave, and he immediately sent me eight live sheep, and four lambs, as provision for my family.

The HAHDGEE soon came to visit me, and after making his compliments, before he could feel himself clear of his shackles, began to talk rebelliously in this manner: "They have now given me my life, what must I do with it? They have taken away the greatest part of my estate, my sons are run from me for fear, and I am left destitute. Shall I fly into GHILAN? what shall I do?" As I had no inclination for his further acquaintance, I did not enter into the nature of his circumstances, of which he was himself the best judge.

The 22d, Two couriers arrived from the camp, with orders to the king's generals here, and in the neighbourhood, to prepare for BALKHAN: this expedition was generally thought impracticable; several armies in past ages having perished in those deserts for want of water, and the PERSIANS say, that only TAMERLANE, the great conqueror of the east, ever passed it successfully.

The 23d, I received 3000 crowns, having already recovered about the same sum in cloth and baggage. In a visit I made BEHBUD KHAN, he demanded, for the second time, if I would take part of my payment in the women who were to be sold as slaves. I imagined when he made this proposal before, that he jested, nor could I ever understand how their religion would admit of their women being sold to christians; but the distraction of the times seemed to have destroyed all distinctions: I excused myself, by saying the only merchandize I sought was raw silk. Being informed that my age was 32, he expressed great astonishment at my hoary locks, till I informed him it was a wig, which he took for my own hair.

The 24th, The city was alarmed, with news of the return of the TURKUMANS, who had carried off a great quantity of corn; upon which a disposition was made for cutting off their retreat. MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN and the general differed extremely in their tempers and dispositions; the former was the most cruel, as well as avaricious. There were yet two hundred persons in prison, of whom many were not guilty: the general bluntly told the KHAN, "the SHAH has given you the power, use it as you please; but I will not be concerned in saving the guilty, nor in condemning the innocent." A colonel in the army, who had been in favour with the SHAH, and now was unjustly imprisoned by the KHAN, found means to acquaint the SHAH with these illegal proceedings; the KHAN, having discovered this correspondence, raved like a madman: at night 200 men were sent to cut down the TURKUMANS corn, and to burn what they could not bring away.



C H A P. XLVI.

JOHN ELTON *ordered upon an expedition against the TURKUMANS who invade PERSIA. Perfidy and venality of the PERSIANS.*

THE 26th of May, 1744. appeared a strange phenomenon, as the PERSIANS idly imagined. A smoke arose from the top of a lofty tree, no fire, nor any other object having been visibly conveyed there. The most superstitious intimated, that the SHAH was certainly dead; the tree being an image of his greatness, and the smoke of his breath, which was now departing from him. This alarm, however ridiculous, was dangerous with regard to my safety, well as the recovery I solicited; but it did not last long, for one who had the happiness to enjoy more common sense than the generality, discovered that it was an old bird's nest, which having been much moistened with rain, the sun drew an exhalation from it. News was now brought, that the SHAH had ordered Mr. ELTON to take charge of all the ships which were to go with provisions to BALKHAN, confessing that his own people had no knowledge of sea-affairs, and declaring in flattering terms, that he knew GEMAL BEG^a serv-

^a The name now given to Mr. ELTON.

ed him out of love and regard, and not out of fear or avarice. The SHAH however discovering there was danger of losing his forces in this expedition, sent EMIR KHAN on an embassy to the TURKUMANS, to invite them to a submission. One of the TURKUMAN chiefs at the same time wrote to the SHAH, representing the impossibility of his building a fort at BALKHAN, unless he meant to destroy all the forces he sent there, or all the TURKUMANS, intimating their determined resolution not to submit.

The number of men who had been cut off, having made women very cheap, and the distraction of the times, as I have observed, preventing the distinction of CHRISTIAN and MAHOMMEDAN, I could not restrain my ARMENIAN servants: in past times such commerce in PERSIA would have been attended with fatal consequences. A woman of no mean quality and beauty came to my house, imploring protection; I knew not by what authority I could make my house an asylum, otherwise than to permit her to remain with me, if she was not required to be delivered up; besides as things were circumstanced, I could not engage to guard her honour from any one, except my self; however, I gave a strict charge concerning her, that no law of hospitality might be violated, though the lady should be indifferent upon this article.

Continual demands being made on me for presents of the fragments of cloth which had been delivered to me, I found no other expedient to preserve them, than to pack them up, and send them on board captain WOODROOFE's ship. The 28th, the two KHANS were in great debate, in consequence of which fifteen MULLAHS were set at liberty, and the wives and concubines of the KHAJARS, who had neither youth nor beauty to induce these chiefs to keep them for themselves, were sent into KHORASAN. The 29th, the foragers came galloping into the city, with notice that the TURKUMANS had defeated an advanced guard of 150 men, and were marching towards the city. The general BEHBUD KHAN, with equal giddiness and intrepidity, mounted his horse, and rode out of the city, as if he meant to repulse them with his own hands; his soldiers followed in a confused and precipitate manner: and now I learnt that their force, which they had represented as 3000, by the detachments they had

had made, was reduced to 800 fighting men: the enemy soon retired, and the general and his troops returned. The next day both the KHANS, with all their forces, went to the banks of the KORGAN, two leagues north-east of the city, where they had a parley with the TURKUMANS, intending to prevent any further hostilities, till they should know the issue of the embassy.

The impatience which I expressed for the recovery of the money I was entitled to, produced a discovery that MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN had flattered the general into a consent of appropriating the further sums which had been collected to the use of the SHAH's general at HARAR-JERIB: indeed the exigencies of the state greatly exceeded all the possible collections which could be made. The 3d of June I found my health began to decline for want of exercise. My situation was very disagreeable, for it was dangerous to go abroad even in the city, except when I visited the KHANS: I complained to NASEER AGA of the trifling payments which had been hitherto made me; observing that the KHANS had indeed assured me I should be paid soon: Sir, said he, I will tell you a story; "A certain man demanded of his debtor the sum due to him; the debtor assured him, that the next day the money should be paid. On the morrow the man returned; but, to his great surprize, was informed that the debtor was gone abroad; however he went after him, and finding him seated in a cross-way, began to expostulate, and remind him of his promise. The debtor then spoke in these terms: Sir, it is my full intention to pay you; and I am seated here for that very purpose: for a large flock of sheep will pass by here to-day; some of their wool will certainly remain on these bushes, I will pick it up, and carry it home to my wife, who will dress and prepare it; when that is done, I will make it into carpets, and as soon as I can sell them, I will discharge my debt." I was extremely pleased with the old man's humour; but this story was too easy to understand, to afford me any other satisfaction. I had already made considerable presents, and purposed to make more as soon as I apprehended they could produce any effect; but as yet it appeared to be in vain.

MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN was busy in the most iniquitous proceedings, endeavouring to suborn false witnesses to condemn the colonel, who, in consequence of the letter he had written to the SHAH, was now going to the camp. Two of the elders of KOORDIEMALLA, whose lives MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN had saved for the presents they had made him, were now prevailed on to offer their evidence to the general against the colonel; and that their testimony might be heard favourably, they brought him presents. The general ordered their gifts to be received; but said to them, "You are villains, and enemies to the SHAH, against whom, I know, you have appeared in arms, although you have been acquitted; how many murders have you been the immediate occasion of?" They pleaded their innocence; but confessed that nine of their people fell in the field of battle, and twenty-one had been executed. Their evidence being rejected, they were dismissed.

C H A P. XLVII.

Moral reflections. The author refuses to comply with the demands of MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN. He accompanies a caravan with money. Treachery of the rebels. Nature of the PERSIAN ink, paper, and seals.

THUS were these infatuated people seeking to destroy each other: those bad principles which constituted them the instruments of tyranny, pressed them under the weight of their own iniquities. The history of the world will hardly furnish an instance of a nation plunged into such miseries as these, 'till their crimes had ripened them for vengeance. PERSIA, once the mistress of the eastern world, the center of oriental learning, arts, and politeness, the seat of many heroes and kings recorded in the most antient and sacred story; and but as yesterday confirmed in her conquest, and antient boundaries, and enriched with the spoils of INDIA, how low is she now fallen! into what distress is she not involved! But providence seems still to preserve the monarchy, as if it were yet destined for some great end.

Perjury against the life of an innocent person, seems to be one of the greatest impieties; for beside the crime of murder, under the sanction of law; it wounds all law, human and divine, and roots up the foundation of society; but, alas! crimes of this deep dye are not unfrequent in countries, where government is supported on a very different plan; where reason is improved; where learning flourishes; where the purest religion is professed; and yet where the laws are not sufficient to restrain; so that **EXAMPLES** only of moral and religious life can check the growth of immorality.

The 4th of June I waited on the general, and represented to him the great inconveniency I suffered, by being delayed contrary to the king's intentions, as was plainly expressed in his decree, to which I referred him. He then told me in very sanguine terms, "I have orders to leave this place, and march to **ATTOK**; but I will not go till you are paid, though I sell my horses, and mules, or borrow money of my soldiers. I have lent 30,000 crowns to **MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN**, and he must engage his credit also to see you paid." The next day I went to **MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN**, to importune him for my money, and found him in company with the general; the latter entreated me to give a receipt for it, and in return **MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN** desired me to take his obligation, payable in twelve or fifteen days; swearing by the king's head*, that he would not fail me; alledging that the money which should have been paid to me, was appropriated to the king's service, and therefore I must be obliged to wait some days longer. "I cannot go from hence," said the general, "without the receipt, the king will demand it of me, and if you will not give it, I will kill men till I get the money." I answered, "I hope no man will die on my account; but as I presume, Sir, that you know what belongs to your duty, give me leave to understand mine also. I cannot answer to my own conscience, nor to the merchants my principals, to give a receipt for the money in question, in exchange for any obligation whatsoever." So we parted abruptly.

In the afternoon **NASEER AGA** made me a visit, and urged me in the warmest terms to accept of **MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN**'s obligation;

* This is the most sacred of oaths among the **PERSIANS**.

that it was impossible the KHAN should mean any thing but to PAY ME; and moreover that I was in HIS POWER to do with me as HE PLEASED; to which I replied: "I know that all things are in the power of GOD. "As to the rest, men who profess trade, must proceed according to the "rules of trade: it is not regular to give the receipt you desire; the "KHAN may be assured that I have a due respect for him, as I have for "you also; but if he was my own father I would act in the same manner, and if you, who are his messenger, were an angel from heaven, "how should I be persuaded that what is evidently wrong, is right?" The old man, who I believe thought I was in the right, looked stedfastly at me, and was silent. My interpreter was of opinion, that I did ill to refuse, and urged that I might obtain the recovery the sooner, otherwise the KHAN, induced by resentment, would probably delay payment the longer; but I had no dependence on the honour of any of them; and indeed what confidence can we have in men, whom the thought of damnation cannot intimidate, and who are every day perpetrating the most flagitious wickedness?

On the 6th, eight men were executed, and some elders of the town, upon their refusal to pay 10,000 crowns which were levied on them, were imprisoned: at the same time 2,000 crowns were demanded of the adjacent villagers. This being an UNLUCKY DAY, the general did not depart, as he intended. On the next, the KHANS finding they could make no impression on me, seemed to be reconciled to my refusal of giving my receipt in exchange for an obligation. I ever found it the best way in PERSIA, as it generally is in most other countries, to oppose with decency and resolution measures which have nothing to support them but military law.

On the 10th, I was visited by a person descended from one of the PERSIAN prophets, whose father had been much honoured by the SHAH, and permitted to sit in his presence. He had also enjoyed a considerable estate, which the son now inherited; but he declared, that it gave him so great trouble, and so little profit, that he had petitioned the SHAH to take it from him. In the evening I visited MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, to acquaint him, that I intended to go to KOURDIEMALLA, and convoy the money

money which I had received, on board captain WOODROOFE, in order to send it to GHILAN for the purchase of raw silk; but for this purpose he must give me a company of at least twenty foldiers; to which he consented, and at the same time, without any reserve, spoke to this effect: "The
 " SHAH is at TAVRIS, from whence he has sent me orders to supply him
 " with 3000 head of cattle, to pay you 30,000 crowns, and also 50,000
 " crowns to his general at HAZAR-JERIB; to whom I am also to send
 " 200 horses; all which, except the payment of your money, are THINGS
 " IMPOSSIBLE. I am also ordered to kill ALL the persons concerned in
 " the rebellion; if I do that, I must kill ALL the inhabitants of the pro-
 " vince; for even the men whom I have made foldiers, and trusted as an
 " advanced guard against the TURKUMANS, have had their share in it." He then asked my interpreter if he could read and write PERSIC, and being answered in the affirmative, he said, "then you understand the excellency of our religion beyond your own." The interpreter answered, that he had yet found his own most conformable to truth, as it appeared to him.

On the 11th, I went to KOURDIEMALLA under a guard of five horse and ten foot-foldiers, taking with me seven bales of cloth, and nine bags of money, with other things to the value of 11,000 crowns; observing the precaution, not to let any body know at what hour I intended to go out of the town, till I actually went. I know not, whether it was by accident, or design; but my guard disappeared, and left us in a thick wood, three ENGLISH miles from the place of embarkation; however, we got safely on board with the money after a day's journey, extremely fatigued with excessive heat.

The BALKHAN expedition, for which captain WOODROOFE was waiting, being yet undetermined: MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN had permitted me to send the ship to GHILAN, on condition that he should return immediately to ASTRABAD-bay. Having dispatched WOODROOFE, I went on shore the next day, but could not hear any news of my guard; I therefore returned to ASTRABAD with my own servants. This day MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN published an order, that all persons who

had shops, should return to them, and follow their business; otherwise he would put them to death, and set their heads in his pyramid.

It was remarkable, that although the rebels of HAZAR-JERIB^b, had, after their submission, treacherously killed the king's general, and about seventy of his men; yet they were not chastised with half the severity as the inhabitants of ASTRABAD; which I imputed to the little mercy of MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN. He now desired, that I would send one of my people to be always present to receive money as it came in, alledging, that if any urgent demand was made on him from other quarters, he must be obliged to comply with it: at the same time he reproached his son the governor, that neither money nor provender for the king's use was brought in fast enough.

Captain WOODROOFE, who awed the pirates whilst he lay in ASTRABAD road, no sooner left it on the 13th, but several armed boats of the OGURTJOYS went on shore at KOLEBAWD, killed several men, and carried off their women and horses. On the 19th, being heartily tired of waiting, I went to the KHAN, to inform him that I would not stay in the city above fifteen days longer; in which time if he did not pay me the money, I should be obliged to make further applications to the king. He assured me, that in less than ten days it should be ready: adding, that EMIR KHAN was returning from TURKUMANIA with some of the rebel-chiefs, who were going to the camp to make their submissions; on the assurance that the king would do them no harm, and that all was going well.

The 22d, I received a letter from ALI KOULI KHAN^c, the king's nephew, and governor of MESCHED, in answer to one I wrote to him, with regard to the payment for the pistols, and other curiosities, which Mr. ELTON had provided for him by express commission. But without any sense of HONOUR or GRATITUDE, this MIGHTY PRINCE objected to the things: alledging, that they were TOO GOOD for him, and returned them on Mr. ELTON's hands, though they were utterly unvendable. The foot-

^b A district in the neighbouring mountains.

^c The same who was afterwards king.

courier,

courier, whom I sent to MESCHED, poor and despicable as he was, did not escape without being robbed. This letter gave me an occasion of observing the nature of their writing and paper.

The PERSIANS make their paper of cotton and silk-rags, and after it is manufactured they set a gloss upon it with a smooth stone or shell; it is therefore soft and smooth, and as it is very liable to be torn or broken, they always roll it up. Their letters of correspondence are wrote on small slips of paper, generally in few words, and with great exactness; no interlineations or blots being ever suffered to appear; they are then made up in a roll, about six inches long, and a bit of paper is fastened round it with gum, and sealed with an impression of ink, which resembles our printers ink, but not so thick. It is composed of a mixture of galls, burnt rice, and gums, and answers the double purpose of ink and wax; as it serves not only for writing, but for subscribing with their seal; indeed many of the PERSIANS in high offices could NOT write. Their characters are rather drawn than written: they use pens made of reeds brought from the southern parts of PERSIA. In their rings they wear agats, which generally serve for a seal, on which is frequently engraved their name, and some verse from the KHORAN.

C H A P. XLVIII.

PERSIAN pride with regard to rank. News concerning the ENGLISH fleet. The author leaves ASTRABAD, and is in danger from the OGURTJOY-pirates. Mr. ELTON embarks at MESCHEDEZAR. Manner of PERSIAN funerals. The melancholy circumstances of the EUROPEANS in GHILAN. Intrigues of the RUSSIAN consul.

THE 23d, SARU KHAN, a general and relation of the king, arrived in ASTRABAD with a body of forces intended for BALKHAN; I went to pay my compliments to him in the palace where he had taken up his quarters: my visit was very short, for I observed that he had neither sense nor breeding, comparable to MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, who was much distinguished for both.

The next day in a visit I made this KHAN, his son the governor arose hastily from his seat, and retired: I soon understood from my interpreter, that I had ignorantly affronted him, by going higher up the room than he was seated, though I was on the opposite side. I could hardly avoid laughing at so ridiculous a ceremony, especially as I was his guest; but whether it was at his option, his father being present, to go as high up the room as he pleased, it seemed as little consistent with my own health as common regard to my own dignity, to sit near the door. The PERSIANS treat their superiors in rank in the most awful manner, hardly having any voice, or opinion, or thinking themselves obliged while in their presence, to acts of civility, even in their own houses. This is one specimen of the GENUINE GROWTH of arbitrary power, and a despotic invasion of the COMMON SENSE, as well as the COMMON LIBERTY of mankind, to which the more a foreigner submits, the meaner the PERSIANS will think of him.

The 27th, MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN gave directions for the execution of one HAHDCÉE MAHOMMED^{*}, also an elder of KOORDIE-MALLA, and ordered his body to be thrown into the river KORGAN. This being a person of distinction, who had many women; they went about the woods near the river, beating their breasts in dreadful lamentations, cursing the author of his death, and calling for divine vengeance on the head of MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, nor did they spare NASEER AGA.

This day captain WOODROOFE arrived in 36 hours from LANGAROOD, though he had been ten days in his voyage thither. He brought us news, that the ENGLISH fleet in the MEDITERRANEAN had obtained a COMPLETE VICTORY near TOULON over the united squadrons of FRANCE and SPAIN. Alas! I must stifle the expression of what I then felt; for to the INDELIBLE REPROACH of the NAME of ENGLISH CONDUCT AND BRAVERY, it was but little more than a dream; and only exhibited a sad instance of a very capital mistake in not distinguishing the genius and tem-

* Not MYRZA MAHOMMED who had been pardoned.

per of men, to whom a command is given: and that pride and malice may exist in other breasts, besides those of PERSIANS, to make a sport of national honour and justice. Nothing created more amazement abroad than the conduct of that affair, except the nature of the punishment for the offence.

Though the intended expedition to BALKHAN remained in suspense; the king having ordered Mr. ELTON to take the command of all the ships; he was obliged to come to MESCHEDZAR, where he fell dangerously ill. I was very much out of order myself; but, on receipt of an express from him, intreating me, in the strongest terms, to come to him immediately, I resolved to wait no longer in ASTRABAD.

The 29th, I took my leave of the governor MAHOMMED ZAMON BEG, who, I suppose, was wise enough to forget the innocent offence I had occasioned. His father, MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, was already departed for MAZANDERAN. The next day I set out from ASTRABAD, taking with me above 5000 crowns more in money, and left MATTHEUSE, my old ARMENIAN clerk, and two servants, to importune for the remainder due on the SHAH's decree. As I was in too weak a state of health myself to attend the money, and the country being now more quiet, I sent my interpreter, a servant, and five soldiers with it, and followed with one soldier and a servant. In the evening I got up with them, and embarked safely with the money. July the 1st, The wind being westerly we were detained; and the 2d, as it still continued in the same quarter, we kept at anchor. Seven of the OGURTJOY pirate-boats appeared in sight, having ten or twelve hands on board each boat, armed with spears, sabres, bows and arrows, and some fire-locks. Our force did not exceed thirteen men; however we were well prepared with arms and ammunition, and put ourselves in the best condition we could, expecting very little quarter if they had been hardy enough to board us: being in the disagreeable circumstance of having no wind, we were obliged to put a spring on our cable, in order to bring our guns to bear on them.

On the 3d, the boats appeared again, bearing down upon us from the east to the south-west point of the harbour, where they were wont to land,
and

and pillage; but a breeze of wind happily springing up we weighed, and bore down upon them; they then made all the efforts they could with their sails and oars to get into shallow water out of our reach; but we came up with them very fast. I knew they were villains, and common enemies to mankind; but the remembrance of my written obligation in RUSSIA, not to interfere in any thing military, and a tenderness of spilling the blood of men untried and uncondemned, restrained me from any thing more than permitting our gunner to send two shots after them, to increase their terror of our great guns. The eagerness of our ENGLISH seamen would hardly submit to the restraint, nor did we cease from the pursuit without some expressions of impatience from them, which would have been deemed mutiny in a king's ship.

On the 4th, the wind was at west, with light breezes, and a strong current setting in. The next day we were extremely incommoded by the heat of the sun: the 6th, we reached FARABAD, and the next day came to anchor. On the 9th, we weighed and anchored again in MESCHEDEZAR road, saluting MAHOMMED KHAN and Mr. ELTON, with three guns: and the KHAN, from a battery which he had built, returned the compliment with the same number. I observed the currents on this coast set to the eastward. On the 10th I went on shore, and had the mortification to find Mr. ELTON in a very low state of health.

On the 11th, Mr. ELTON came on board with thirty poor wretches, who were to be employed in GHILAN as carpenters in the king's new ship-yard. In this road we found a PERSIAN and three RUSSIAN vessels; a corporal came from on board one of the latter, and complained heavily of their detention for the uncertain voyage of BALKHAN, and not less of their ignorance of the eastern coast, and the sickly condition of their crews; Mr. ELTON told him their ships would probably be soon relieved one way or other, and that he would serve them in any thing in his power.

For ten days we were mortified with contrary winds: in the interim one of the PERSIAN carpenters expired; his friends were very solicitous to lay his face towards the east, which were now leaving in our stern,

stern, the wind coming fair : the PERSIANS could hardly be prevailed on to touch the dead body, it being deemed a pollution, neither would they for a long time consent he should be thrown over-board, and least of all that any weight should be fixed to his body to sink him ; so that he floated on the surface. The PERSIANS are generally interred the evening of the day in which they die, and washed before they are put into the ground. For this purpose there are reservoirs ; but the poorest sort are commonly carried to the nearest pond. Before the interment the bodies are usually wound up in a cotton cloth, on which are stamped several parts of the KHORAN. Some of the relations attend the funeral, as likewise the MULLAH, or MULLAHS, according to the quality of the deceased, singing some part of the KHORAN.

The 23d, We came on shore to LANGAROOD, where I found that the king had at length determined to submit to the remonstrances of his captains, and decline the expedition to BALKHAN ; ordering the provisions which he had amassed for that purpose to be sent to DERBEND. The channel which runs 6 ENGLISH miles from the sea to LANGAROOD, is bordered with reeds and marshy lands, which stunk to a degree that created great faintness ; and the more so, as we were already sick, every one appearing to the other on the verge of eternity, though perhaps no man thought so of himself. We found all our friends at LANGAROOD and RESHD in the same circumstances, this summer having been extremely unwholesome : but it pleased GOD that we all survived it.

The ship which Mr. ELTON was building for the king, had now the appearance of being soon finished ; but the difficulty was how to launch, or get her into the sea : she was on the side of a creek, hardly broader than the ship was long ; she could not draw less than six feet, and in many places down the creek there was but four feet water ; therefore they proposed to make a dam, and raise the water to assist her in going off, her lower works only being finished. The north-wind would thus raise the water considerably, though not without overflowing the adjacent marshes. Mr. ELTON was also alarmed with the fear of RUSSIAN pirates, whom he apprehended would attempt to burn his ship : he therefore
made

made a boom cross the channel, and set a guard at it, proposing to build a stage on the morass, and set a piece of cannon on it. These pirates had robbed several PERSIAN boats near BAKU; they had 30 men on board, and some swivil guns; and it was pretended, that several other boats had been brought off from the VOLGA and YAEIK, the crews of which were of the same fraternity.

The 2d of August, I left LANGAROOD, and arrived next day at RESHD, where the RUSSIAN consul BAKOONIN insisted there was a plague at CASHAN, and consequently that no manufactured goods of that country should be exported for RUSSIA. By the intercourse which the PERSIANS had with that city, it could not be known that any sickness prevailed more than usual in the fruit season. I concluded from hence, that the consul sought an expedient to give the better colour to his advices to the governor of ASTRACHAN, to impose a severe quarantain, with a view to prevent the ENGLISH vessels from returning again to PERSIA. I found also, by the contest there had been between the ministers of the court of GREAT BRITAIN and RUSSIA, with relation to Mr. ELTON's engagement with NADIR SHAH, that our trade was in no small disgrace in RUSSIA; and it looked probable that captain WOODROOFE would not be permitted to return to PERSIA with his ship.

Our voyage from ASTRABAD had taken up almost the whole month of July; and consequently it might be presumed that a great progress had been made in the recovery of the ballance due at ASTRABAD: therefore, instead of returning immediately to ASTRACHAN under these apprehensions, which proved to be too well grounded, I determined to send captain WOODROOFE to ASTRABAD for money. I found myself extremely disordered, as were all the EUROPEANS in RESHD, whose bodies, at different periods of their distemper, broke out into different kinds of pimples; Mr. BROWN and Mr. WILDER were afflicted with agues; but that did not prevent their politeness and friendship to me. The FRENCH missionaries also behaved with great civility.

On the 12th I returned to LANGAROOD, where I found Mr. ELTON in the same bad state of health as I left him, with a mind much perplexed

plexed on account of his engagements to the SHAH, perceiving it would cost us no less than the ruin of that trade, which he had been so instrumental in opening. Though the authority with which I set out, had been greatly diminished by the jealousy and intrigues of some of the factors in St. PETERSBURG; yet I saw the necessity of being disengaged from Mr. ELTON in such a light, and was so desirous of finishing with him in an amicable manner, that I undertook, beside his ordinary commission, to make him an offer of a large sum, chargeable on the effects in his possession, on condition that he would deliver them to Mess. BROWN and company, to the end that we might have no further connection with him. My illness still continued, and indeed the damp musty rooms, the croaking of frogs, the biting of gnats, with a marshy pestilential air, and the concern I was under to see the trade involved in such insuperable difficulties, were enough to have distempered a mind, as well as body, of a much stronger texture than mine; but though these circumstances were added to my illness, the low manner in which I lived, created so little food for my distemper, that I found myself in a much better state than any of my companions.

C H A P. XLIX.

Mr. ELTON quarrels with the author. Captain WOODROOFE returns from ASTRABAD with 9000 crowns. The author is kindly received at RESHD. The calamitous state of PERSIA.

THE 16th of August I took my leave of Mr. ELTON in a friendly manner, and went to LAHIJAN for the recovery of my health. This place is about 8 miles distant from LANGAROOD: I was lodged in a large, airy house. LAHIJAN was conquered by SHAH ABAS the GREAT: it was formerly the metropolis of the province, and the seat of its king, and is now incomparably the most healthful place in that part of the province of GHILAN which is towards the sea: it is situated on an eminence, with a free air on every side, the mountains to the southward opening so as to cause a constant draught of wind, which moderates the heat of the summer.

In the reign of SHAH SHEFFIE, which was not many years after this place was annexed to the crown of PERSIA, the natives revolted, and one KARIB, a person born at LAHIJAN, was elected king of the province, in opposition to SHEFFIE. After a short and fruitless defence KARIB was taken prisoner, and carried to CASBIN, where he suffered a very remarkable death ; for this SHAH, with his ordinary cruelty, and in defiance of his captive, ordered iron horse-shoes to be nailed to his feet, alledging that as he had been used to the soft rich soil of GHILAN, he could not walk unshod on the harder earth of the country of CASBIN : after lingering some days in this torture, he was shot to death with arrows, the SHAH discharging the first, and his courtiers following his example.

Mr. ELTON's indisposition of body, and the offence he had taken against the conduct of his employers in EUROPE, for their submission to the RUSSIAN court, though it would have been vain and extravagant to have longer withheld that submission, now brought on his resentment against me. I appeared to him as a deputy for the traders in general ; but as his friend also, I spoke my real sense of things with regard to the common interest. The imperious letter which I received from him, dated the day after I left him, was a plain indication of his having vindictive designs. He acknowledged to have taken off the mask with which he had been disguised, making himself blacker than I believe he really was ; it was easy however to perceive his intentions were fixed upon the expedient of a quarrel. When men design to act a part which they know to be unwarrantable, it is a common trick to pretend that an injury has been done them, to save appearances in doing an injury. I was almost tempted to wish I had acted a part foreign to my disposition, from a transient opinion that in our commerce with some men, that conduct is warrantable which, towards others of a different stamp, deserves little better than the name of falsehood ; but this thought soon recoiled upon me, and confirmed that sturdy satisfaction which arises from an equal and consistent conduct, however opposed to worldly advantages. Ignorance of the world is sometimes the happy occasion of our virtue : it often prevents insincerity at least, and supports that integrity of soul, which exists no longer than we speak the language

guage of the heart. It is true, there are many incidents in life, in which some degree of dissimulation seems to be essential to the peace and tranquillity of it; and nothing can be more obvious than “if we follow truth too close, she will kick our teeth out:” therefore the great secret is, when, and in what degree dissimulation, if for want of language we may use this term, is necessary and consistent with the virtue of the mind. For want of this distinction we often lose the reverence due to truth, even in the first stages of our lives; and persons in the highest stations become the most exquisite proficient in the arts of dissimulation; such is the wretched state of mankind! Thus I had full leisure to moralize; for ELTON was inflexible.

Captain WOODROOFE, whom I had dispatched the 8th instant to AS-TRABAD, returned the 21st, and I had the pleasure to learn, that he brought with him 9000 crowns, which compleated, including the cloth recovered, 85 per cent. of the whole sum demanded. WOODROOFE informed me, that SARU KHAN with his forces was incamped on the river KORGAN, to prevent the incursions of the TURKUMANS, whom no compact could hold within bounds: I also learned, that MATTHEUSE had narrowly escaped being robbed of the sum just mentioned, a thief having actually broke into his house in the night, and a whole gang were ready to be let in, if his cries had not disconcerted their measures; so that this recovery was singularly providential in all its parts.

The 27th, the FRENCH missionary, who professed physic, gave me a medicine, which he said was a sovereign specific in fevers; this proved to be only the Jesuits bark, but is not familiarly known in PERSIA, where he had lived for some years: this drug can no where be of greater use than in the province of GHILAN. Medicines among the PERSIANS are mostly compounds of herbs; but the quantity and taste such as would incline one to think, that they were designed for horses, rather than men. The most common disorders with which they are afflicted, are those in the eyes, and the venereal distemper: the first is supposed to be occasioned by the heat of the climate, and the excessive use of rice.

Being now restored to health, I applied myself to business : but, which ever way I turned, Mr. ELTON's engagement to the SHAH created insuperable difficulties to the establishment of our trade. Some of the factors in St. PETERSBURG, who had solicited me to accept their authority to act for them, now endeavoured to supplant me, from an apprehension that I intended to remain in PERSIA, and enjoy their imaginary profits : they mistook the matter extremely ; for I found little more to be expected in PERSIA than the evil effects of jealousy and sinister intrigues, except being exposed to the greater calamities of civil war, among a people departed from almost every moral virtue. The adventurers in LONDON were perplexed with contradictory advices from their different factors ; and, for want of proper information, not knowing whom to trust, aimed at one point, some of the factors in RUSSIA at another, and Mr. ELTON in PERSIA would receive laws from neither of them ; so that my task of mediator was very difficult.

I saw nothing could be done in PERSIA by any legal proceeding, and that Mr. ELTON was deaf to my remonstrances, of the folly and injustice, as well as the ill consequences that must attend his breaking with me : to make any fruitless compulsive efforts, I concluded would render the matter worse ; I therefore determined that the best way to avoid being in the wrong, was to shun being too much in the right. Men who mean well often fall into this fault ; a certain vanity of uprightness betrays them into an injudicious pursuit of it, by which they do real injuries to the community whose cause they espouse. If their goodness of heart is not supported by experience or strength of judgment, they are apt to forget there are more ways than one of doing many good actions ; and that it is our duty to consider, not only what is best in its own nature ; but also the most practicable means of performing the good we intend. So long as we can maintain our own integrity, we ought to accommodate ourselves to times, and to the circumstances of things : I do not mean that we should do evil with a view to the good that may come of it, any more than we should restrain the good, so as to produce evil as a natural consequence ;
but

but that we should temper a passionate concern for the cause of virtue, with a judicious consideration of the great end in view.

The 28th, Having informed Mr. BROWN of RESHD on what terms I was with Mr. ELTON; he sent me a very polite and obliging invitation to take up my lodgings in his house: this was the more acceptable, as I was entirely at a loss where to accommodate myself for the short time I proposed to stay in PERSIA; for I was now obliged to resign my present lodgings to MAHOMMED KHAN the admiral.

The interest of this KHAN was now on the decline at court, he had acted a base part in regard to Mr. ELTON, and the king's maritime affairs. Whether he suffered for this, or any other crime, or only for being rich, I know not; not long after I left PERSIA, his eyes were cut out; indeed almost every person of distinction, with whom I had any intercourse during my abode in that country, had at different times the same fate.

Having no good interpreter with me at LAHIJAN, nor many conveniences of life, I avoided the visits of the PERSIANS; however the CALENTAR attended by two couriers from the camp, came to see me: the king demanded of him 1000 crowns, no other reason being assigned for it, than his having served under the late governor, whom the king had caused to be put to death, though he was reputed a very just man; but it seemed as if justice was incompatible with some of NADIR's maxims of government.

The 1st of September I left LAHIJAN, and arrived the next day at RESHD, where Mr. BROWN and Mr. WILDER, the two ENGLISH factors, received me with great politeness and hospitality. The chief part of the conversation of that city turned upon the king's mulcts, exactions, and murders. I waited on the new governor of RESHD, who received me very kindly, and assured me that the SHAH had ordered him to treat the EUROPEANS with respect: on his being informed what had happened to me in PERSIA, and that curiosity had partly brought me thither, he said, "Alas! this is no time for such entertainment in this country." Hearing that I had a connection with Mr. ELTON, he observed, "I suppose you have orders and
"inten-

“intentions to take all the effects belonging to the merchants out of his hands,” which I understood as an intimation of his opinion of ELTON’s dangerous situation. Here I enjoyed greater security, at least of my person, than I had for eight months before, having been in a continual warfare; but though the scene was changed, it was not altered much for the better; for I was now engaged in a severe contest, in which both my interest and honour were concerned.

Mr. ELTON, who had been kind to an extreme, and continually wrote me the tenderest letters of friendship, was become inexorably deaf to all overtures of accommodation. He had done me injustice in a double respect; first, by thinking I could be prevailed upon, by the considerations of friendship, to subscribe to things false, absurd, and impracticable; and then by fearing I should make use of my knowledge of his affairs in an unfriendly manner; whereas no treatment of his ever drew from me a single word of what he had said in the confidence of secrecy, neither before nor since his death. At this time I had the stronger motives to a reserved conduct, from the consideration that ELTON had power to do mischief, and distress the affairs of the merchants; but this reserve exposed me afterwards to the greater vexation. During the few days I was in RESHD, I employed myself in enquiries concerning the country, and its inhabitants, digesting and comparing my own observations with those of persons, whose experience was much greater.

C H A P. L.

A short account of the persons, genius, character, and diet of the modern PERSIANS. Of their hospitality, with some reflections on false amusements in EUROPE. Of the ornamental part of the dress of PERSIAN women, compared with some parts of EUROPEAN dress.

THE modern PERSIANS are robust, warlike, and hardy, and are now all become soldiers: were their government once established, no nation could sooner recover itself from such miserable circumstances. They have money

money enough^a; their houses are easily rebuilt, and their land is fertile: these advantages would bring in foreigners, at least TARTARS and INDIANS, and with them the conveniencies of life, and at length restore their arts and manufactures.

They are naturally inclined to temperance; and with regard to diet, seem to be more in a state of nature than the EUROPEANS. By way of amusement they use opiates, but not near so much as the TURKS: they drink coffee in small quantities with the lees, also sherbets, and an infusion of cinnamon with sugar. Their simplicity of life generally renders their domestic expence easy; though in this last particular travellers do not agree: I grant however that the PERSIANS understand very little of what we call prudence, and oeconomical government.

In their common discourses they often introduce moral sentences, and poetical narrations, extracted from their poets and other writers: it was formerly their constant custom to entertain their guests with favourite passages out of their poets. Reflexion and repetition are the only means of strengthening or supporting the memory: custom has made it a kind of pedantry in EUROPE to be frequent in the repetition of the wise sayings either of the antient or modern divines, philosophers, or poets; but if from the nature of the human mind we ever stand in need of a monitor, what office is more consistent than to render the wholesome rules of life familiar, by making them a part of our ordinary conversation. It might be wished, that this practice was introduced among EUROPEANS, rather than that barrenness of discourse we often find, or the irksome and pernicious amusement of cards.

Now I have mentioned a circumstance so interesting to the great world in EUROPE, I must acknowledge that cards, in the original use of them, are confessedly as innocent as any other instrument of diversion, to those who are at a loss for something more rational^b; yet in the manner now in fashion, they cannot but dissipate the thoughts

^a Speaking of the time subsequent to NADIR's death, and a few years afterwards.

^b I have somewhere heard that cards were invented by a FRENCH courtier, to amuse one of the kings of that nation, who was remarkably weak.

in some, and enervate the mind in almost every one who is closely attached to them: they must be a great means of feeding those passions which corrode the heart, and warping the affections from their proper bias, oppose the establishment of virtue in the mind. We often see this verified, though few will confess it. Is it possible in the nature of the thing, that those who give a constant application to this entertainment, especially if they play high, can support a tranquility of mind? And, in proportion as the mind is disturbed, is it not disqualified for the essential duties of life? This matter is best understood by those very persons who play high, and consume their time in this polite idleness. The PERSIANS seem to fall into the contrary extreme; they delight in sitting still, and musing. I never observed any of them to walk in their apartments, as the EUROPEANS, and particularly the ENGLISH, are used to do. I remember to have heard of a TURK, who, being on board an ENGLISH man of war, enquired very seriously if the people were troubled with an evil spirit, because, says he, "they are never at rest?"

The PERSIANS are polite, but extravagantly hyperbolic in their compliments: this indeed is peculiar to the eastern nations; and the scripture, which partakes so much of that stile, is known to be derived from that quarter. The PERSIANS were celebrated for a particular genius to poetry; but war, which has destroyed their morals and learning, seems also to have damped their poetic fire; though they have still many traces of that fertility and strength of imagination, for which in past times they were deservedly famous. The ancient PERSIANS are recorded to have taught their children a most exact reverence for truth; but the present generation are as notorious for falsehood: they poison with a sweet-meat, in always saying what is pleasing, without regarding the truth. In their dispositions they are cheerful, but rather inclined to seriousness than loud mirth: in this they are not so much the FRENCH of ASIA, as in their politeness and civility to strangers. Hospitality is a part of their religion; on occasions of the least intercourse, men of any distinction invite strangers, as well as their friends to their table; and it is remarkable how they pride themselves in other testimonies of respect, which have been occasionally mentioned in this work.

I did not observe that they are vindictive; yet if their kindness to their best friends, happens to be turned by any fortune of war into enmity, they often become insensible: this seems to be more owing to a custom of cruelty, than a revengeful temper. On the other hand, there are not many instances of the placable disposition, which the CHRISTIAN religion so strongly recommends: in theory however they are friends to this virtue, and they apparently exceed the CHRISTIANS in the duty of resignation.

With regard to their persons and dress, the men in most parts of the country shave their heads very close; the young ones have often a lock on each temple, which hangs pendant, and serves as an ornament to their faces, somewhat in the manner of EUROPEAN beaux some years since. Their cheeks are shaved, but the beard on the chin reaches up to their temples: the men for the most part are tall, and of good shapes, their complexions swarthy, particularly in the southern parts, and their eyes and hair black. Most of them have caps of cloth, which rise ten or twelve inches, and terminate on the top in four corners: they have a shorter cap for summer, faced with grey BOKHARIAN lambskins; their ears, which are very large, are always left bare, and generally hang down, in consequence of the weight of the caps resting on them, and many are proud to shew that their ears are not cut off^c. Crimson is a colour they much affect in their caps, as well as in their outward garments; and it makes a grand appearance: deep blue, which one seldom sees worn, except in coarse cloths, is their mourning colour. The better sort of people wear a sash of KHERMANIA wool, wrapped about their heads as turbands; some of these are so exceeding fine as to cost 100 crowns^d, and the common price for such as are good is 8 or 10 crowns: their heads are thus kept very warm, and the more as they seldom pull off their caps, but wear them even in the presence of their king.

The outward garment of the common sort of people, is a slight cotton: in general they wear two or three light vestments, which reach only to their knees; so that their dress gives them a great advantage over the TURKS, who wear long effeminate robes. Besides their cloth garments

^c Many were in these circumstances in NADIR's time.

^d 25 l.

of the ordinary sort, which are much esteemed, some have them lined with furs, as ermins, squirrels, or fables, which are worn for warmth, and very often for state also; for it is common to see a great man sit in his sable-coat in the height of summer: but it must be observed that these coats reach no farther than the waist; thus demonstrating a judicious distinction not to load themselves with a superfluous weight of cloaths. Silk is worn in summer by men of fashion, especially for under-garments; but these as well as their cotton and woollen under-garments are quilted, which renders them very warm without being heavy. Under the fash round the waist they carry a long pointed knife in a case of wood, which is mounted with gold or silver. Their shirts, for the most part, are made of checkered silk and cotton: these have neither wrist-bands nor collars, for they always go bare-necked. The sleeves of their upper garment reaches down to their fingers: they sometimes wear cloth-sockings, which set loose like boots; but for the most part they use only socks of wool, which reach over the ankles. They wear slippers like women's shoes without quarters; these are of shagreen made with the skin of horses rumps, which are prepared hard and rough like a seal's skin: the heels being high, they are calculated to carry one out of the dirt, but are extremely uneasy to those who are not accustomed to them. Their drawers, or rather trowsers are more convenient than breeches in a hot country, being without any tight ligaments: for this reason their cloathing in general seems to be more conducive to health and strength than that of EUROPEANS: the fash round the waist may however keep their loins too warm; but girding up the loins is indeed a part of dress the most antient we read of. Their writers carry their ink and pens about them in a case which they put under their fash, or in their pocket under their arm.

The simplicity of their taste deserves commendation: a PERSIAN KHAN once questioned me closely upon the sleeve of my coat, desiring to know what I intended by that bit of cloth hanging from my arm? I of course told him, that in EUROPE we considered it as an ornament. I could not help reflecting however on the superfluous and inconvenient part of dress, which the polite nations of EUROPE have introduced, in defiance of natural

ral taste, and the consideration of health and convenience. -Externals are always most apt to affect the mind, and where we suffer ourselves to follow implicitly him who, for his private convenience, or to gratify his humour, continually makes alterations in our manner of cloathing, it must engage too great a share of the attention, at least of the youthful part of a nation, and create a dangerous expence; nor can we be ever sure of retaining that which in all respects is found elegant, ornamental, and convenient, if we happen to stumble on it. The ASIATICS seem best to understand this matter, and to act most agreeably to reason. We must however acknowledge, that the variety of which the politer nations of EUROPE are so fond, serves to exercise invention, improve arts, and create a circulation of money; but still it tends to the ruin of states, when the inclination is carried to an excess, and beyond what private incomes will bear, after all essential duties regarding government, and charity, are complied with. But in a comparison of the ORIENTAL and EUROPEAN dress, there is not any thing in the latter half so absurd and ridiculous as that part of the female furniture called a HOOP. If the PERSIAN, who was so much surprized at the sleeve of my coat, which was in no extreme of the fashion, had seen this whalebone-machine, he would certainly ask, if the woman was to be sewn up in it with a wild cat, as they sometimes use bags when they torture females. Tell him, that it is designed to be worn about her waist, and he would conclude it was a punishment for some act of incontinence; but never would a man, in his right mind, conceive it to be intended as an ornament; and that the greater space a woman occupies, the greater her quality, the more important her appearance, and as some imagine, the more exquisite her charms.

And since the resentment of a custom so injurious to health and convenience, as well as true taste, has drawn me thus far; I cannot help observing very seriously, that as the persons, and external ornaments of women are so much the attention of men, it is not surprizing that they should make use of their proper strength, and improve their own advantages; but I apprehend there are very few sensible women, and yet fewer men, who consider this romantic machine as ornamental. Custom is in-

deed a tyrant over both sexes, and the pride of imaginary embellishments almost as strong a passion with the youthful part of the gay world, as even the love of life. All nations seem to agree, that rich manufactories, silver, or gold, or precious stones, or what is just the same, something in imitation of them are ornamental. It is also confessed, that the more immediate seat of the graces is the face, and the women of all countries apply their skill to the improvement of it; preserving at the same time those vestures which they think add a lustre to their natural advantages. How can EUROPEANS laugh at some particular parts of the dress of remote nations, when perhaps none of them wear any thing so ridiculous as a large hoop? Besides, though custom may cause any thing to pass for modest, it cannot alter the nature of climates, nor prevent those distempers which arise from cold; neither will the streets grow broader, or houses, churches, or theatres extend their walls to keep pace with this romantic extension of habilliment.

The dress of the women in PERSIA is simple, differing from the men rather for the distinction of sexes, than by affecting any form shocking to nature: they adorn their arms with bracelets after the manner of some EUROPEANS, and their heads with jewels of several kinds: one of these is composed of a light gold chain-work, set with small pearls, with a thin gold plate pendant, about the bigness of a crown-piece, on which is impressed an ARABIAN prayer: this is fixed to the hair at the upper part of the temple, and hangs upon the cheek below the ear. They have large ear-rings, and some are said to wear gold rings set with pearls in their nose, which is incomparably the worst taste they have; the poorer sort wear the same thing in baser metals: their hair hangs in tresses; their shirts, as well as the men's, are of a thin manufacture of silk and cotton; but these are open at the breast in the manner of men's shirts in EUROPE, whilst the men's are supported on the left shoulders by a small button; the women also wear drawers and slippers as the men.

The PERSIANS observe an outward decency in their cloathing; their very religion seems to exact it of them, and the simplicity of their customs contributes to the same end. They are neat in their houses; and even the meanest

meanest sort are usually very clean in their cloaths, which have seldom any rent ; but if it was not for their repeated bathings, the want of changing their shirts would render their persons indelicate.

C H A P. LI.

The nature of the military, civil, and ecclesiastical government of the PERSIANS under NADIR SHAH. Some account also of their cruelty, division of time, language, and opinion of EUROPEANS. Of their religion, and their manner of praying ; with remarks on the false reserve of CHRISTIANS.

THE PERSIANS, by their neglect of moral duties, have prepared the way for that ruin in which they are involved ; and it seems as if providence, by suffering the usurpation of NADIR, had permitted them to fill up the measure of their iniquities.

The government of PERSIA is monarchical, and in execution of it strictly despotic. The favour of the PRINCE, and of those on whom he devolves his authority, is essential to the security of foreign merchants ; and this may be best preserved by proper and timely presents, by a good appearance, and a resolute discreet support of their own dignity. The PERSIANS are not unskilled in the laws of justice and humanity ; but as war has been, for many years, their only study, and a fondness for outward shew their predominant passion, these laws are very little regarded when they interfere with their inclinations : hence a good horse, a silver-mounted bridle, and a girl, will generally induce a PERSIAN to violate justice, and even to commit that for which he is morally certain of death.

The camp and court in NADIR's time were the same ; and the ecclesiastical, as well as civil and military officers always attended. The chief administrators of the law were the MULLAH-BASHI, and the NAIB-SÆDAR, or NÆVAB, who are judges in ecclesiastical and civil concerns. The KAZIÆSKAR is judge of the army, and the SHEICHULISLAM is reputed

puted of equal rank with him. The DEFHERCHANE^a receives all records, decrees and public accounts, and decides in all affairs relating to the political government. The principal officers of this court are the SUPERINTENDANT and SECRETARY: The MUSTAFI MIEMALEK^b acts with them, and has MUSTAFIS under him for the care of the several divisions. These agents of the crown make their court, and find most profit and security in proposing means of oppressing the people by heavy exactions.

The highest ecclesiastic in towns is judge, and tries civil causes under the governor, who generally refers the parties to him; and upon the receipt of his verdict the governor gives a final judgment. But military people seldom have their cause tried by any but the latter. These governors are often as despotic as sovereign princes; and though they are accountable for all their actions, and have often their ears cut off, their noses slit, and are severely beaten on their back, bastinadoed on their feet till their nails come off, and not unfrequently strangled, yet they seldom abstain from acts of oppression.

The BEGLER-BEGS^c have the power of life and death, as have also those SARDARES^d, who are on the frontiers. In NADIR's reign there were only three BEGLER-BEGS, one in KHORASAN, the other in DERBEND, and the last in SHIRASS, all of them as cruel as they were powerful. Those in high office make use of the most extraordinary and unaccountable methods of oppression. There was a remarkable instance of this in NADIR's brother, IBRAHIM KHAN, who, when governor of TAVRIS, having a lame mule, asked his groom what he might sell her for? The groom, suspecting his design, and knowing his avarice, answered 2000 crowns. "Oh!" says he, "more a great deal." At length the price was fixed at 10,000; and the groom being armed with authority, demanded of every citizen and villager a certain sum for the mule, in such terms as plainly shewed that a sum was to be levied on them. Some, to avoid being beaten, paid him 20, 30, 40, or 50 crowns, till at last he came home with

^a Chancery.
rank of officer in power.

^b General over-seer of the empire.

^d Generals.

^c Lord of lords, the highest

the 10,000; and after all he obliged a man to take the mule in good earnest for 120 crowns, which is the price of a small one free from blemish.

In how great a degree cruelty reigned in PERSIA in NADIR's time, may be judged from the choice which he made of his representatives, and from their copying him so exactly, though with less judgment. I was told, that in the spring 1741, a person named KALIB KHAN, from being a broker of silk, returned from the camp to RESHD, dignified with the title of admiral of the CASPIAN sea. This elevation so intoxicated him, that thinking himself neglected in point of ceremony, he instantly ordered the chief of the ARMENIAN merchants to be called into his presence, caused one of them to be put to death, and threatened that all the ARMENIANS and GEORGIANS should suffer the same fate, if they did not bring to him all the arms that were to be found in the caravanserais of RESHD; keeping three of them as hostages till he extorted handsome presents, and large promises from them. He was so offended that the RUSSIAN consul had not shewn him the respect of waiting on him in person before his entrance into the town, that when the consul's interpreter came to compliment him in his master's name, he bastinadoed him, spoke disrespectfully of the EMPRESS, and not stopping here, put to death an interpreter belonging to the resident of that nation, seized a RUSSIAN ship, and, by threats and ill treatment, obliged the crew to embrace MAHOMMEDANISM. On EASTER-DAY he laid siege to the consul's house, and fired 250 shots on it; but at length being opposed by the people of the town, he was obliged to withdraw his artillery.

In consequence of the complaints made to NADIR, KALIB KHAN was called to the camp, and treated with great severity; the crimes alledged against him were various, and many of them concerned the SHAH himself; but I never heard there was any particular respect paid to the RUSSIANS in the punishment inflicted on him. Such cruel exactions and monstrous proceedings have frequently stirred up the people to rebellion; but the want of secrecy in their counsels, and of mutual confidence, ever rendered

dered their attempts inferior to the sagacity and resolution of NADIR, till they took the resolution of killing him in his own tent.

As to the religion in PERSIA, the TURKS and PERSIANS equally acknowledge the KHORAN as first promulged, to be the great law of their prophet MAHOMMED; but they trace their ecclesiastical divisions, and inveterate animosities as high as his immediate successor. ALI was MAHOMMED's brother's son, and married to FATIMA, the daughter of that false prophet. From this the PERSIANS naturally infer his right to the succession, which was notwithstanding invaded by his uncles ABUBEKER, OMAR, and OSMAN, the brothers of MAHOMMED, whose usurpation, both as kings and prophets, is approved of by the TURKS. At length ALI succeeded, and the dispute might have been lost in oblivion, had he made no difference in the KHORAN: yet this produced no extraordinary effects till the 14th century, when SHEFFIE, a man of an exemplary life, who pretended a regular descent from ALI, began to teach and expound the MAHOMMEDAN law, and the doctrine of ALI's followers, in preference to the TURKISH doctors of divinity; this revived the remembrance of the injury done ALI by his uncles, whom the PERSIANS began to curse in their public prayers: they also changed the form of the MAHOMMEDAN creed, by giving ALI the title of THE FRIEND OF GOD. These two sects being divided, those who maintained the succession of ABUBEKER, OMAR, and OSMAN, called themselves SUNNIS, whilst the followers of ALI took the name of SCHIAS.

Experience has proved that it is next to impossible to keep mankind steady to any form of worship, even where they profess the same faith in essentials; and if this is the case where religion is founded in truth, as in that of CHRIST; it is no wonder that so absurd a doctrine as MAHOMMEDANISM, professed by so many millions of people, spread over such a vast tract of country, should create divisions with regard to ceremonials, and the construction of texts, in themselves inexplicable; nor is it strange that this should produce national and irreconcilable hatred. It must further be observed, that their morals and true notions of life having, in a great measure, given place to a martial genius and military shew, it is easy
to

to conceive the cause of the long and bloody wars which have been carried on between the neighbouring states of PERSIA and TURKEY. It cannot here be improper to mention the method taken by SHAH ABAS to make a difference in opinion instrumental to the peace and security of his government. This prince, finding in his people a great propensity to rebellion, gave ALI two names, and then artfully insinuated, that one ought to be revered in preference to the other ; thus he promoted such a dissention among them as brought both parties the more easily to make him umpire, and submit to his government.

The PERSIANS believe the MOSAIC to have been the true religion before CHRIST, whom also they acknowledge to be a true prophet, and teacher sent from GOD ; but that the religion he taught was contained in a book which, at MAHOMMED'S coming, was taken by the angel GABRIEL into heaven, and the KHORAN brought down in it's stead ; this however they do not attempt to prove. They say also, that JESUS CHRIST did not die upon the cross ; but that another person was miraculously brought there in his place ; thus confessing the truth of our SAVIOUR'S mission, but confounding it with absurd fables.

The common people pray at break of day, noon, and sun-set ; but the HANDBEES pray at these times, and also in the afternoon, and at night. The MULLAH, when he goes to prayers, mounts a turret appointed for that purpose, which over-tops the houses, from whence at day-break, mid-day, and evening, he invokes the supreme being, by saying ; “ O “ GOD, there is but one GOD ; MAHOMMED is his prophet, and ALI his friend.” After repeating these words three times, he makes a prayer to this effect ; “ Glory be to the sovereign of the universe, and to the judge “ of the last day ; we glorify thee ; we beseech thee to assist us in our “ necessities, to lead us in thy ways, and in the paths of righteousness, “ and to prevent our falling into the snares of perdition.” I never observed that the PERSIANS have any marks of that false modesty which prevails among CHRISTIANS of the best sort, who, to avoid the imputation of affectation, or hypocrisy, are as jealous to be seen on their knees, as afraid to commit any criminal action. If a bold masculine piety, and

a sincere awful sense of the supreme being are very consistent things, this excuse of modesty must be owing to an error in education. The reservedness of some CHRISTIANS is certainly carried to a great excess: I have known persons pious before marriage, confessedly negligent in their devotion afterwards, the prejudices of education being such as that neither party chose to be seen on their knees; and we all know that any neglect may grow into a habit. Not so does the incomparable MILTON paint our first parents; not so does nature nor reason dictate; surely this is not what our SAVIOUR meant by admonishing us to retire to the closet; and is diametrically opposite to what may be inferred from that passage of scripture, that the unbelieving party in marriage is saved by the believer. Such an excess of reserve, if such is common, must be injurious to religion, and highly destructive of the advantages derived to mankind by the example of piety, particularly in the matrimonial state.

The PERSIANS seem to be under the influence of a certain degree of enthusiasm, without which devotion in some men is but a languid office: their imaginations are warm, and it is probable they receive no common help from thence. But here it may be asked, whether any degree of passionate warmth is warrantable in devotion? Whether it is effectual, is also a point about which CHRISTIAN divines seem to differ in their sentiments. If passion is essential to the make and composition of man; if experience evinces, that hardly any of our actions are devoid of passion; if the great art of human life is not to eradicate the passions, but to adopt the proper objects of them; if mankind cannot think so abstractedly as a pure effort of unmixed reason implies; I presume it follows, that SOME DEGREE of passion is warrantable in devotion; that degree will depend on the different turn of men's minds, and we may leave the great object of our devotion to determine the rest. If GOD is the common parent and universal friend of mankind, we must be affected towards him, with all the energy of the soul, which cannot be exerted without the assistance of our passions: and it ought to be remembered, that towards different objects the same passions affect us differently. We must learn to think consistently of the supreme being, but leave nature to herself with regard to the manner

manner of the operation of those passions, and not refine the thing away. Further, if the great object of all the powers and faculties of the soul is God; if hope, and fear, and love, as passions, belong to any thing more than mere sensitive life, the exercise of them is due to the great author of nature, and consequently ought to be employed in our addresses to him; for these, by their happy mixture, under the influence and guidance of reason, constitute that passionate warmth which, I presume, is not only warrantable, but in many minds essential. And can it with any consistency be thought, that our SAVIOUR'S prayer in HIS PASSION, as properly called, was devoid of the passion we are now speaking of; if it was not, it will follow, that in proportion to the earnestness of our petitions to heaven, there will be a mixture of passion, though reason may at the same time be supported in its full strength.

To return to the PERSIAN manner of devotion: after washing themselves, and combing their beards, they often count beads on a string as is the custom of some CHRISTIANS, and probably learnt of the MAHOMMEDANS. At certain parts of their prayer they stand, then kneel, and then prostrating themselves on the earth, set their foreheads on a bit of clay, about the size of a crown piece, supposed to be brought from MECCA, and consequently to have a CHARM. They always carry it about them, tied to the upper part of their arm. They, as well as the CHRISTIANS, make their prayers long, in contradiction to the experience of mankind, how laborious a task it is to keep all the faculties of the soul awake for a short interval. "Let thy words be few," is an admonition well suited to the weakness of human nature; though the observance of it may argue the strength of the understanding. It is a shrewd remark, that there is a great difference between praying, and saying of prayers; and that we ought not to expect that God will attend to our prayers, if we do not attend to them ourselves. Besides, if a life spent in the fear of God, and obedience to his laws, is one continued prayer to him; will he require a multiplicity of words? Will he demand a longer attention than the mind is capable of, or the duties of life will permit? I do not mean by this remark, to lend any assistance in countenancing the indolence and impiety

which reigns so much among some CHRISTIANS, but to recommend an awful approach of the deity; and in our private addresses to him, to spend as much time in preparing the mind, as in the address itself, and not destroy the dignity; and, as we may fear, the efficacy of the duty, by a careless and abrupt intrusion into the more immediate presence of the awful majesty of heaven.

The MAHOMMEDANS having certain stated hours for prayer, are punctual in the observance of this duty, and, to all appearance, perform it with more attention than the CHRISTIANS generally do: and though the PERSIANS are become so extremely immoral, yet they give one proof of religion vastly superior to the CHRISTIANS: for I never could observe, that they mentioned the name of the supreme being, except upon solemn occasions, or at least in a respectful manner.

The PERSIANS have some of the JEWISH rites among them; and also this peculiarity, that when they pray, they never permit the image of any sensible object to be before them; nor is it permitted to pray with any thing of gold about them, as if it was esteemed an object of idolatry. They invoke the intercession of the departed souls of some of their prophets and pious men.

As to superstition, I have already given numerous instances how inclined the PERSIANS are to it: A MAHOMMEDAN is offended if a person applies to any mean use a written paper, lest it should contain the name of the supreme being. This may plead in its excuse that reverence which all mankind owe to the deity; but for their other superstitions, they are for the most part much less consistent: as for instance, a MAHOMMEDAN, strictly speaking, is not only defiled by the touch of any thing belonging to a hog, but even, they say, by a shoe, when it is made by an end where a hog's bristle has been used.

The MAHOMMEDANS have numerous sectaries, as well as the CHRISTIANS. NADIR was no bigot, nor in the least given to superstition: on the contrary, he exposed the blunders of their favourite prophet ALI, and even of MAHOMMED, and the fallacies of many popular opinions, of which I shall have occasion to mention more hereafter.

The

The external obligations of justice and charity are oftentimes overlooked among the MAHOMMEDANS, as well as among people of a better religion: they have found out the art of cheating their own souls, by endeavouring to reconcile religion and oppression. Extortion is forbidden by the MAHOMMEDAN law; but suppose a necessitous person wants 20 crowns for 2 or 3 months only; there are many instances of requiring a quarter of a batman of silk, which, at the common value, is 4 crowns. The obligation is made thus: Having lent such a person so much, I buy of him such a thing, for which I am to pay so much. Thus they reconcile what would otherwise be esteemed a gross violation of their law.

The PERSIANS have solar and lunar years, by which they regulate their different concerns. The new years day^c of their solar year is on the tenth of March; but their moveable feasts and fasts depend on the lunar year. They have two great fasts, which, they say, were commanded by GOD, who gave MAHOMMED orders to institute them for the expiation of their sins: in this time they eat nothing in the day, but at night they make two or three meals of the same kind of food as usual. As to the other divisions of time, their weeks are the same as ours, and their days consist of 24 hours, which they reckon in the same manner as the ITALIANS.

The TURKISH language is the most common in PERSIA; it prevails on the southern coast of the CASPIAN, as well as in those provinces which were formerly conquered by the TURKS, as SHIRVAN and ADERBEITZAN; but the illiterate people speak a barbarous mixture; and I observed a different dialect in GHILAN and MAZANDERAN: the pure PERSIC is little known but in the southern parts, on the coast of the PERSIAN gulph, and the confines of ARABIA; but particularly in ISFAHAN. In matters of learning they use the ARABIAN language, in which is deposited the greatest part of that knowledge for which the PERSIANS were once distinguished: and the politer people are fond of ARABIAN words, which renders their discourse the less intelligible to men of inferior rank. The

^c Which they call NEVROUZ.

learned languages, familiar to EUROPEANS, are not known amongst them. As time seems to have made no change in the customs of ASIA, but the same manners remain as we read of two thousand years ago, so the language, particularly of the PERSIANS, has the same idiom and sublimity of expression.

They write as the HERREWS, from the right to the left; and often range their lines in an arbitrary manner; so that upon one leaf of paper they sometimes write in ten different directions, and this only to shew the writers ability in observing the proportion of words and lines in each.

The want of curiosity, even in some of their people of distinction, is very remarkable: it is true, the greatest part of these are of mean parentage and education, and are fallen very low in point of knowledge, though they have good natural parts: this is indeed the less surprizing, as reading, the first step to knowledge, of late years has been as little taught to those bred to arms, as to the vulgar; we may say, it is more peculiar to the MULLANS. They also fall into a great absurdity in their manner of instructing; I have observed their boys reading lessons out of the KORAN in ARABIC, which they do not understand; and, to add to this farce, as they sit, they make a motion with their head and body, alledging that this helps study: thus does affectation supply the place of real learning. They acknowledge that the EUROPEANS have two eyes, and themselves but one; or, in other words, that we have knowledge, and an universal skill in arts and sciences, to many of which they are entire strangers; and, if I mistake not, their present method of education is not likely to remove this evil.

Thus the revolutions of time, and the changes to which human affairs are subject, in consequence of men's iniquity, have involved those nations in ignorance, who once enjoyed all the advantages which could grace and adorn human nature, and were distinguished as patterns of learning and politeness.

P A R T III.
A T T E M P T S

Made to open a TRADE to

K H I E V A and B O K H A R A
I N M D C C X L.

W I T H A

JOURNEY along the western coast of the CASPIAN
in 1746.

C H A P. LII.

Two BRITISH factors in RUSSIA attempt to open a new trade into independent TARTARY; with the several adventures that beset them.

AS I am now on my departure from PERSIA, I shall introduce the journals of some other travellers on the eastern and western coast of the CASPIAN, particularly as these gentlemen were personally known to me, and had a connexion with the affairs of the RUSSIA company: to these I shall join Mr. VAN MIEROP's journal to MESCHED. As these journals are not verbose, and their authority is good, they must afford some satisfaction to the curious. It may be observed, that half the pleasure in this kind of reading, is to compare the relation with the map, and render that an object of sense, which is otherwise abstracted. This method helps at least in fixing the idea of the thing related in a more permanent degree.

Whilst Mr. ELTON was using his endeavours for opening a trade over the CASPIAN sea, Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON and Mr. RLYNOLD HOGG undertook to establish a commercial intercourse with KHIEVA, BOKHARA, and

and other parts of TARTARY, of which they give the following account.
 “ On the 26th of February 1740, we set out from St. PETERSBURG with a
 “ small quantity of goods, expecting to return by the end of the ensuing
 “ winter. Our intention was to learn, if any trade could be carried on
 “ amongst the TARTARS, particularly those of KHIEVA and BOKHARA.

“ Passing through the cities of MOSCO, VOLODIMUR, MUROM, and AR-
 “ SAMAS, April the 6th we arrived at SAMARA, which is situated on the
 “ east-side of the VOLGA, at the distance of 1800 wersts^a from St. PETERS-
 “ BURG. SAMARA being the last place in RUSSIA in our rout, we procured
 “ the necessary dispatches of the governor, who had the command of the
 “ TARTAR expedition. The 12th of June we proceeded on our journey
 “ under a convoy, and travelling south-east in a beaten road through a
 “ desert 300 wersts, we arrived the 17th at YAEIK, a town belonging to
 “ the COSSACKS, who are subjects of RUSSIA. Here we changed our
 “ EUROPEAN for TARTAR habits, and providing ourselves with camels,
 “ horses, and other necessaries, we discharged our RUSSIAN attendants.
 “ It was not without the utmost difficulty that we persuaded some KHAL-
 “ MUCKS and TARTARS to engage in our service: the COSSACKS of the
 “ YAEIK absolutely refused, giving us many instances of the distresses of
 “ their own people, who had been plundered and made slaves in attempt-
 “ ing to go to KHIEVA; but we were resolved to encounter all difficulties.
 “ A chief of the KIRGESE TARTARS had sent us two persons as guides;
 “ and we flattered ourselves that the authority of their chief, would be an
 “ inducement to their fidelity in our defence.

“ Finding other KIRGESE, who were returning home from YAEIK
 “ with merchandize, we joined them, making in all about twenty persons
 “ on horseback; our goods were loaden on camels. The 26th of June we
 “ set out on our journey, and travelled due east about 60 wersts every day,
 “ through a desert without any road or path; the TARTARS directing
 “ their course by remarkable hills and rivulets, well known to them. We
 “ were obliged to keep watch night and day, knowing that when

^a 1200 miles.

“ parties meet, the weakest, even if they are of the same HORDA ^b, are
 “ subject to many inconveniencies, and if they are of different HORDAS,
 “ they kill those who are advanced in age, and make slaves of the young
 “ people.

“ On the 7th of July we perceived a party at a distance, and our com-
 “ panions pursued, and took three KHALMUCKS, with seven horses. This
 “ was esteemed a legal, and a valuable prize, and was attended with this
 “ further advantage, that we procured intelligence of the HORDA we were
 “ in quest of.

“ July the 11th, We fell in with a party of KIRGESE, with whom most
 “ of our company remained; so that we were constrained to continue our
 “ journey with our two guides only. We proceeded north-east till the
 “ 16th, when we arrived near the HORDA of our friend, JEAN BEEK.
 “ BATER; he made us the compliment of sending his son, with several
 “ other relations, to meet us, who conducted us the next day to his KA-
 “ BITKA ^c. On reckoning our distance, we found it 800 wersts from the
 “ river YAEIK. This TARTAR-chief was sitting on a carpet in his tent;
 “ he rose, and bid us welcome, and making us sit down with him, he
 “ took a large dish of KUMEESE ^d, which he drank, and made us do the
 “ same. We gave him some small presents, which he immediately divided
 “ amongst the company. Some days after we made him a more valuable
 “ present, telling him that our design in going to KHIEVA, was to fix
 “ and carry on a trade there; in which, if we succeeded, we should bring
 “ much larger cargoes; and then it would be more in our power to re-
 “ quite him for all his favours: in answer to which he assured us, that we
 “ might command all the service in his power, to forward our design; and
 “ insisted that we should continue with him till the extreme heat was abat-
 “ ed, and refresh our cattle, which, from hard travelling, were in a very
 “ weak condition.

“ The KIRGESE TARTARS possess a very extensive tract of land, hav-
 “ ing the BASHKEERT TARTARS to the north, the black KHALMUCKS,

^b A tribe of TARTARS.
 KHALMUCKS.

^c Tent of the nature already described to be in use among the
^d Mare's milk fermented.

“ with the city of TASHCUND to the east, the KARAKULPACK TARTARS.
 “ and the ARAL lake to the south, and the river YAEIK to the west. They
 “ are divided into three HORDAS, under the government of a KHAN.
 “ That part which borders on the RUSSIAN dominions, was under the au-
 “ thority of JEAN BEEK, whose name on all occasions was honoured with
 “ the title of BATER ^f.

“ They live in tents made of wooden stakes, and covered with a felt
 “ of camel's hair; this they fix or remove with great ease, whenever they
 “ change their quarters, and they never stay above two or three days in a
 “ place. They feed on horse-flesh, mutton, and venison, and drink fer-
 “ mented mare's milk to excess; so that they often intoxicate themselves
 “ with it. They have no grain, nor any kind of bread. When they go
 “ upon an expedition they take a small quantity of cheese, which they call
 “ CRUTE; this being dissolved in water, is their chief sustenance during
 “ their journey. Money is hardly known among them; their riches con-
 “ sist in cattle, fox, and wolf furs, which they exchange with their neigh-
 “ bours for cloaths, and other necessaries. What little religion they have,
 “ is MAHOMMEDANISM, and their language has a great affinity with that
 “ of the TURKS. They are a strong robust people, but rude, ignorant, and
 “ treacherous. They are very civil to strangers, whilst these continue under
 “ their protection; for they esteem it the greatest dishonour to affront a
 “ guest: but no sooner is he departed, than his professed friend and pro-
 “ tector will sometimes be the first person to rob him, and happy if he es-
 “ capes without being made a slave.

“ These KIRGEESE TARTARS have very little sense of many atrocious
 “ crimes, particularly robbery. Their ordinary punishment in this case,
 “ is only restitution to the person robbed; and for murder the loss of their
 “ goods: sometimes indeed for the latter, the criminal and his whole fa-
 “ mily, are delivered up into slavery to the relations of the deceased.

“ We remained with JEAN BEEK, and travelled in his company till the
 “ 8th of August, when we found ourselves in the latitude of $51\frac{1}{2}$, five

^f This word signifies hero.

“ days journey to the east south-east of ORENBURG. This city was lately
 “ built by the RUSSIANS, as a barrier against the KIRGESE and KARA-
 “ KULPACK TARTARS⁸, and likewise with a view of opening a trade
 “ with them for furs, gold-dust, and rhubarb.

“ Having received directions from JEAN BEEK, and taking one of his
 “ relations for our guide, we joined a caravan of KIRGESE and TURKU-
 “ MAN TARTARS, about sixty in number. With these we travelled south-
 “ west near 50 wersts a day for eight days: we met several parties, but re-
 “ ceived no harm from them; although several TURKUMANS joined us,
 “ who, after having been robbed of their effects, had with great difficulty
 “ escaped with their lives.

“ August the 6th, we reached the ARAL lake, which is reckoned 22 days
 “ journey from ORENBURG, and 12 from the river YAEIK. We travelled
 “ south along a very high and rocky shore, where we were scarce able to
 “ get any water once in two days; and this was so bitter and salt, that
 “ necessity only obliged us to drink of it. The KARAKULPACKS inhabit
 “ the east shore of this lake, where the river SIRR falls into it, and the
 “ ARAL TARTARS the south shore, where it receives the great river AMO.
 “ The latter use only small fishing boats, and never venture far from the
 “ shore. It is said that a person cannot conveniently ride round this
 “ lake in less than 35 days, being computed above 1000 ENGLISH
 “ miles. There are abundance of wild horses, asses, antelopes, and
 “ wolves; here is also a very fierce creature, called JOLBART, not un-
 “ like a tyger, which the TARTARS say is of such prodigious strength
 “ as to carry off a horse.

“ September the 3d, we left the lake, and arrived at a valley full of
 “ brush-wood, and almost knee deep of stagnated water. We were in-
 “ formed that this was the channel of the river OXUS, which had run betwixt

⁸ In 1748 and 1749 these TARTARS brought about 40,000 l. value in silver, and drove a considerable trade with the RUSSIANS; the greatest part of this silver was the plunder of the PERSIAN camp in 1747, on the occasion of the massacre of NADIR SHAH.

“ the ARAL lake and the CASPIAN sea; but was stopp'd up by the
 “ TARTARS many ages since^b.

“ The 5th, we came to the city JURGANTZ, which appeared to have
 “ been a large place; but now was entirely in ruins, no other building re-
 “ maining than a mosque. Here our company were very devout: they
 “ offered their prayers to heaven for their safe journey, and then went in
 “ search of gold, which they said, they had frequently found washed out by
 “ the rains from amongst the ruins of this city. We travelled on south-east
 “ till the 8th, when we arrived at some villages belonging to the TARTARS
 “ of KHIEVA. On the 9th, our company left us, and with our guide on-
 “ ly we proceeded due west 9 hours, and reached the city of KHIEVA,
 “ which is 17 days journey distant from the CASPIAN sea, and from OREN-
 “ BURG 33, computing a day's journey to be 40 RUSSIAN wersts^c.

“ We took our lodgings in a caravanserai, which was a very mean build-
 “ ing. Here our goods and baggage were immediately searched and va-
 “ lued, for which we paid duty 5 per cent. We had then full liberty
 “ to sell them; but we could not dispose of a sufficient value to maintain
 “ ourselves and our cattle: for NADIR SHAH, who was then on his return
 “ from INDIA, was expected to make this place a visit; so that it was our
 “ misfortune to arrive when the state began to be in great confusion. The
 “ people were so infatuated as to think themselves a match for the PER-
 “ SIANS; but when they heard that the SHAH was with them in person,
 “ they were greatly terrified.

“ A few days after our arrival, one of the KIRGEESE came to us by
 “ night from our guide, and informed us, that if we consulted our own
 “ safety, we must return immediately; that the company we had parted
 “ with on the 9th, had been plundered by the TURKUMANS, and several
 “ of them killed; that they durst not stay longer in these parts; but were
 “ resolved to make up their loss on the road by reprisals. Finding he
 “ made no impression on us, he took his leave, promising to return in the
 “ spring, in company with our guide, if the country was in peace. KHI-

^b See page 135.

^c 27 ENGLISH miles.

“EVA lies in the latitude of $38\frac{1}{2}$, and is the residence of a KHAN. It is situated on a rising ground, has three gates, and is defended by a strong wall of earth, very thick, and much higher than the houses: it has turrets at small distances, and a broad deep ditch full of water. The place is large, but the houses are low, the greatest part of them being built with mud; the roofs are flat, and covered with earth. It commands a pleasant prospect of the adjacent plains, which, by the industry of the inhabitants, are rendered very fertile.

“The dominions of KHIEVA are of so small extent, that a person may ride round them in three days; it has five walled cities, all within half a day’s journey of each other. The KHAN is absolute, and entirely independent of any other power, except the MULLAH BASHI, or high-priest, by whom he is controled. The KIEVINSKI TARTARS differ very little from the KIRGESE; but surpass them in cunning and treachery. Their manners are the same, only that the KIRGESE live in tents, whilst the others inhabit cities and villages. Their only trade is with BOKHARA and PERSIA, whither they carry cattle, furs, and hides, all which they have from the KIRGESE and TURKUMAN TARTARS, who often prove very troublesome neighbours to them. The place itself produces little more than cotton, lamb-furs, of a very mean quality; and a small quantity of raw silk, some of which they manufacture.

“The consumption of EUROPEAN cloth, and other commodities, is inconsiderable, as is the whole trade of this place; so that no profit can be expected any ways proportioned to the risque. The duty on all goods belonging to CHRISTIANS is 5 per cent. and to all others who are not of the MAHOMMEDAN faith: but on the goods of MAHOMMEDANS only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The whole revenue arising to the KHAN does not amount to 100 ducats yearly. Their coin is ducats of gold, each weighing one MUSCAL, or 3 penny-weight ENGLISH; also TONGAS, a small piece of copper, of which 1500 are equal to a ducat. Their weights are the great BATMAN equal to 18 lb. RUSSIAN, and the lesser BATMAN $9\frac{1}{2}$, which they divide into halves, quarters, and smaller parts. Their measure is called GAZ, equal to 12 inches ENGLISH.”

These factors remained in KHIEVA till the 15th of December, the PERSIANS having in the interim taken possession of this place, the particulars of which I shall insert in the life of NADIR. The small quantity of goods which they had with them, were sold to the PERSIANS; but not being able to recover the money, Mr. HOGG was obliged to remain there, intending to return home by the same rout he came, whilst Mr. THOMPSON proceeded to BOKHARA, designing to return home through PERSIA, and over the CASPIAN sea. The TARTARS whom Mr. HOGG expected as a convoy, having been attacked by the TURKUMANS, were driven back to their own country, except those who lost their lives in a skirmish. Hence it was not till the 6th of April 1741, that he left KHIEVA, and finding that the TURKUMANS were roving upon the western side of the ARAL lake, he passed the AMO, and travelling eastward to the country of the KHARAKHULPACKS, in fifteen days he crossed the river SIRR, which falls into that lake, and thence proceeding in search of JEAN BEEK, the chief of the KIRGESE TARTARS, he was set upon by seventeen of them, and plundered, narrowly escaping with his life. He found means however to make his complaint to JEAN BEEK, who was gone upon an expedition against the black KHALMUCKS, and obtained restitution of part of what he had been robbed of, with a promise of the remainder, which was never fulfilled. It was as good fortune as he could expect to get safe to ORENBURG; and from thence in the next spring he arrived in St. PETERSBURG, to the great satisfaction of his friends.

Mr. THOMPSON, whom we left proceeding to BOKHARA, gave the following account of the remainder of his journey: "I went to AZARIST, the last city in the dominions of KHIEVA, and the caravan which I had joined, crossed the AMO in boats: we travelled five days along the eastern banks of that river; then we provided a supply of water, and entered a sandy desert, taking very little rest till our arrival at BO-KHARA.

"This is a large and populous city, lying in the latitude 39° $\frac{1}{2}$ three days journey to the northward of the river AMO: it is the residence of the KHAN, who is entirely absolute, though his power extends very little beyond
"yond

“ yond the city. The adjacent country is called TURKISTAN, and is governed by several BEEKS, or chiefs, who are wholly independent of each other, as well as of the KHAN of BOKHARA.

“ The town is situated on a rising ground, with a slender wall of earth, and a dry ditch: the houses are low, and mostly built of mud: but the caravanferais and the mosques, which are numerous, are all of brick: the BAZARS, or market-places, have been stately buildings, but are now the greatest part of them in ruins; these are generally built of brick and stone. Here is also a stately building of the same materials, appropriated for the education of priests, who receive very considerable profits by their public discourses on the different points of their religion, which is the same as that of the TURKS. They differ from the PERSIANS, not only in regard to MAHOMMED’S successor, but in particular ceremonies: their hatred to the PERSIANS is much greater than to the CHRISTIANS, and they esteem themselves equally unclean by touching either of them; never omitting to wash themselves immediately after leaving their company.

“ The place is not esteemed unhealthy as to the air and soil; but the water is so very bad, that many of the inhabitants are confined several months in the summer by worms in their flesh, which they call RISH-TAS: some of these, when taken out of their bodies, prove to be above 40 inches long. There are also serpents and scorpions which infest their houses, and are very venomous; the sting of the scorpion causes great pain, and sometimes death: the most effectual remedy they find for the immediate cure of this distemper is to bruise the scorpion, and apply it to the wound.

“ The inhabitants of this city are more civilized and polite than those of KHIEVA; but they are also cowardly, cruel, effeminate, and extremely perfidious. Great numbers of JEWS and ARABIANS frequent this place; though they are much oppressed, and often deprived of their whole possessions by the KHAN, or his attendants, who seize them at their pleasure; and notwithstanding they pay most heavy taxes, it is criminal in them to be rich.

“ The

“ The trade of BOKHARA is much declined from what it was formerly : their product is cotton, lamb-furrs, down, rice, and cattle ; and they manufacture soap, cotton-yarn, and callicoe, which they carry to PERSIA, and receive returns in all sorts of manufactures of that country ; such as velvet, silk, cloth, and fashes : woollen-cloth is also brought hither from PERSIA, as likewise shalloons, indigo, coral, and cochineal. They have rhubarb, musk, and castorium, and many other valuable drugs from the black KHALMUCKS and TASHCUND. Formerly they received lapis-lazuli, and other precious stones, from BIDDUKHSHAN, the capital of the country of that name, which is computed sixteen days journey from BOKHARA. But the late wars, and the frequent robberies on the roads make it difficult to procure any of these commodities ; so that they are carried through another channel. The KHAN and his officers are possessed of very rich jewels ; but never dispose of them, unless in cases of the greatest necessity, and even then they are jealous of their being carried out of the country.

“ They make very little consumption of EUROPEAN commodities : as to cloth, they use it mostly in caps ; but no foreign commodity bears a price proportionable to the risque of bringing it to market.

“ Their money is ducats of gold, weighing a MUSCAL, or 3 penny-weight ENGLISH, also a piece of copper, which they call TONGAS, that pass at 50 to 80 to a ducat, according to their size. They have no silver money of their own coin ; but since NADIR SHAH took this place, the PERSIAN and INDIAN silver coin is very current amongst them.

“ The measure in BOKHARA is GAZ, equal to 31 inches ENGLISH ; but they always measure cloth by the PERSIAN measure of 40 inches. Their weights are the BATMANS, containing 16 DRUMSERS ; which last they divide into halves, quarters, &c. each DRUMSER containing 1375 MUSCALS, of which $85\frac{1}{2}$ are equal to a RUSSIAN pound ; so that the BOKHARIAN BATMAN is above 16 pounds.

“ The duty, on all imported goods, belonging either to natives or foreigners, is 1 per cent. and on goods exported 10 per cent. The revenue

“venue from this duty is reckoned 1000 ducats yearly in time of peace,
“which but seldom happens. The PERSIAN and TARTAR languages are
“both spoken here; but all their writings are in the PERSIAN tongue.”

Mr. THOMPSON continued at BOKHARA till May; when he received notice that the ARAL TARTARS had plundered all round KHIEVA; and Mr. HOGG, as already related, happened to be an unfortunate sufferer. As the TARTARS had beset all the roads, and cut off several caravans coming from MESCHED, threatening even BOKHARA itself; Mr. THOMPSON continued impatient till the end of July, having no prospect during that time of travelling with any security. Several people, who had escaped from KHIEVA gave an account that the OUSBEGS had recovered that place, and destroyed the PERSIAN KHAN with all his attendants. Upon this the communication with KHIEVA was prohibited, the PERSIANS intending them a second visit; for which purpose they had ordered provisions for a large body of men.

The road to PERSIA being now the only safe way of returning to RUSSIA, at length he joined some merchants, who, having hired people to conduct them through by-roads into PERSIA, were resolved to run all hazards. He gives the following account of the remainder of his journey.
“On the 8th of August we set out, and travelled east, passing through several OUSBEG villages till the 12th. After turning to the south, and travelling through deserts we came the 16th to the river AMO, and crossed it at KIRKIE, a fort belonging to the OUSBEGS, subject to PERSIA:
“here we paid a small duty, and proceeded south-east through deserts till the 21st, when we arrived at ANTHUY, an OUSBEG city; computed, in the direct road, to be only three days journey from BOKHARA.

“This country was then entirely subject to the PERSIANS, who carry on a great trade in cattle. Here we were detained ten days, waiting for a caravan, which was dispatched the 31st, when we set forward, and travelled west through narrow vallies bounded by high mountains: having passed several villages which were deserted by the OUSBEGS, we arrived the 6th of September at MARGIEHAK, the first PERSIAN city on that

“ side. This is a very strong place, surrounded by a double wall, and
 “ governed by a KHAN : it has a garrison of 500 men, and is defended by
 “ several pieces of cannon. In summer it is very unhealthy, by reason of
 “ the frequent pestilential winds, which often kill those who are exposed
 “ to them. To secure themselves against this inconveniency, the people hide
 “ themselves under ground, or falling flat on the earth, cover themselves
 “ with wet cloaths, till those winds blow over. The cattle which are
 “ most exposed, are generally destroyed by these winds, though they are
 “ but of a short continuance. During our stay here, which was only four
 “ days, most of the people in the caravans fell sick, and great part of the
 “ cattle, which was their chief merchandize, died.

“ On the 11th we travelled still west, through dry and sandy deserts,
 “ where we got only two pots of water during four days, and this was so
 “ bitter, and smelt so strong of sulphur, that the cattle would hardly drink
 “ it. On the 15th, continuing our journey by a high ridge of rocks, and
 “ a small rivulet of salt water, we came at length into a beaten road. We
 “ passed through many villages, the greatest part of which were deserted ;
 “ those which were inhabited being chiefly AFGHANS, brought from the
 “ new-conquered dominions. The country hereabouts is very dry, bar-
 “ ren, and mountainous.

“ September the 22d, we arrived at MESCHED, the capital of KHORA-
 “ SAN, and the favourite city of NADIR. It was at this time governed
 “ by his son RIZA KOULI MYRZA : it is situated to the north of a ridge
 “ of mountains, and is well supplied with water, which is brought hither
 “ in an aqueduct from a great distance : in time of peace it is a place of
 “ great trade, caravans are employed daily from BOKHARA, BALKH,
 “ BIDDUKHSHAN, KANDAHAR, and INDIA ; as well as from all parts of
 “ PERSIA. The BAZARS, or market-places, are large and well built,
 “ filled with rich merchandize, and frequented by great numbers of people
 “ of different nations. There were computed about ninety caravanferais
 “ in this city, all in good repair. Great numbers of people were sent hi-
 “ ther by NADIR SHAH from all parts of PERSIA, as well as from the
 “ new-conquered dominions ; and all other means were used to make it a
 “ flourish-

“flourishing city: it is 14 days journey distant from BOKHARA by the
“direct road, 20 from BALKH, 26 from BIDEUKHSHAN, and 30 from
“KANDAHAR.”

The account which Mr. VAN MIEROP gave of the trade of MESCHED three years afterwards^k, plainly shews how rapid a progress NADIR SHAH made in the ruin of PERSIA, even of this favourite city.

C H A P. LIII.

A succinct account of the distances and appearance of the country between CASBIN and MESCHED, as reported by Mr. VAN MIEROP.

AS I have already given some idea of the nature of the country between RESHD and CASBIN, the following extract of Mr. VAN MIEROP's journal will exhibit a view of the country from CASBIN to MESCHED, which was designed to have been the great mart for our CASPIAN trade.

“From CASBIN we passed over a large plain that produced nothing but
“thistles, which the inhabitants use as fuel, and food for camels. After
“travelling about 25 ENGLISH miles we arrived at the village SHEKENDIE.
“Our journey lay still through the plains, on which are several spots of
“arable land: we travelled 30 miles, and finished our stage at the cara-
“vanferai YENGI IMAM; continuing yet on the same plain as far as the
“caravanferai CARA, 30 miles: the next day we passed over several bridges
“and small rivers, and advanced 30 miles to TEHRAN, in all about 115
“miles, the country being bordered by high mountains on the north and
“south from CASBIN. TEHRAN is a city inclosed with a wall of earth,
“which has many round turrets; but the whole is much decayed: here
“we found provisions in plenty, and the bread exceeding good.

“Our next stage was 35 miles distant to the great caravanferai KUTUB
“HUMBED, near which is a lofty turret covered with glazed tiles. The

^k See this account vol. II. p. 24.

" soil is indifferently fertile, but not sufficiently watered. From hence
 " we travelled to EVANCKEEF; the land was rich and well watered, but
 " uncultivated. The next day we advanced 30 miles to the village KARA,
 " passing by a rock of salt, which is covered with a thin coat of earth
 " and mossy substance. From hence we proceeded 2 miles to the village
 " PAHDE, where we found the country well cultivated, and abounding in
 " water. DEHMAMECK caravanferai is the next stage, at the distance of
 " 20 miles, the land hereabout is either clay or gravel, and the water
 " so salt that we could not drink it. From thence to the village POCH-
 " LAKABA is 30 miles; the road lies on a plain, which is intersected by
 " several ridges of small hills. The village DESORGE lay in our way at
 " the distance of ten miles, the road of gravel, and very stony. From
 " thence, at the foot of several hills, we travelled 15 miles to SEMNON,
 " where it is supposed Mr. CRÆME^a was murdered. Ascending the hills
 " we proceeded 35 miles to the caravanferai AHUAN; thence travelling
 " over several hills and valleys for 24 miles, we came to the caravanferai
 " KOSHAW, situated in an extended plain, on which are different villages
 " in a rich arable and well watered country.

" Leaving the road which leads to MAZANDERAN, we travelled 29
 " miles over a fertile country to DAMGOON^b. This has formerly been a
 " very neat town, but now three quarters of it are in ruins: the country from
 " hence is more stony and barren. Travelling under the mountains on the
 " north side of us for 33 miles, we came to DEMONLAH. The country
 " from hence to BEKEIST is well peopled and watered, and the soil rich;
 " from the last mentioned place the plain rises with a gradual ascent to
 " the hills on the south. We travelled thence 40 miles to MEY A MEY;
 " our rout lay along the side of the hills, where we found a number of
 " people from KOUHESTAN, living in tents made of black hair cloths;
 " having travelled 50 miles we arrived at the caravanferai of MEONDASHT.
 " From hence to ABASABAD is, with variety of soils, 25 miles: We

^a This was the factor who first set out with JOHN ELTON.

^b Here was fought the memorable battle between the PERSIANS and the AFGHANS in 1729, which reinstated TEHMAS. DR LISLE places this town much farther to the westward.

“ passed several hills of a flaty copper-coloured stone, and advanced ten
 “ miles to a river upon which is a bridge called PULABRISHIM, near
 “ the village MEZINAN. The waters which flow from the mountains on
 “ the north side are extremely salt, and come down with that impetuosi-
 “ ty as frequently to overflow the bridge. The country hereabout was
 “ rich and populous, being covered with villages, and abundance of cattle.
 “ We went on 23 miles to the caravanferai TAVRIZE, which was new and
 “ clean; from thence to the village MEHOR is 6 miles.

“ Passing over a fertile and well-manured country through CHOSROGERD,
 “ we advanced 18 miles to SEBSAWAR^d, which is a considerable walled-
 “ town, and has a good market; from hence we passed over a plain, and
 “ several small hills, 33 miles to the caravanferai SAFRANI: leaving this
 “ place, and passing over hills and plains 21 miles to HAUZESINK, we
 “ proceeded to an encampment, most of the people here living in tents.
 “ Our next stage was 31 miles, through a populous country well watered,
 “ and abounding in corn, to NISHABOOR, which we found well inhabited,
 “ and in pretty good condition; and though small, it has a good market-
 “ place. From hence to KADEMGAH is 21 miles, through a country di-
 “ versified with hills and plains; near this place is a mosque covered with
 “ blue-glazed tiles, which the PERSIANS hold in some veneration. From
 “ hence there is a short cut over the hills to MESCHED, but it is passable
 “ only in summer. Our next journey was 21 miles over stony plains and
 “ hills to the caravanferai TIKIR DAVID; thence 21 miles over the
 “ north part of the hills to the caravanferai GUMBEZDIRAS; from thence
 “ cross steep stony hills 27 miles to the caravanferai TULOOK; from
 “ thence over a plain, it is 6 miles to MESCHED. The whole distance
 “ from RESHD is 782 ENGLISH miles^e, according to the nearest compu-
 “ tation we could make from the hours we were on the road, always tra-
 “ velling an equal pace.”

^d Here SHAH TÄHMAS was confined.
 unless we allow for a great circuit.

^e This seems to be rather too large a computation,

C H A P. LIV.

Extract of a journal^a relating to the rout of the RUSSIAN embassy into PERSIA in 1746; with a description of the countries from ASTRACHAN as far as DERBEND.

“**H**ER imperial majesty ELIZABETH PETROWNA, empress of all the RUSSIAS, having been pleased to send an embassy to NADIR SHAH OF PERSIA, his excellency KNEZ GALITZEN received a commission for this purpose.

“The presents intended for the PERSIAN monarch, consisted of clocks, watches, gold silver and PINCHBECK snuff-boxes, set with stones, or embossed; toys, rich silks, brocades, embroidered works; twenty fine horses of ENGLISH, SPANISH, GERMAN, ITALIAN, TURKISH, and PERSIAN breed: these were, for the most part, sent by sea to GHILAN. The ambassador had a coach, as well as riding-horses, prepared for him, and his retinue had several other vehicles for baggage, provisions, and water. The persons appointed to attend the ambassador were the physician, surgeon^b, officers of the ambassador's household, keeper of the chancery, secretary, writers, all in number eighteen; he had 30 domestics, a guard of two troops of horse, and 60 fusiliers.

“His excellency departed from ASTRACHAN the 24th of September 1746, and crossing the VOLGA, encamped on the western side of that river. The next day we directed our journey northward on the banks of the VOLGA for about four wersts, and then turned to the west upon the top of a sandy hill covered on each side with lakes of fresh water; to the south of it there was plenty of grass for our horses. The moon rising, in the evening we decamped, directing our coast westward in a deep sandy road, leaving several lakes of fresh water to the south-east; and

^a This journal being defective in some particulars, I have taken the liberty of inserting some descriptions taken from other authorities equally good.

^b Dr. COOKE, now a graduate physician in SCOTLAND, to whom I am obliged for the journal above mentioned.

“ early the next morning, the 26th, we pitched our tents near the lake
 “ BAHUSHY, which is brackish water, having travelled about 30 wersts
 “ from our last stage. The country here affords little more than worm-
 “ wood, and such like herbs, which delight in a sandy and warm soil im-
 “ pregnated with salt. The reeds which grow here serve as food for the
 “ horses of the KHALMUCKS, and other TARTARS, the leaves thereof be-
 “ ing more grateful to them than grass. Our road lying southward, we
 “ proceeded on our journey through a sandy country, abounding in lakes
 “ of brackish water; the banks have plenty of liquorish and marsh tre-

1. In the evening we encamped near the lake BASHMACHAN, 70
 “ wersts from ASTRACHAN, where we fell in with a body of KHAL-
 “ MUCKS, who had several droves of cattle; this put us under the ne-
 “ cessity of doubling our watch, to prevent their stealing any of our horses.
 “ The weather was cold, and the wind raising the sand and dust, made
 “ our journey painful.

“ The 27th we encamped on the south-side of a barren mountain,
 “ with a lake of brackish water at the foot of it; and then directing our
 “ course southward, we travelled over a sandy country to a lake of water
 “ more potable than any we had yet met with; here the plains produce
 “ grats.

“ The 28th, Just as the sun appeared at the verge of the horizon we
 “ encamped near the caravanferai SIZELLE, near which is a lake of po-
 “ table water lying east and west, where we filled fourteen large casks.
 “ At this interval we saw a great party of TARTARS riding on dromeda-
 “ ries, and armed with sabres, bows and arrows; also a body of KHAL-
 “ MUCKS armed and mounted on horseback; but they did not seem
 “ inclined to interrupt our march. From this place we took our course
 “ southward over hills which abound in antilopes*. Thence we proceeded
 “ to DEVRALY, which is covered by high sandy hills to the north east
 “ and south-west. The reader will observe, that though here are a few
 “ caravanferais, the country has no fixed inhabitants. We now reckoned
 “ ourselves to be near 160 wersts from ASTRACHAN.

* The RUSSIANS and TARTARS call them SAIGON.

“ The next day we travelled 27 wersts, and were necessitated to encamp
“ on the top of a sandy hill, having some marshy ground below it, where
“ we found reeds and grafs, with a lake of brackish water to the eastward.
“ From hence we had an extensive view of a desert, on which not a
“ shrub was to be seen, and very little grafs.

“ The 30th we departed from hence, our journey still lying through a
“ a hilly and sandy country, much the same as has been already described,
“ except that the sand was browner, and, what necessarily drew our atten-
“ tion, was mixed with a great number of broken sea-shells, which lay
“ in waves, as snow driven by the wind. We found here several springs
“ of fresh water, but so choaked with sand, that they were of little use
“ to us. Here is also a great quantity of moor-fowl, whose feathers are
“ brown, and beautifully spotted with white, but so wild that we could
“ not kill any of them: the RUSSIANS call this place EDERGINE. Our
“ next encampment was on a plain, where we had not the relief of any
“ kind of water.

“ October the 1st, we travelled 17 wersts, and encamped on a rising
“ ground on the side of a lake of brackish water, which our cattle would
“ hardly drink. After passing the river KUMA, which is computed 350
“ wersts from ASTRACHAN, the country is not so hilly; and as we advanced
“ southward, it abounded more in verdure. The grafs we found here
“ was highly welcome to our cattle, which had suffered very much for
“ want of provender. We encamped near the lake ADACK, whose waters
“ are salt, and where the gnats were so numerous, that we were obliged
“ to make fires round our encampment, and suffer the inconvenience of
“ smok, rather than of those vexatious insects.

“ The 2d, we found fresh water, which our horses had not tasted for
“ four days: here PETER the GREAT left three large bombs erected on
“ each other, as a kind of monument of his having passed that way, and
“ probably with an intent that the sight of such instruments of death
“ might give the roving TARTARS the higher idea of his military power.
“ From thence travelling to the hill ALI SHAH, we met a detachment of
“ forty

“ forty RUSSIAN dragoons from KISLAR, who brought with them seventy
 “ horses for the use of the ambassador.

The 3d, Our course lay through a barren plain to the small river BE-
 “ KISHEFF MOYAK, on the banks of which the TARTARS report that
 “ poisonous herbs grow, which kill their cattle. Upon examination we
 “ found it to be only the small sort of KALI^c; and, to convince them of
 “ their mistake, some of us eat of it. The fact is, that horses coming
 “ from ASTRACHAN, and suffering extremely for want of grass and water,
 “ are by the unskilfulness of their riders, suffered to eat and drink too
 “ much. The whole country between ASTRACHAN and this place is
 “ impregnated with salt, and some of the lakes are covered with it, inso-
 “ much that at certain seasons it is thick enough to bear a man or a horse;
 “ thus if it is considered, what a quantity of undissolved salt must line the
 “ stomach and guts of these animals, their blood-vessels being also satu-
 “ rated with it, it is easy to imagine what mischief it must create, when
 “ the vessels come to be distended beyond their natural spring, at the same
 “ time that many of their excretions are stopped up. We could not dis-
 “ cover that horses coming from KISLAR are subject to the same mis-
 “ fortune as here, and by the precaution we took, though we had 350
 “ horses, not one of them died.

“ The 3d, we travelled on the banks of the small river BECKECHAY,
 “ which being covered with verdure, and the waters transparent, as the
 “ small rivers here for the most part are, afforded us great delight. This
 “ country abounds with foxes, hares, and pheasants. Hence we passed
 “ the river BOROSDA, which being more considerable than the others, we
 “ were obliged to use a bridge of timber, and incamping in a marshy
 “ ground on the south-side of the river, the next day, the 4th, we arrived
 “ at KISLAR, which is computed 500 wersts from ASTRACHAN.

“ KISLAR stands on the river TERECK, sometimes called the river KIZ-
 “ LAR, though a barrier against the TARTARS, it is a very mean place: at the
 “ west end of the old town there is a fortification with a deep broad ditch
 “ flanked with counterscarps. Here are commonly 500 soldiers from the

^c Or ALKALI, glass-wort, the ash of this is used in making glass and soap.

“ garrison of ASTRACHAN, and, upon some occasions, three or four marching regiments, with four or five thousand COSSACKS, who are CHRISTI-
 “ ANS, besides CIRCASSIAN TARTARS^d; the latter are commanded by their
 “ BEHURICH, or chief, and are the proper inhabitants of this country:
 “ they are a well-made people, particularly their women, who are also
 “ comely and chaste. The men are reckoned more warlike than the DON
 “ COSSACKS, though they acknowledge that courage is less esteemed
 “ amongst them than in former days. They were conquered by IVAN
 “ WASSILOWITZ, but have been indulged in the use of their own religion,
 “ which is MAHOMMEDAN, they have two mosques a little westward of
 “ KISLAR, and also nine villages^e. They acknowledge subjection to her
 “ imperial majesty, to which they are very faithful, though they com-
 “ plain of the oppression of the RUSSIAN governors who are set over them.

“ About 30 wersts to the south-west of KISLAR, on the first CIRCAS-
 “ SIAN mountain lying on the south of the river TERECK, there is a well
 “ about 40 fathom perpendicular, from which issues boiling water
 “ into a stone basin, which soon falls down a precipice near 30 fathoms
 “ into the TERECK, in sufficient quantities to turn the wheel of a mill.
 “ The TARTARS convey it also into pits, and find great relief in many
 “ complaints from bathing in it. Amongst several experiments which the
 “ surgeon made of this water, he found that after it was bottled up
 “ close for a short time, the smell of the naptha went off. Near this
 “ hill are seven springs of the same kind of water, and also one
 “ which appears to be impregnated with allum, being so acid and re-
 “ stringent as not to be borne long in the mouth. The surgeon made al-
 “ so an experiment of the heat of the well-water, by boiling a fowl in it
 “ in nine minutes; this sudden coction seemed to be caused by the quan-
 “ tity of naptha, of which the water is impregnated, as is obvious from the
 “ smell of it. Not far distant there are several small pits dug in the earth,
 “ in which there is salt of the utmost brightness and purity of colour,
 “ which dissolves in the mouth instantaneously, giving a very pungent sen-

^d Part of the CIRCASSIANS of KABARDINTIA are under the protection of RUSSIA: but the major part acknowledge the sovereignty of the TURKS.

^e The RUSSIANS call these GREBINSKIE.

“sation. Though the weather was now very cold, the warmth of these
“wells of hot water produced near them the verdure and flowers of
“spring, and a great concourse of frogs. About half a mile westward of
“this hill are 7 wells of naphtha, in which the wild swine delight to lie;
“the TARTARS use it for their lamps, and for the axle-trees of their
“carts. At the back of these mountains are the CIRCASSIAN TARTARS,
“of whom some are subject to RUSSIA; their country extends westward
“towards the PALUS MÆOTIS. Of these, we were assured, some are
“pagans, and worship a tree, and the head of a goat^f.

“January the 4th, 1747, after spending our time for three months as
“well as such a place would admit, having been much confined for fear
“of the roving TARTARS; the ambassador now received notice, that
“an escort of PERSIANS, reported to be 12,000 men, was come on the
“RUSSIAN frontier to meet him. We therefore set forward, and tra-
“versing a marshy and woody ground, which the snow had rendered al-
“most impassable, we encamped on the south-east side of the small river
“BURGINE, where the RUSSIANS keep an advanced guard. The 5th,
“the country being covered with snow, made our journey laborious.
“Passing the river STZUTZJA, we encamped on the banks of the AXAN^g.

“Though it had frozen but four days, we passed over the ice on the
“AXAN without the least danger, and on the 6th arrived at a TARTAR
“town under the RUSSIAN protection; though otherwise a kind of inde-
“pendent state. The prince of it was called ALI SHEFF: it stands on a
“high bank on the north side of the river AHRAHIN, and contains about
“300 houses; the walls of which are of clay whitened with lime. The
“inhabitants are the most acute thieves in the world, insomuch that the
“utmost precaution we could use, was not sufficient to prevent their pilfer-
“ing us; and near to this is another TARTAR village subject to the RUS-
“SIANS, called ANDREWSKA. The next day we passed the ford of AH-
“RAHIN, which is about 300 paces broad, and the stream rapid: then

^f A FRENCH missionary, whom I knew in PERSIA, offered to go amongst these people; but he said the RUSSIANS were jealous.

^g By the RUSSIANS sometimes called OXI and ATFOUS.

“ directing our course eastward, we arrived near the antient SULAK, where
 “ stood a fortification formerly belonging to the RUSSIANS^h. On the
 “ banks of the AHRAHIN grows plenty of short wood, which is very hea-
 “ vy, and the bark of it being taken off, is of a beautiful variegated co-
 “ lour. Proceeding on our journey through a wood of oaks intwined
 “ with vines, we reached the small river TERSCALY, which is called the
 “ boundary of the RUSSIAN dominion towards PERSIA; though we might,
 “ with more propriety say, towards DAGHESTAN, the country of the
 “ LESGEE TARTARS; for they have not acknowledged subjection to PER-
 “ SIA. Here several PERSIAN officers, attended by a guard, came to
 “ compliment the ambassador on his arrival. This river, though small,
 “ is rapid, and even in the summer season not fordable towards noon; for
 “ as the stupendous mountains, which almost surround it, are ever covered
 “ with snow, when the sun acts intensely, torrents of water fall from
 “ themⁱ.

“ The 9th, we encamped a short mile from the PERSIAN ar-
 “ my. A detachment of our COSSACKS being sent for fuel, one of
 “ them was shot dead through the body with a single ball. The 11th,
 “ we joined the PERSIANS, and marching under the mountains BISCHANS-
 “ KY, we pitched our tents on a plain ground. The next day our road
 “ was also on a plain, having some lakes of water on the east, and lofty
 “ mountains on the west. Several camels belonging to the PERSIANS
 “ dropped with fatigue, and they either cut their throats, or ham-strung

^h “ This fortification was intended to awe the CIRCASSIAN TARTARS as far as TAREU, as they
 “ frequently made inroads into the lower countries. At BONACK the RUSSIANS built another fort,
 “ with a view to preserve the communication between RUSSIA and DERBEND. From thence to
 “ SHARRAN quite to BAKU I never learnt that they built any fortifications, or that the LESGEE
 “ TARTARS troubled them with any visits. The country from KISLAR quite to RESHD was under
 “ the RUSSIAN subjection, in consequence of the conquest made by PETER the GREAT; it is
 “ bounded by the mountains on the west, and by the CASPIAN on the east. The chief towns are
 “ TAREU, BOYNAE, DERBEND, BAKU, ASTARA, KESKAR, and RESHD, and their dependencies.
 “ Some of the inhabitants of the MOGAN plains, it is also said, acknowledged the sovereignty of RUS-
 “ SIA, and paid some small tribute.

ⁱ “ The gentleman who obliged me with the journal, being a north BRITON, takes notice that the
 highlands of SCOTLAND are but as mole-hills to these mountains.

“ them,

“ them, that the TARTARS might not, on their recovery, receive any benefit.

“ The 13th, Yesterday and to-day we passed through several tracts of arable land, the road being indifferently good till we arrived on the north side of the mountain TARKU, whose summit appears like a table ; its highest side declines towards the lofty mountains already mentioned ; there is another large rock on the surface of it in an orbicular form : this is separated from the other mountains by a deep valley. About two miles from the sea is a beautiful plain ; near the foot of the mountain were vineyards and gardens of fruit, which the PERSIANS entirely cut down for the use of the ambassador and his retinue ; alledging however that the TARTARS had killed or stolen 15 PERSIANS belonging to their body the night before ; for though these villagers profess subjection to the PERSIANS, yet whenever an opportunity offers to commit any hostility in a secret manner, they seldom decline their ancient custom.

“ On the declivity of this hill are three TARTAR villages about an ENGLISH mile distant from each other, which contained about 1000 souls ; and notwithstanding their vicinity, were in a state of war. The TARTAR princes, who formerly extended their dominions as far as the black sea, it is said, chose this hill as their residence, which is the more probable from the several extensive burial-places near it, where are many monuments of stone, with hieroglyphics expressing the characters and professions of the deceased. In this place the LESGEES attacked PETER the GREAT in 1722, when he marched an army into PERSIA ; and, according to some reports, they killed no less than 3000 RUSSIANS. Some part of the ambassador's retinue went to the nearest village, and were civilly treated ; the TARTARS offered them two large loaves of bread, in exchange for a gun flint.

“ The 16th, leaving TARKU, and passing over several stony hills, we pitched our tents on the high banks of the little river MANAS, and from thence through deep vallies, which made the journey tedious, into an open plain where the RUSSIAN army in 1722, was again attacked.

“ by the TARTARS, who were soon repulsed. A detachment of them
 “ now took their stand upon an eminence near BOYNAK. Not far from
 “ this place the POLISH ambassador, in his return from PERSIA in 1639,
 “ having, by his fault or misfortune, quarrelled with the inhabitants, was
 “ cut off with his whole retinue, three only excepted, who escaped into
 “ PERSIA. Nor were the HOLSTEIN ambassadors in less perplexity the
 “ year before, when all their prudence and resolution seemed necessary to
 “ ward off the blow which they had reason to apprehend from the DA-
 “ GESTAN TARTARS. Things indeed were now very differently circum-
 “ stanced, not only with regard to the terror of the RUSSIAN arms in ge-
 “ neral, but also of the neighbourhood of the RUSSIAN garrisons.

“ The 17th we passed by an old PERSIAN castle, near which we view-
 “ ed the plains where NADIR SHAH lost a great number of his forces three
 “ years before in the rebellion of SHIRVAN, in which the LESGEEES took
 “ part. This country is well stocked with wild hogs and elks; we killed
 “ a very large boar that we roused in the midst of our camp.

“ The 18th, our course lay along the side of low sandy hills to the east-
 “ ward of us, and we encamped in a plain where NADIR SHAH had built
 “ a fort to awe the TARTARS, but it was now deserted. Here we found great
 “ plenty of game, as swine, deer, elks, hares, foxes, and shackals, with abun-
 “ dance of partridges, pheasants, quails, wild geese, ducks, and other fowls.
 “ The next day we travelled over a country more cultivated; and passing by
 “ a well of hot water, we pitched our tents on the declivity of DERBEND hill,
 “ the city appearing about two miles distance. From hence are seen seve-
 “ ral turrets yet perfect, which the PERSIANS pretend are part of a wall
 “ built by ALEXANDER the GREAT, from hence quite to the black sea.
 “ The mountains here make a very awful appearance, reaching above the
 “ clouds, so that their summits are hardly visible in the clearest weather.

C H A P. LV.

A continuation of the RUSSIAN embassy. Description of DERBEND and its confines. An account of the government, dress, religion, soil, trade, &c. of the LESGEE TARTARS.

“ **T**HE 20th of January 1747, we pitched our tents under the south-wall of DERBEND: the ambassador would have preferred that situation to the city, where he could not have accommodated all his guard and retinue; had there been no objection to their admittance.

“ A city of such great antiquity as this, and so often mentioned by historians, deserves more than common attention, especially as it is the only place now standing upon the shores of the CASPIAN sea, which has any thing to boast of. It is natural to believe, that historians often borrow from each other, few taking the pains to examine into a fact, the reality of which no one has pretended to confute. The curious will find many circumstances to incline their belief, that DERBEND was built by ALEXANDER the GREAT*. They do not however ascribe the whole to him, but the highest and strongest part which is to the westward.

“ This city has often changed its master, having been several times in the hands of the TURKS; the TARTARS also are said to have had possession of it. The RUSSIANS kept it for several years during this century; and now it is again in the hands of the PERSIANS. According to the nearest computation, it is about 3 ENGLISH miles in length, but in breadth not exceeding half a mile. It extends itself from the verge of the shore due west up to the foot of a lofty mountain, the whole on a declivity; and its natural situation is such as to form in strict propriety, the gates of

* When PETER the GREAT returned from his PERSIAN war, the greatest motive to triumph seemed to be the receipt of the silver key of DERBEND, which was delivered to him, and which in a pompous manner was carried before him when he entered MOSCOO; and the foundation of DERBEND being ascribed to ALEXANDER the GREAT, this gave occasion to the following inscription on one of the triumphal arches erected on this occasion:

StrVXerat hanC fortis, tenet
hanC, sed fortior VibeM.

“ PERSIA on this side; for there is no passage to the westward without
 “ going deep into the mountains, which are guarded by their proper inha-
 “ bitants, who have not submitted to the PERSIAN yoke. This place is di-
 “ vided into three quarters, appropriated to different purposes, each having
 “ their distinct walls, which serve also to render the ground more equal
 “ on the declivity.

“ The upper town, which is about half a mile square, constitutes the cita-
 “ del, and is incomparably the strongest. As the PERSIANS have been in war
 “ with the TARTARS for several years, they are extremely jealous; infor-
 “ mation that some of the ambassador’s people, who approached the exte-
 “ rior part of the walls of the citadel, were beat off with stones, and several
 “ musquets discharged at them. No person is permitted to enter it but
 “ the soldiers which belong to the garrison, except upon extraordinary oc-
 “ casions. The citadel has its distinct governor, with whom the other does
 “ not interfere: they mount about 40 pieces of cannon; but what their
 “ strength otherwise was, we had no opportunity of observing.

“ The walls of the middle town are about 30 feet high, near 20 feet
 “ thick at the foundation, and 12 or 15 in the upper part, having a breast-
 “ work of about 3 feet thick, and port-holes at convenient distances for
 “ musquets, or bows and arrows: It is defended also by about 60 flanking
 “ bastions, for the most part square, but of greater use against the TAR-
 “ TARS than they could be to oppose an EUROPEAN army. The walls are
 “ made of a shelly stone, which appears to be a composition of sea-
 “ shells very strongly cemented. How nature has produced these, or whether
 “ they remained from the deluge, we must leave the curious to determine;
 “ only observing, that such shells do not appear on any of the CASPIAN
 “ shores. It is certain however that the rocks about the town are of the
 “ same composition, which, though hard as a stone, has a different pro-
 “ perty, inasmuch as a cannon-ball has no other effect, than to make an
 “ impression of its own diameter^b.

“ The

^a Captain WOODROOFE, from whom I take part of this account, says these stones in the out-
 side are for the most part of two or three tons in measurement, and some yet more weighty.
 They

“ The gates of the city have very strong and well-made arches, with
 “ sliding holes to shoot arrows, or throw down great stones on the enemy.
 “ In the middle city they are not scrupulous of admitting foreigners. The
 “ streets are not regular, nor are they paved at present, though they have
 “ been so formerly; many of the houses are supported on one side by the
 “ hill; but numbers are fallen down, and the greatest part in ruins. It
 “ is hardly possible to describe the miseries which this place suffered about
 “ four years before, when NADIR SHAH came in person against the LES-
 “ GEES; we saw a specimen of it by the carcases of horses, and other ani-
 “ mals, which were suffered to remain in the streets, and in ruined houses.
 “ We found also in this town about 500 men, whose eyes NADIR SHAH
 “ had caused to be put out at one time. Here is a very magnificent mosque,
 “ the roof of which is supported by 84 arches: NADIR SHAH converted it
 “ into a magazine^b; we went into it on horseback without giving any kind
 “ of offence. Here are several caravanserais that belong to the ARMENIANS,
 “ and are much the best.

“ The easternmost part of the lower city is washed by the sea, the rising
 “ of which has, of late years, made no small impression upon the walls.
 “ These are guarded by two round bastions, without which there was for-
 “ merly a harbour for small vessels. It was not till of late that this lower town
 “ had any inhabitants; but NADIR, having built a palace in it, caused several
 “ streets of houses also to be erected, with a view to establish a considera-
 “ ble commerce in the city, which he made a free port^c. Here PETER
 “ the GREAT established his principal magazines; and the PERSIAN soldiers
 “ now keep their flocks in this part of the city: but the TARTARS, ei-
 “ ther by undermining or scaling the walls, frequently make incursions in
 “ the night in small parties, carrying away whatever they meet with.

They are very well jointed, and regularly laid. OLEARIUS remarked in 1638, that a man might judge the wall to be built of the best and fairest kind of free-stone; but coming near, he says they appeared to be “ muscle shells and pieces of free-stone beaten and moulded like brick, which time has produced to a hardness beyond that of marble;” but there is no doubt they are of the same nature as some of the adjacent rocks.

^b This is the building which rendered the TURKS so scrupulous of yielding up the city to PETER the GREAT.

^c This seems to have been a well concerted scheme towards the reduction of the LESGEE TARTARS.

“ The cruelties which are reciprocally exercised between the PERSIANS
 “ and LESGEES are hardly to be conceived: such as are taken and suspect-
 “ ed of being spies, have their eyes put out, and are turned out of the ci-
 “ ty: many who are made prisoners in battle, have both their arms cut off,
 “ and such as are taken in their flight have frequently their legs cut
 “ off, and are left to expire in the field in these miserable circum-
 “ stances, unless they are secretly and accidentally relieved by their coun-
 “ trymen. The leaders of them they decapitate, and throw their heads
 “ into a heap in the manner they pile shot^d.

“ On the south side of DERBEND are many vineyards and gardens, which
 “ are continued for near 8 miles to the southward; but these, as well as
 “ their arable lands, have partaken the common fate of war. On both
 “ sides of the city, on the declivity of the hill, are many antient burial-
 “ places; and the PERSIANS report, that of these are not less than 40 belonging
 “ to CHRISTIAN TARTAR princes, who have died fighting for their religion.
 “ There are many antient tomb-stones, from 6 to 9 feet long, which co-
 “ ver the graves, with inscriptions not intelligible to any of the present in-
 “ habitants. The PERSIANS, who deal much in the marvellous, endea-
 “ voured to persuade us, that these stones were cut in length exactly to the
 “ stature of the deceased^e.

“ As the neighbourhood of this city is the country of the LESGEE
 “ TARTARS; before we depart from hence, it is necessary we should say
 “ something concerning them, and the more as they are well known to
 “ be some of the bravest people in the world. Their country extends
 “ south from near the latitude of TARKU about 40 leagues, and 25 west-
 “ ward. They are under several different chiefs^f, who, in case of dan-
 “ ger to their common liberty, unite their forces. Some few of them have
 “ been occasionally subjected to the PERSIANS; but the CARACAITA^g,
 “ and their neighbours to the north and west of the PERSIAN dominions,

^d Captain WOODROOFE, who was some time at DERBEND during the war with the TARTARS, makes this report.

^e According to WOODROOFE's account.

^f The governors of districts, some of whom pay homage to the PERSIANS; those are called SCHEMKALLS.

^g A species of LESGEES so called.

“ it does not appear, at any period of time, that they have ever submitted.
 “ Indeed their situation is such, with regard to the natural bulwarks of
 “ their mountains, that so long as they retain their virtue, they can hardly
 “ be enslaved : their chief is called OUSMAI. OLEARIUS gives an account
 “ of the humourous manner of their chusing the SCHEMKALL. This is
 “ done by the priest throwing a golden apple in a ring, round which the
 “ candidates are seated, and the person whom it stops at, becomes their
 “ sovereign ; but as they live under a kind of a republican government, the
 “ distinction paid him is not very considerable.

“ These people are able to bring 30 or 40 thousand men into the
 “ field. The residence of the OUSMAI is about 30 ENGLISH miles north-west
 “ of DERBEND. They have had frequent wars with the PERSIANS, and
 “ lastly with NADIR SHAH, who, with 15,000 men, pursued a large body
 “ of them into the hills ; but was at length glad to retreat, after sustaining
 “ a very considerable loss. Several PERSIANS, who were taken prisoners
 “ on that occasion, were cruelly maimed in their noses, ears, or eyes, and
 “ sent to NADIR with messages of defiance.

“ These people are often guilty of rapine, not only in the low-lands,
 “ and in large bodies, but also in flying parties, pillaging the ARMENIANS
 “ and GEORGIANS, whose trade brings them between BAKU and DERBEND ;
 “ otherwise they are often obliged to pay a heavy contribution for a safe
 “ convoy. These TARTARS are however remarkable in this, that if
 “ any stranger travelling into their country, or on the borders of it,
 “ seeks their protection, and chuses a guide from among them, let him
 “ meet never so strong a party, it is enough if the guide declares that the
 “ stranger is his guest ; for they are hardly known to violate the laws
 “ of hospitality in any instance of this nature.

“ In their persons they are well made, of good stature, and extremely
 “ active : their countenance is swarthy, their features regular, and their
 “ eyes black, and full of life.

“ Their dress resembles the GREEK or ARABIAN manner, many of
 “ them wearing the same kind of drawers reaching down to their ancles.

“ Their caps are not so lofty as those of the PERSIANS, neither do all of
 “ them wear their beards, some preferring whiskers only.

“ They live after the manner of the PERSIANS, professing the MAHOMME-
 “ DAN religion; but at the same time they talk very lightly of the pretend-
 “ ed miracles of MAHOMMED; adding, that he was a very artful man, and
 “ whether he has any particular interest with the ALMIGHTY, will be best
 “ known hereafter. That they once professed the CHRISTIAN religion,
 “ seems to be in the highest degree probable. A FRENCH missionary,
 “ who resided some time in their country, affirms, that he found among
 “ them several books relating to CHRISTIANITY. The same is confirmed
 “ by the expedition which NADIR SHAH made, when, among other
 “ spoils, he brought away divers books, some of which he had the curio-
 “ sity to order to be translated; and from thence also it appeared, that
 “ they had been CHRISTIANS. The PERSIANS will hardly be persuaded
 “ that they do not continue such, seeing that they drink wine without re-
 “ serve, and marry but one woman^b.

“ Their vallies are exceeding fertile, producing plenty of wheat, oats,
 “ and barley, with abundance of sheep, whilst their hills are covered with
 “ vines, from which they make very good wine, and have great plenty
 “ of it. Their country is for the most part very pleasant. They are
 “ ingenious in several manufactures of wool and camels hair; and none
 “ of the neighbouring nations equal them in making fire-arms, which
 “ they sell to the PERSIANS. The ARMENIANS bring them dyed calli-
 “ coes, and other manufactures of PERSIA, also rings, knives, and ear-rings
 “ made in EUROPE, in return of which they receive madder^c; also fire-
 “ arms, and coarse woollen manufactures; together with false PERSIAN
 “ money; for as the coin of this empire is made small and thick, it is counter-
 “ feited exactly with very little silver. It is said the ARMENIANS accept of this

^a A JESUIT, with whom I was particularly acquainted in GHILAN; and from whom I received the greatest part of this account.

^b According to the missionary's account; others say that a plurality is allowed; so that I imagine they differ from each other in this particular in different parts of their country.

^c A root which dyes red.

“ counterfeit for a quarter part of it's current value ; however this may be,
 “ it is certain there are great quantities of this money in PERSIA, not only
 “ silver, but gold also. These TARTARS trade likewise with the RUS-
 “ SIANS with their madder, taking in exchange, shoes, boots, and cloathing
 “ of dressed sheep-skins.”

C H A P. LVI.

*Continuation of the RUSSIAN embassy, with a description of the tract of
 country from DERBEND to BAKU, and a succinct account of this city.*

“ **T**HE 29th of January 1747. we left DERBEND, marching south-
 “ ward, the high mountain on which that city stands, being on the
 “ west, and the sea to the eastward of us: we travelled by several woods;
 “ and over a small river, and encamped on a plain 17 wersts from DER-
 “ BEND. We had already, on the other side of that city, been much in-
 “ commoded with shackalls; but here their howling was more intoler-
 “ ble, when one begins, they all take the cry ; however they do no other
 “ mischief.

“ The 30th, We passed two very high ridges covered with grass, which
 “ the PERSIANS said were the walls of a great city, once the residence of
 “ the princes of the hilly country. From thence directing our march
 “ through the ruins of a large town, a wood of oaks, and some arable
 “ land, though now deserted, we passed the URBAS, and several little rivers,
 “ till we reached the SAMBUR, which is near a mile broad. The course
 “ of this river is rapid, but we passed it without difficulty, and pitched our
 “ tents on the south banks, leaving behind us a small fort on the north side.
 “ Here we found great plenty of wild swine, hares, partridges, and pheasants,
 “ also a moor-fowl, the flesh of which was very delicious. From thence
 “ travelling through a country of rich ground well watered, and indiffe-
 “ rently wooded for about 12 wersts, we passed through another town in
 “ ruins: from hence the country is more sandy.

“ From

“February the 21st, We pitched our tents on the declivity of a hill, having a castle to the south-west. It was now clear weather and hard frost; we had the view of a very remarkable mountain, called the SHAM’s hill, from which the snow appeared in a great variety of hues. The next day we passed many rivulets, six of which were not inconsiderable; their banks are well wooded with timber. We encamped near the castle of SHIRVAN, where there was a garrison of 500 PERSIANS. The 3d, we passed not far from the ruins of a large city, said to be the old SHAMAKIE*, and pitched our tents on the declivity of a verdant hill, having the sea at a small distance to the eastward.

“The 4th, We arrived at the caravanferai, which is esteemed the first in the PERSIAN dominions; from hence are to be seen the remains of some old walls which run into the sea. Near this caravanferai is the peak SPITZBERMACK, which in form resembles a man’s hand, and is of the same kind of matter as the walls of DERBEND. Some of our company made an excursion to the foot of it, and thence up a steep hill to a fort, which has a battlement round it of hewn stone. This runs on the south side of the rock till it forms the summit of a precipice, whose bottom the hazy weather did not permit us to discover. There are several square holes, as if intended to throw down stones, and an arched vault, of which part is broken down: from thence we climbed up about 30 fathoms to the top of the peak; it forms near a semicircle, round which we observed the remains of a wall. On the south side there are above 100 stone steps, by which we descended, and found a small square platform, surrounded with a wall of about 12 feet on each side; then going on northward, we saw nothing but a precipice, till the clouds intercepted our sight, though the sky above us was serene. We then passed between an opening in the rock to the west side, and came to a small square, where we found a book in a niche of one of the walls, the characters of which we apprehended to be ARABIC; the paper was very hard and unpliant. This romantic scene, which is difficult to describe, the PERSIANS and TARTARS believe to be the residence of the

* NADIR SHAM removed the inhabitants to the westward over the mountains.

“ prophet ELIAS when he fled from AHAB. Near it is the burying-place
 “ of some of the MAHOMMEDAN prophets. From hence appeared the
 “ summits of many mountains raising their proud heads above the clouds.
 “ We now returned the same way as we came to the head of the steps, and
 “ observed at the south end of the peak a pillar of stone of about 60 feet
 “ high, and near 5 feet diameter, at the foot of which the rock was black
 “ for some distance; the PERSIANS say there sometimes runs a stream of wa-
 “ ter. As the ambassador and his retinue passed under the hill, we heard
 “ a very confused noise, as coming from a great distance: upon our
 “ discovery of some TARTARS, we resolved to retire immediately. This
 “ is said to have been formerly a nest of robbers; but the want of water
 “ has dislodged them: if there is a possibility of an impregnable castle,
 “ this certainly might be rendered such.

“ The 5th, we travelled about 40 wersts, the most part through a bar-
 “ ren and sandy soil, but good road, leaving several springs of black nap-
 “ tha to the westward, and encamped at the caravanserai near NIEZABAD.
 “ The 6th, we proceeded on our journey, passing by three caravanserais
 “ to the eastward, and six wells of white naptha at the foot of a hill, co-
 “ vered with verdure on the north: the smell of the naptha was very of-
 “ fensive. We travelled over several rocks of brown soft free-stone, and
 “ encamped on the north side of BAKU, remarkable for the best haven
 “ on the CASPIAN. Here ships can lie moored head and stern, with their
 “ heads to the sea 40 fathoms off the shore, within the command of two
 “ strong bastions, as also by the side of the wall of the northernmost bas-
 “ tion. In this city is a sumptuous palace of hewn stone, which the RUS-
 “ SIAN bombs in 1722 had contributed to reduce to the ruinous state in
 “ which we found it. The PERSIANS say, that as the TURKS made use
 “ of it as a magazine, they will not repair it; but the truth is, they are in
 “ no circumstances to do any such thing.

“ The rebellion of 1743 did not cost less than the lives of 15000 men,
 “ to the province and the adjacent country of SHIRVAN. Formerly many
 “ merchants lived here, especially INDIANS and ARMENIANS, together
 “ with several TARTARS; and, in the single branch of raw silk, they

“ used to export 400 bales of 25 batmans each ; but now they have scarce
“ any vestiges of commerce.

“ This city is said to have been built by the TURKS : the fortification is
“ semicircular, and the two points of it are extended into the sea. It is
“ defended by a double wall, of which the inmost is lofty for a PERSIAN
“ fortification. It has also a ditch and redoubts, which last constitute the
“ greatest part of its strength. These were made by the RUSSIANS when
“ they were masters of the city ; but the PERSIANS are ignorant of the use
“ of them. The ditch has no communication with the sea, being on dry
“ ground, as the place stands on a declivity ; but they can fill it in 24
“ hours by water which runs from the adjacent mountains. As all the coun-
“ try here is impregnated with salt and sulphur, the water, though esteem-
“ ed wholesome, is very unpleasant. The neighbourhood of this city sup-
“ plies GHILAN, and MAZANDERAN, and other countries contiguous with
“ rock-salt, brimstone, and naptha. It is the only place near the CAS-
“ PIAN that produces saffron, for which it is famous. They have also
“ red wine here of a strong body and well-tasted, which the AEMENIANS
“ make at SHAMAKIE. The country abounds in hares, deer, and anti-
“ lopes ; the flesh of the last is delicious food. Round BAKU are several
“ lofty and craggy mountains, on which are very strong watch-towers ;
“ these seem to have been intended to give alarm, in time of war, of the
“ approach of the TURKS, or highland TARTARS ; to the depredations of
“ both which this city has been often exposed.”

C H A P. LVII.

A succinct account of the antient PERSIAN religion, with several minute particulars relating to the everlasting fire^a near BAKU, and the extraordinary effects of this phænomenon, to which the INDIANS pay divine honours; also of the sect called MOUM SEUNDURAIN.

I Must beg leave to interrupt the journal of the embassy at BAKU, where an object presents itself that reminds us of the antient religion of the PERSIANS. ZOROASTER, the founder of this religion, appeared about the year of the world 2860. This great philosopher was struck with the demonstrations of the perfection of that self-existent being, who is the author of all good. Being at a loss how to account for the introduction of evil into the world; he imagined there were two principles; one the cause of all good, which he represented by light; and the other the cause of all evil, which he figured to himself by darkness. He considered light as the most perfect symbol of true wisdom and intellectual endowment; and darkness the representative of things hurtful and destructive. From hence he was led to inculcate an abhorrence of all images, and to teach his followers to worship GOD only, under the form of fire; considering the brightness, activity, purity, and incorruptibility of that element, as bearing the most perfect resemblance to the nature and perfections of the good deity. For the same reason the PERSIANS shewed a particular veneration to the sun, which was founded on their belief, that it is the noblest creature of the visible world, and that the throne of the almighty is seated in it. This good principle which they acknowledged to be the omnipotent creator and preserver of all things, they called YEZAD, and also ORMUZD, which signify supreme. The evil principle they stiled AHARIMAN, i. e. the devil. Some have asserted that the antient PERSIANS held a coeternity of these two principles; but others, who seem better acquainted with the true tenets of this religion, agree that ORMUZD, according to the PERSIAN mythology, first subsisted

^a As denominated by the INDIANS. The author of the journal of the embassy did not go to see this fire; but the concurrent testimony of many who did see it, puts the matter beyond doubt to me.

alone; that by him both the light and darkness were created; and that AHARIMAN was created, or rather arose from darkness. In the composition of this world good and evil being thus mixed together, they believed they would continue till the end of all things, when each should be separated and reduced to its own sphere.

The antient PERSIANS erected no temples, but offered their sacrifices in the open air, and generally on the top of a hill; for they esteemed it injurious to the majesty of the GOD of heaven, to shut up in walls, him to whom all things are open; whom the world cannot contain; who fills immensity with his presence; and to whom the whole earth, with regard to man, should be esteemed as an house or temple.

Between the beginning of the reign of CYRUS the GREAT and the end of that of DARIUS the son of HYSTASPIS, being about 600 years after the first ZOROASTER, whom I have mentioned, another philosopher of the same name arose. This last undertook to reform some articles in the antient religion: he taught that there is one supreme, independent and self-existent being. That under him there are two angels, the one of light, who is the author of all good; and the other of darkness, who is the author of all evil. That these two, by a mixture of light and darkness, made all things which are. That they are in a perpetual struggle with each other; where the angel of light prevails, there good reigns; and where the angel of darkness, there evil predominates. That this struggle shall last till the end of the world, when there will be a day of judgment, in which all shall receive a just retribution according to their works: after which the angel of darkness and his followers shall be cast into a world of their own, where they shall suffer for their evil deeds in darkness, which to all eternity shall be separated from the light. But those who cherished and cultivated their spiritual nature, and obeyed the angel of light, shall go with him into a world, where, amidst everlasting brightness and triumphant glory, they shall receive the rewards due to their good deeds.

This last ZOROASTER, contrary to his great predecessor, caused temples to be built, in which the sacred fires were ordered to be constantly and carefully preserved.

These

These opinions, with a few alterations, are still maintained by some of the posterity of the antient INDIANS and PERSIANS, who are called GEBERS, or GAURS, and are very zealous in preserving the religion of their ancestors; particularly in regard to their veneration for the element of fire. What they commonly call the EVERLASTING FIRE, near BAKU, before which these people offer their supplications, is a phenomenon of a very extraordinary nature, in some measure peculiar to this country, and therefore deserving of a particular description.

This object of devotion to the GEBERS, lies about 10 ENGLISH miles north-east by east from the city of BAKU on dry rocky land. There are several antient temples built with stone, supposed to have been all dedicated to fire; most of them are arched vaults not above 10 to 15 feet high. Amongst others there is a little temple, in which the INDIANS now worship: near the altar about 3 feet high is a large hollow cane, from the end of which issues a blue flame, in colour and gentleness not unlike a lamp that burns with spirits, but seemingly more pure. These INDIANS affirm, that this flame has continued ever since the flood, and they believe it will last to the end of the world; that if it was resisted or suppressed in that place, it would rise in some other. Here are generally forty or fifty of these poor devotees, who come on a pilgrimage from their own country, and subsist upon wild sallary, and a kind of JERUSALEM artichokes, which are very good food, with other herbs and roots, found a little to the northward. Their business is to make expiation, not for their own sins only, but for those of others, and they continue the longer time, in proportion to the number of persons for whom they have engaged to pray. They mark their foreheads with saffron, and have a great veneration for a red cow. They wear very little cloathing, and those who are of the most distinguished piety, put one of their arms upon their head, or some other part of the body, in a fixed position, and keep it unalterably in that attitude.

A little way from the temple is a low clift of a rock, in which there is a horizontal gap, 2 feet from the ground, near 6 long, and about 3 feet broad, out of which issues a constant flame, of the colour and nature I have

already described: when the wind blows, it rises sometimes 8 feet high, but much lower in still weather: they do not perceive that the flame makes any impression on the rock. This also the INDIANS worship, and say it cannot be resisted but it will rise in some other place. About 20 yards on the back of this cliff is a well cut in a rock 12 or 14 fathom deep, with exceeding good water.

The earth round this place, for above two miles, has this surprising property, that by taking up two or three inches of the surface, and applying a live coal, the part which is so uncovered, immediately takes fire, almost before the coal touches the earth: the flame makes the soil hot, but does not consume it, nor affect what is near it with any degree of heat. Any quantity of this earth carried to another place does not produce this effect. Not long since eight houses were consumed by this fire, being under a roof where the surface of the ground was turned up, and by some accident took flame.

If a cane or tube, even of paper, be set about 2 inches in the ground, confined and close with earth below, and the top of it touched with a live coal, and blown upon, immediately a flame issues without hurting either the cane or paper, provided the edges be covered with clay; and this method they use for light in their houses, which have only the earth for the floor: three or four of these lighted canes will boil water in a pot; and thus they dress their victuals. The flame may be extinguished in the same manner, as that of spirits of wine. The ground is dry and stony, and the more stony any particular part is, the stronger and clearer is the flame; it smells sulphurous like naptha, but not very offensive.

Lime is burnt to great perfection by means of this phenomenon; the flame communicating itself to any distance where the earth is uncovered to receive it. The stones must be laid on one another, and in three days the lime is compleated. Near this place brimstone is dug, and naptha-springs are found.

The chief place for the black or dark-grey naptha is the small island WETOY, now uninhabited, except at such times as they take naptha from thence.

thence. The PERSIANS load it in bulk in their wretched vessels; so that sometimes the sea is covered with it for leagues together. When the weather is thick and hazy, the springs boil up the higher; and the naptha often takes fire on the surface of the earth, and runs in a flame into the sea, in great quantities, to a distance almost incredible. In clear weather the springs do not boil up above 2 or 3 feet: in boiling over, this oily substance makes so strong a consistency as by degrees almost to close the mouth of the spring; sometimes it is quite closed, and forms hillocks that look as black as pitch; but the spring, which is resisted in one place, breaks out in another. Some of the springs, which have not been long open, form a mouth of 8 or 10 feet diameter.

The people carry the naptha by troughs into pits or reservoirs, drawing it off from one to another, leaving in the first reservoir the water, or the heavier part with which it is mixed when it issues from the spring. It is unpleasant to the smell, and used mostly amongst the poorer sort of the PERSIANS, and other neighbouring people, as we use oil in lamps, or to boil their victuals; but it communicates a disagreeable taste. They find it burn best with a small mixture of ashes: as they find it in great abundance, every family is well supplied. They keep it, at a small distance from their houses, in earthen vessels under ground, to prevent any accident by fire, of which it is extremely susceptible.

There is also a white naptha on the peninsula of APCHERON of a much thinner consistency; but this is found only in small quantities. The RUSSIANS drink it both as a cordial and medicine, but it does not intoxicate: if taken internally it is said to be good for the stone, as also for disorders of the breast, and in venereal cases, and sore heads; to both the last the PERSIANS are very subject. Externally applied, it is of great use in scorbutic pains, gouts, cramps, &c. but it must be put to the part affected only; it penetrates instantaneously into the blood, and is apt, for a short time, to create great pain. It has also the property of spirits of wine to take out greasy spots in silks or woollens; but the remedy is worse than the disease; for it leaves an abominable odour. They say it is carried into INDIA as a great rarity, and being prepared as a japan, is the most beautiful and lasting of

any that has been yet found. Not far from hence are also springs of hot water, which boil up in the same manner as the naptha, and very thick, being impregnated with a blue clay, but it soon clarifies. Bathing in this warm water is found to strengthen, and procure a good appetite, especially if a small quantity is also drunk.

These medicinal qualities, and the purity of the air, have formerly caused it to be frequented by numbers of PERSIANS, and other people of the first quality from the remotest parts; here are yet the remains of many stately buildings, and a large burying-place; one mosque in particular, which is very large, and has a stone-cupola.

I have already mentioned, that SHAH ABAS drove the worshippers of fire out of PERSIA: they were then very numerous in several provinces, which have ever since been thinly inhabited. I heard of no towns or villages only GUEBARABAD near ISFAHAN, where there are any who openly profess that religion, except these miserable pilgrims of whom I have been speaking.

This religion, which has many marks of a spiritual disposition in its votaries, seems to be no object of detestation, compared with that mentioned by OLEARIUS and Mr. OTTER. They give an account of a certain people, of whom there are yet some at SAHRIE^b, called MOUM-SEUNDURAIN, or extinguishers of candles. These are the reverse of the ROMAN matrons, who performed the secret rites of the BONA DEA, and with whom it was the highest prophanation to admit of the presence of a man. Both sexes are necessary to the rites of the MOUM-SEUNDURAIN: after eating and drinking liberally, in great silence and ceremony they put out the candles, and promiscuously changing their places, throw aside the distinction of rational creatures. Though MAHOMMEDANISM, beyond most other religions in the world, indulges its votaries in the idolatry of VENUS; yet this sect has been persecuted more than once, and is held in great detestation by the disciples of MAHOMMED. I must now proceed to the continuation of the journal of the RUSSIAN embassy.

^b Sometimes wrote SARI.

C H A P. LVIII.

Conclusion of the RUSSIAN embassy, with a description of the country from BAKU to SHAMAKIE, and from thence to RESHD.

“ **H**AVING tarried under the walls of BAKU for 6 days, and re-
 “ packed our baggage, the 12th of February 1747 we returned
 “ back the same way for about 6 wersts, and then directing our course
 “ southward, we encamped in a sandy valley, with a lake of salt water
 “ to the east. The next day we passed several rivulets covered with nap-
 “ tha, with which the adjacent hills to the west abound: we pitched
 “ our tents near a caravanferai on the sea-side. The 14th we marched
 “ westerly at the foot of a barren hill, and crossed a stately stone-bridge
 “ of one arch, but there was no water under it. We observed a great
 “ quantity of sea-glass* of a very choice quality. The western prospect
 “ was now continually bounded by lofty mountains: in one of the smallest
 “ we were told, that, some years since, there was a volcano; but at pre-
 “ sent no smoke issued from it. To the north of us was a mountain,
 “ which sparkled like diamonds, arising from the sea-glass and christsals
 “ with which it abounds. We now directed our course north-west, the
 “ mountains intercepting our passage till we came to NAVAHY, the inha-
 “ bitants of which appeared to be in extreme poverty, and were encamp-
 “ ed about a mile to the south. We perceived several beautiful women,
 “ said to be the wives of the governor; as soon as they saw us, they hid
 “ their faces, and fled into an adjacent cavern. Our cavalry turned
 “ south-east over a very high mountain, where it was with some difficulty
 “ we could lead our horses; but our carriages went round the north-east
 “ end of the mountain. Having travelled about 80 wersts from BA-
 “ KU, we encamped at the foot of a mountain on the banks of a lake of
 “ fresh water, where the PERSIANS were met by several of their women,
 “ whom they had left at SALYAN, and other places on the banks of the
 “ KURA.

* Commonly called isinglass, of which lanthorns are made.

“The 16th, we travelled through a sandy and uncultivated country,
 “with morasses to the west, and lofty mountains to the east of us. Vio-
 “lent rains having fallen on a clay-ground, the next day our camels,
 “horses, and mules were extremely fatigued, inasmuch that we could not
 “travel above 15 wersts: we encamped on the side of a very large lake.
 “The weather clearing up, we found ourselves surrounded with
 “mountains, whose tops are ever covered with snow. These were inha-
 “habited by a TARTAR prince called SHEMACE^b, who, it is said, cannot
 “bring above 5000 men into the field; and yet neither NADIR, nor his
 “greater predecessor ABAS, could ever reduce these people to subjection.
 “The former, though a wise prince, disdaining that so mean a competitor
 “should reign within his dominions, determined to reduce their chief;
 “and, contrary to advice, as well as to the experience of past ages, marched
 “20,000 men into these cold and inhospitable mountains, where it is said
 “he lost more than half of them. It is morally impossible to bring artille-
 “ry into this country; and if it was practicable, the TARTARS defend them-
 “selves with a number of forts, which, from their situation, are impregnable.
 “As their valleys are fertile, and produce abundance of grain, they are never
 “necessitated to expose their country to slavery, by their commerce with
 “the PERSIANS, or any other people. Their love of liberty is not be era-
 “dicated, and as they are in the highest degree jealous of it, they are con-
 “tinually on the watch to guard their passes, and to keep a store of arms
 “and provision.

“The 18th we encamped on the south-east side of SHAMAKIE, be-
 “tween the city and a branch of the river BELAJA, the banks of which
 “are steep. The waters which fall from the mountains from the north-
 “west are troubled. The SHAMAKIE mentioned by historians, which is
 “said to have contained 12,000 families, and many public and superb
 “edifices, was certainly very different from this which NADIR SHAH re-
 “moved from the other side of the mountains, in hopes of keeping the
 “inhabitants in subjection. This city however appeared more rich and
 “populous than both DERBEND and BAKU; but, to the great amazement

^b The general name of SHEMKALL is given to these chiefs.

“ of the embassador and his people, the PERSIAN army which convoyed
 “ us, exercised their cruelties in so arbitrary a manner, that, in three days
 “ time, the shops of the ARMENIANS, GEORGIANS, INDIANS, and TAR-
 “ TARS, as well as of the PERSIAN citizens were either locked up, or
 “ plundered, though we could not discover any other reason for it, than
 “ that of the insolence, inhumanity, and rapaciousness of the soldiers.

“ This city is a regular square of near three miles in circumference, de-
 “ fended by a ditch and a wall of earth, with a gate to the north, and an-
 “ other to the south. It has three paved streets in the same direction, inter-
 “ sected by narrow lanes, with a square in the centre, which serves as a
 “ market-place, where we saw a few pieces of cannon. They have good
 “ gardens, and their vineyards produce wine, as already mentioned. Be-
 “ tween the city and the hills is a small town, chiefly inhabited by AR-
 “ MENIANS.

“ We might have made our tract from BAKU much shorter, without
 “ returning back so far northward, but no provision had been collected in
 “ that rout; and as to coming directly from DERBEND to SHAMAKIE,
 “ the highland TARTARS to the southward of that city towards the
 “ KURA, though they acknowledge subjection to the PERSIANS, submit
 “ too much by plunder, to be trusted.

“ February the 28th, having staid here ten days, as well to refresh our
 “ selves, as for other reasons, we directed our course southwards over a mar-
 “ shy plain for 15 wersts. March the 1st, Our way lay through a sandy
 “ plain, where we pitched our tents on the north banks of the lake MUSA :
 “ the PERSIANS, who yet remained with us, went over to the south side.
 “ In this place were such a number of wild goats and pheasants, that we
 “ killed some almost at every shot. The next day we crossed the mo-
 “ rafs ; the road being very bad we were obliged to repair it before it was

“ The 3d, Early in the morning we marched 15 wersts, and encamped
 “ on the north side of the famous river KURA, near the bridge of boats,
 “ half a mile to the westward of which the ARAS and the KURA join

“ their streams, and run into the CASPIAN sea. A little to the eastward
 “ is a castle in ruins, though it was built so lately as the time of NADIR
 “ SHAH. There is another on the south side of the river; here is a circu-
 “ lar pyramid of near 50 feet high; in which are niches filled with 282
 “ human heads, of the late PERSIAN and TARTAR chiefs of the SHAMA-
 “ KIE rebellion, who were all beheaded in one morning. These TAR-
 “ TARS had not acknowledged subjection to PERSIA, and yet they were
 “ treated as rebels.

“ The 4th, we passed the KURA* on a very mean bridge of boats held
 “ together by an iron chain of about 500 feet long: This river has high
 “ sandy banks: directing our course south-west, we encamped on the
 “ banks of the ARAS. Here we found several small villages, almost the
 “ only ones inhabited which we had seen since we left BAKU; and these,
 “ in three days time, were treated in such a manner by our PERSIAN CON-
 “ voy, that many of the inhabitants were obliged to leave their houses,
 “ their wives and children to the mercy of these spoilers.

“ The ARAS runs into the wide and extended plains of MOGHAN†, which
 “ reach near 180 miles from north to south, and 60 from east to west; they
 “ are bounded on the north by the CAUCASUS, and the south by the TAUR-
 “ US‡, having a hilly country to the west, and the sea to the east. These
 “ plains were formerly inhabited by shepherds, who lived in tents, and were
 “ rich in herds and flocks; they professed the religion of the MAGI, and lived
 “ peaceable and innocent lives. This was also the great nursery of PER-
 “ SIAN cavalry, and where the sovereigns of this country bred those beau-
 “ tiful horses for which the PERSIANS were distinguished. These plains
 “ abound in serpents of different species: in the hot months of the
 “ summer the inhabitants are wont to retire with their flocks into the
 “ mountains. They have plenty of wild swine, deer, and antilopes, with

* This word is also wrote MOGAN, and CHULI MOGHAN.

† It might perhaps have been more agreeable to some readers, if I had called the river KURA by its
 ancient name CYRUS, and the ARAS, ARAXES; but as all modern maps adopt the modern names. I
 thought it most consistent to follow their example, especially as I have done the same with regard to other
 places.

‡ The names CAUCASUS and TAURUS are sometimes used synonymously; but what the proper
 distinction is in different places I know not.

“ various kind of fowl, which we diverted ourselves in shooting. NADIR
 “ treated the inhabitants with great severity; either dispersing, destroying,
 “ or sending them to KHORASAN.

“ The 15th, A report prevailed in our camp, that the LESGEES, between
 “ DERBEND and BAKU, had made inroads into the low countries, and defeat-
 “ ed the PERSIAN forces; also that they had seduced the inhabitants of SHA-
 “ MAKIE to join them. Whatever grounds there were for this alarm, the
 “ embassador decampèd with some precipitation. We marched 20 wersts
 “ over hard smooth ground, and encamped on the banks of a standing wa-
 “ ter which communicated with the KURA. We should have made our
 “ march longer, but that we found great scarcity of cattle for our carriages.

“ The 16th, We marched south-east 22 wersts through these deserted
 “ plains, which now were extremely delightful, abounding in grass and
 “ flowers, with great plenty of physical herbs: they are also refreshed by
 “ several small rivers which run into the CASPIAN sea.* We encamp-
 “ ed on the banks of a lake of fresh water: the day following
 “ we passed by six remarkable round hills, and encamped on the foot of
 “ another, 20 wersts from our last stage. The 18th, we directed our course
 “ south-west, where a ridge of high mountains, covered with snow, pre-
 “ sented themselves to our view; our road lying over a rising ground be-
 “ decked with clover, and several kinds of herbs. The banks of the river
 “ ILCHAY are high and sandy; the stream, though somewhat rapid, is
 “ clear; it abounds in fish of the size of a common trout, of a silver colour,
 “ with small excrescences on their heads like horns. We encamped on a plain
 “ on the south side of the river, near a small inhabited village. We then
 “ directed our course due south through a marshy ground overgrown with
 “ reeds and brambles, passing by several habitations, cultivated lands, and
 “ gardens abounding in fruit-trees; such as almonds, figs, apples, plumbs,
 “ and cherries: these being now in their blossom afforded no small delight,
 “ though this day's journey was very fatiguing.

“ The 19th, We travelled through marshy lands well wooded, crossing
 “ many streams, over which we were obliged to make bridges; and en-

“ camped on the river KEZILAGACH. The weather was now serene, and
 “ the sun warm, though the nights were very cold. The next day the
 “ scene was much the same as on the 18th, and gave us much plea-
 “ sure. As we proceeded southward, the spring seemed to make great ad-
 “ vances every day. In travelling, the novelty of places also, when the heart
 “ is at ease, exhilarates the spirits, as it were, by a more peculiar benignity
 “ of providence.

“ The 23d, The great difficulty we found in procuring the cattle,
 “ which were necessary for the ambassador’s use, obliged us to tarry till
 “ this day : we then marched through marshy grounds and lofty woods,
 “ where also grow many wild fruit-trees. From thence our road was on
 “ a cause-way, made by SHAH ABAS the GREAT, as well for the facility
 “ of marching an army, as to support the communication and trade of
 “ these parts. Having marched 20 wersts we encamped on the north
 “ banks of the river LANKAR.

“ The 24th, Our march lay on the sea-shore, which is sandy. The
 “ country to the westward, under the mountains of GHILAN, is so thick
 “ of wood, and marshy, as hardly to be passable at this season of the year.
 “ Vines, pomgranates, and orange-trees are also in great abundance : we
 “ encamped on the side of a lake.

“ The 25th, Our march on the sea shore was very laborious, on account of
 “ the fluid sands : we forded the river ASTARA, situated in the province of
 “ the same name, whose governor is independent of that of GHILAN or SHIR-
 “ VAN. This province is rich in grain, fruits, and silk-worms ; but the
 “ air is unwholesome. On the hills to the westward are the remains of
 “ a fortification built by the RUSSIANS ; here are several small villages
 “ meanly inhabited, and the houses in a ruinous condition ; the inhabitants
 “ of the neighbouring mountains having frequently committed hostilities
 “ in these low lands. The 27th, our road lying partly on the sea-shore,
 “ and partly through woods and marshy lands, we passed many rivers and
 “ rivulets, gathering oranges and pomgranates, which we found in great
 “ plenty, but neither of them delicious in flavor. The 31st, the road
 “ continuing the same, made our three days marches very short. April
 “ the

“ the 1st, our course lay on a cause-way, with deep ditches on both sides,
 “ meeting with a great number of small rivers, in which this country ab-
 “ bounds; at length we pitched our tents on the banks of the LESAR,
 “ near which there is a large plain.

“ The 2d, This day exhibited a scene of desolation in the number of ruined
 “ villages, through which we passed, though the soil appeared to be extremely
 “ fruitful. This country also abounds in timber intermixed with fruit-trees,
 “ and vines, whose grapes are said to produce good wine. We passed no less than
 “ 16 small rivers, and encamped near the town of KESKAR. Here we found
 “ a great body of OUSBEG TARTARS belonging to the PERSIAN army,
 “ who had permission to live at discretion, till the inhabitants should pay
 “ a heavy contribution, which the SHAH had imposed on them. Some of
 “ these TARTARS gave proof of great virtue and moderation; whilst others
 “ violated matrons and virgins with a savage licentiousness, often killing
 “ not only the men who opposed them, but the women also. This town,
 “ and the district of the same name, is under the jurisdiction of the go-
 “ vernor of GHILAN, whose residence is at RESHD. Not long since this
 “ place was remarkable for the quantity of raw silk it produced, and
 “ for many silk fabrics; but the oppression of NADIR's government seem-
 “ ed to have involved every thing in one common ruin. Near this place
 “ we saw the ruins of a fort which the RUSSIANS had formerly built to
 “ prevent the incursions of the neighbouring mountaineers.

“ The 3d, As the ambassador now esteemed himself secure, with regard
 “ to the rebellion towards the KURA, and near the end of his journey to
 “ GHILAN, he halted. The 4th, we marched 20 wersts, through delightful
 “ woods and gardens; and crossing several rivulets over stone bridges, we
 “ encamped on the HALKALAJAN, whose banks are very pleasant.

“ The 5th, the country still continued pleasant; we marched over two
 “ rivers and a lake, and the day following the ambassador made his en-
 “ trance into RESHD.”

A P P E N D I X.

C H A P. LIX.

A coasting pilot, containing a particular description of the coasts and ports of the CASPIAN sea.*

I Shall conclude this account of PERSIA with the following description of the coasts and ports of the CASPIAN sea, extracted from captain WOODROOFE's coasting pilot. The subject has some connexion with what has been said in the 22d, 23d, and 24th chapters of this volume; and though it may be barren of pleasure to those who delight neither in commerce, geography, nor navigation; yet as this sea has merited the attention of historians; and the BRITISH nation never had any accurate information concerning it, we may presume that the following account of its navigation will not be ungrateful to some readers. The original papers of captain WOODROOFE, from whence this description is extracted, are more verbose, but do not contain any thing material that I have omitted.

“ From ASTRACHAN to YERKIE is 60 ENGLISH miles: the channel is for the most part pretty good, except just below IWAN CHUK, where, at low water, there is only 8 feet at most. Ships formerly entered and cleared out at YERKIE; but that place being now almost overflowed, is left in ruins, and the office removed to SADLISTOVA, about 2 leagues to the northward.

“ Near YERKIE is the island CARAZA, where all goods imported are landed, and ware-houses built for their reception in quarantain; and ships lay off for the same purpose. There is generally $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet water on YERKIE bar, but upon extraordinary winds it rises to 9 or 10 feet. In order to sail over YERKIE bar, and down to CHETIRIE-BOGORIE, after you get to the lower part of the river below YERKIE, and are past the reeds, steer out a little westerly; or if the weather be clear, and shews CHETIRIE-BOGORIE, keep the land open; then sailing over $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet, you find a bottom of hard sand for near half a mile, and it deepens to 2 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms. If you come to anchor in $2\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms, run it about two cables

* See Cl art Chap. XX.

“ length to the west towards a little red cliff on the island TOOLEENA, where there
“ is 3 fathoms water, and a good holding ground with black mud and sand.

“ All the coast is very low and marshy, and the air over it being generally hazy,
“ it is difficult to distinguish places. From YERKIE all vessels take their de-
“ parture, and this place they also make when homeward bound.

“ GOUFNA-SEROTKA lies about 9 leagues to the southward of YERKIE, and near
“ it is generally two fathoms water; but on the middle sand, which lies off CHE-
“ TIRIE-BOGORIE from south south-east to south south-east half south, at the dis-
“ tance of near 8 leagues is only 8 feet water. It must be remarked, that as low
“ as CHETIRIE-BOGORIE there is generally fresh water, except after a gale of south-
“ erly wind. On leaving the bank of GOUFNA-SEROTKA, the sea deepens so as
“ you cannot find a bottom with any line.

“ In this sea there are no tides; but hard gales of wind either from the north
“ or south, raise the water 3 or 4 feet, and sometimes more, and when these
“ gales cease, the water returns to its ordinary depth, with a prodigious current,
“ and confused sea. It must also be observed that it is the same on the PERSIAN
“ coast as on the RUSSIAN; but rendered stronger and more irregular on the latter,
“ by the streams which issue from the VOLGA, IAMBIA, and YAEIK. This occasions
“ the loss of many vessels; for the force of these currents is apt to deceive. Captain
“ WOODROOFE, after his first voyage, instead of heaving the logg, made use of deep
“ sea-lines, and the heaviest lead; for the lead remaining steady, discovered his
“ course more exactly. It is also to be noted, that, on the north-coast, the found-
“ ings begin before you enter much into these contrary currents, which are gene-
“ rally occasioned by the wind coming from the opposite points of north or south.
“ The RUSSIANS lose many vessels on the shoals of the north coast for want of at-
“ tention and skill. These vessels when laden, generally draw 9 or 10 feet wa-
“ ter; and as they run into 11 or 12 feet before a south or south-east wind,
“ which frequently raise a tumbling sea, it must necessarily endanger their security.
“ This might be easily prevented by keeping to the eastward towards KARA-
“ GANSKOI, or the island of KURALIE, in all which are very safe roads.

“ As the land both at CHITCHEENA and KURALIE is low and marshy, and
“ spring and fall are generally attended with great fogs; the unexperienced navi-
“ gator must be on his guard, particularly on the west coast, where he must keep
“ his lead going; and when he comes into 35 or 40 fathoms water, then he must
“ edge into 30 fathoms: as he approaches CHITCHEENA the ground is shelly,
“ with.

“ with a light grey sand. Then halling out north north-east, or north-east by
 “ north, he will pass over a clean white sand, which runs out south-east from
 “ CHITCHEENA into 12 and 15 fathoms water. The nearer he approaches to
 “ TOOLEENA the ground is blacker, but about 5 leagues to the eastward is a clean
 “ grey sand without mud.

“ The distance between CHITCHEENA and TOOLEENA is about 9 leagues, 8 of
 “ which are a good channel : but it must be particularly remarked that too-
 “ LEENA is rather a shoal than an island ; for when the water is high, nothing but
 “ reeds appears upon it, and in turning to windward it is not adviseable to stand
 “ nearer either to it or CHITCHEENA than in 3 fathoms water. If necessity obliges to
 “ run between the point of land and CHITCHEENA, keep pretty close the point, be-
 “ cause on the other side there is a shoal which runs a great way, and a little spot
 “ that is quite dry.

“ At DERBEND there was formerly a landing-place for goods, but it is now
 “ under water. This is the worst port, if it may be called such, in the whole
 “ CASPIAN sea, not only with regard to the loading and unloading of boats on the
 “ shore, but from the stony foul ground in the road.

“ On the west coast you ought to keep the lead^a as soon as you make DERBEND.
 “ When on shore you will find hard stony ground intermixed with cockle and
 “ muscle shells in about 30 or 40 fathoms.

“ From May to September there are seldom any hard gales of wind, and there-
 “ fore ships in DERBEND road bringing the lower end of the south wall to bear
 “ due west, may lie in 7 fathom water, which is about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an ENGLISH mile from
 “ the shore. Here is a clean spot of sandy ground for at least 2 cables length
 “ every way ; but in winter it is not adviseable to come nearer than $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile in 11
 “ fathoms, and to lie as near the middle of the two walls as possible, where the
 “ ground is not altogether so bad : but there are many loose stones very hurtful
 “ to cables, so that care must be taken not to lay too slack moored, that the va-
 “ riable winds which blow on this coast, and the counter currents which some-
 “ times shift several times a day, may not do mischief. It is always found the
 “ best method to lie at single anchor, and to have your sails furled with rope
 “ yarn, so as to be ready on any emergency. It is never observed, that the
 “ easterly winds blow above $2\frac{1}{2}$ points from the shore.

^a Sea-phrafe for throwing.

“The next port is NIEZABAD, by others called NIEZAWOV, where there is clean holding ground of ouze and sand. Between this and SPITZBERMACK is a remarkable rocky hill near the sea-side. The RUSSIAN charts mention two rocks called the DWA BRATIE^b; but captain WOODROOFE says, he traced that place very often without finding them.

“The RUSSIANS and PERSIANS often pass through the straits of APSHERON between SWETOI and the main; this is very surprizing as the passage is dangerous, and they have 30 leagues of good sea-room between ZELOI and the eastern main. If the navigator is under a necessity of going between SWETOI and the western main, there is a good channel through it with 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms clay ground for near half a mile wide: but on both sides are many rocks, so that there is no venturing except by day-light, and taking proper care to keep the lead. On the south side of ZELOI there is good anchoring-ground, and protection from the northerly winds; care however must be taken of a shoal that runs east south-east from this island, which rises pretty bold, and has white cliffs on the south side; in clear weather they may be seen at the distance five or six leagues.

“Being bound from the northward to BAKU, it is necessary to give the great SHAH’S bank a good birth^c; then haul in about west north-west for the entrance of the bay, which lies between the island NARGIN and a little fishing-town: on a bluff point on the western main, is a clear channel of seven fathoms near a league over. Vessels sometimes go to the eastward of NARGIN; but the rock of DAVERISH, as well as several shoals which were formerly islands, together with the small depth of three fathoms, render that channel dangerous. On the east side of the bay of BAKU they dig salt and brimstone, and coasting vessels receive their loadings. In the mole of BAKU is two fathoms water. This may be denominated the best, if not the only true port in the CASPIAN sea.

“The island BOULLAH lies to the south-west of BAKU; to the east and south there is about 10 fathoms water; but to the west is a bank of sand from the western main, which is almost dry.

“SWINOY is a bold island about four leagues from the western main; but there are two rocks near the north end of it. The shoal of sand, called the little SHAH’S bank, is about 6 miles long, and 2 broad, and has only 14 feet water. The soundings round it are very gradual, and as you approach it, the ground

^b As expressed in the sea-chart.

^c Sea-term for keeping at a distance from land, in allusion to room in a ship, for which this term is also adopted.

“ changes from loofe mud to fand. The island KURA, though low, is very fteep
 “ on all fides. About 3 leagues fouth-eaft by fouth from this island is a rock
 “ juft at the water’s edge, which, at a diftance, refembles two boats. Neither the
 “ RUSSIANS nor the PERSIANS in my time were acquainted with them; and it is
 “ more than probable that many veffels, in their paffage from the river KURA to
 “ BAKU, have been loft upon this fpot, fo as never to have been more heard of.
 “ This river has at the entrance two fathoms water, and is a general rendezvous
 “ for all PERSIAN veffels going to, or returning from BAKU. Coming in with
 “ the coaft, navigators fhould have a particular care to avoid a bank of fand
 “ about 5 leagues to the weftward of ENZELLE, where it is only 11 feet water.
 “ The proper place for anchoring in ENZELLE road, is to bring the fore-
 “ houfes on the weft fide of the bar to bear fouth fouth-weft, and to run into
 “ 10 or 12 fathoms water. Captain WOODROOFE frequently obferved, that in
 “ coming from the northward with a hard gale of wind at north, on his arrival
 “ on this coaft, it has veered to the north-weft, the fouth eaft, or, as generally
 “ happens, to the weft; fo that when the wind is north at fea, the veffels in this
 “ road, having it in the points juft mentioned, lie in the trough of the fea, and
 “ ride in a very difagreeable, as well as infecure manner.

“ The river SEFIETROOD having feldom above 3 feet water at its entrance, is of
 “ no ufe to fhips, though there is a very good depth within the bar. As a rapid
 “ ftream runs from this river into the fea with a great eddy, it is not proper to
 “ hold nearer than 7 fathoms water, though there is 5 or 6 fathoms within three
 “ quarters of a mile from the fhore. If you get into this eddy with little or no wind,
 “ there is great danger of being driven a-ftore to the fouthward, and many a PER-
 “ SIAN vefsel has been loft in calm weather. About 4 miles up the SEFIETROOD a
 “ fmall channel runs into the lake of ENZELLE, and ferves as a paffage for boats;
 “ but at very low water they are obliged to hall them over a fhole for about 40
 “ yards. Were it not for this inconvenience, there would be communication between
 “ PERRYBAZAR and RUDIZAR for loaded boats without the neceffity of going
 “ to fea. To the fouthward of SEFIETROOD there is a cove, the entrance of which
 “ is near a cable’s length with two fathoms water; and as there is the fame depth
 “ within, 12 or 15 fail of fhips might lie land locked with the utmoft fecurity.

“ The next port is LANGAROOD COVE, which is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from eaft to
 “ weft, and about one from north to fouth. As it has 10 or 11 feet water, it
 “ would ftand one of the higheft in rank, were it not that the entrance is fo nar-
 “ row, that it muft be buoy’d before it is attempted. LANGAROOD road is how-
 “ ever much frequented: the beft place to anchor, is to bring the point on the
 “ fouth

“ south side of the bar to bear south-west by west, and the peak of LAHIJAN hill
 “ west south-west running into 7 fathoms water, where there is clean sandy
 “ ground 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the shore. It must be observed there is a bank of sand
 “ which extends itself from SEFIETROOD about 3 leagues to the bottom of this
 “ bay. On the edge of this bank about 20 fathoms there is soft mud. The
 “ river which runs up to the town of LANGAROOD, is about a cable’s length to the
 “ westward of the south of the bar, and is almost concealed with reeds. Its course
 “ is north-east. There is a shoal of 7 feet, but it afterwards deepens to two fa-
 “ thoms.

“ ALEMMAROOD, or, as it is sometimes called, OBEASKY, is a small village to
 “ the east, with a river navigable for boats drawing 4 feet water. By means of
 “ the lakes, it communicates with MESCHEDIZAR: off which you may anchor in 9
 “ fathoms water in clean ground.

“ The next place is FARABAD, on the east side of the bank of a little river.
 “ Off this town one may anchor in 10 fathoms water in good ground; however
 “ the best of these roads on the south coast are but disagreeable, as there is generally
 “ a swell from the sea. The wind is generally westerly; when it comes from the
 “ east point, it is very moderate, and attended with pleasant weather even in the
 “ midst of winter. The navigation of the south-east part of the CASPIAN from
 “ FARABAD to ASTRABAD bay is very safe and easy, the soundings regular, and
 “ the ground clean. The palace of ASHEREFF, which is built with stone, is a
 “ good land-mark, and may be seen a great way at sea.

“ Coming either from the north or west, the surest way to sail over ASTRABAD
 “ bar into the bay, is to bring the lower point of land on the west side to bear
 “ south-west at 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile distance. In calm weather it just appears above the wa-
 “ ter, and when there is any sea, the breakers are visible: steering in south south-
 “ east southerly till that spit of sand bears due west, then steering south and south-
 “ by west, you may anchor about a mile to the westward of the entrance of the
 “ river KORGAN; but in going into KANDAGASAR road, it is necessary to observe
 “ a spit of sand which runs about half a mile from the mouth of that river. The
 “ bar has 11 to 12 feet water, with hard sand for about a mile, then deepens to
 “ 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ and 4 fathoms, with a bottom of soft clay. If the weather prevents the
 “ sight either of the spit of sand, or breakers on the west side of the bar, run with-
 “ in a mile of the east main, which is easy to be seen, steering in south and south-
 “ by west: there is the same depth all over the bay, which is from two to four
 “ fathoms.

“ fathoms water, in the spring and fall of the year. There is a small low island covered with reeds, which appears to the north-east of ASTRABAD bar, very near the east main; there is not above five feet water round it; but a league to the westward is two fathoms.

“ From the bar of ASTRABAD to the south end of the island OGROJINSKOI, or, as the PERSIANS call it, IDAK, is $32\frac{1}{2}$ leagues, steering north-west by north half north. The deepest water in that tract is from 7 to 10 fathoms, soft ground, but 10 leagues to sea there is 35 fathoms water, deepening gradually. The channel between the north end of IDAK and the west of DEVERISH is near a mile and a half wide, with three or four fathoms water; the north end of IDAK lies under water, and is terminated by an eminence, which appears as an island. Between the east end of DEVERISH and NAPHTONIA there is another channel, which is very narrow. You have good shelter between NAPHTONIA and OGROJINSKOI, either from the north-east or west, with the advantage of putting out to sea with any wind. The best water is close to the island DARGAN, where there is clean ground; but the north side of it is stony. DAGADAW is a little high island about two cables length from the north main, and full two fathoms water round it; the anchorage is so secure, that the ship might be moored to the island, and a stage built from her on shore. A little way from this island there are two large rocks above water; three or four leagues further you have but nine feet water, and at the foot of the mountain only five. The points on the north side of the entrance of this lake consist of high red cliffs which form a sand or gravel of the same colour washed from it, and from thence it is called KRASNA-WODA*. Within that point the banks are all high rugged rocks, the rest lying under water^b.

“ Concerning the lake KARABOGASKOI, it must be observed, that all the east-coast from KRASNA-WODA to cape KARAGANSKOI is a rugged shore and rocky ground; in many places there are high rocks at a distance from the shore, which appear as islands; but prudence forbids a near approach to them.

“ In the latitude of 43 there seems to be a large inlet behind some high rocks; but we never had occasion to make a discovery of it. From 42 to 43 degrees there is a sand-bank 8 or 9 leagues broad, and 20 leagues in extent; on it there is about 25 fathoms water, which always appears discoloured.

* Which in RUSSIAN signifies red water.

^b A more particular description of BALKHAN is contained in chap. XXXIV,

“ Cape KARAGANSKOI, and the island KULALIE, are already mentioned : in the
“ former there is good shelter from south and south-east winds ; and the latter has
“ a very good harbour, where there is 10 or 11 feet water, with clean sandy
“ ground. This island is barren and uninhabited ; but the harbour is the general
“ rendezvous for all the RUSSIAN vessels, which load fish at the YAEIK for
“ KISLAR and DERBEND. There are several small islands to the eastward of
“ KULALIE ; but we never had any opportunity of surveying them.

The END of the FIRST VOLUME.





AN HISTORICAL
ACCOUNT
OF THE
BRITISH TRADE
OVER THE
CASPIAN SEA:
WITH A
JOURNAL of TRAVELS

FROM

LONDON through RUSSIA into PERSIA; and back through
RUSSIA, GERMANY and HOLLAND.

To which are added,

The revolutions of PERSIA during the present century, with the particular
history of the great usurper NADIR KOULI.

V O L. II.

By JONAS HANWAY, Merchant.

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Street; and Mr. WILLOCK, in CORNHILL. MDCCLIII.



TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
The L A D Y
ELIZABETH GERMAIN.

M A D A M,

I Can with great truth assure your LADYSHIP, that it is not without a mixture of wonder, that I reflect upon my publishing this journal of travels ; to explain and illustrate which, I have been constrained to enter into an historical detail of our commerce over the CASPIAN sea. If any part of this work, should be useful to the public, the

merit is not mine, but belongs properly to your LADYSHIP, and to LORD and LADY VERE ; in compliance with whose request, the transient thoughts I had entertained on this subject, were carried into execution.

The first volume will shew, that I have not been contented with the bare office of an historian : I have ventured to give my thoughts on persons and things ; which, according to the different subjects of my reflexions, often constitute me a moralist, and sometimes a politician. Upon the whole, this is a miscellaneous work ; in the prosecution of which, I am the more exposed to fall into those inaccuracies which may tempt some to criticize, who have not the candor to consider, that I am an author by accident, and cannot be said to offend against rules, with which I do not pretend to be acquainted.

What a man has seen, he seems to have a right to relate, if he conceives it to be of such a nature as may turn to the public advantage : but the common failing of private men, is to esteem the incidents of their own life, if there be any thing in them out of the common road, of greater consequence to the public than they really are. This opinion of our own significancy will however be corrected by the judgement of the public, to which I readily submit.

In performances of such a nature as this, if either information or instruction results from them, it is of a more extensive influence, than what arises from the perusal of the actions or sentiments of persons in a more exalted sphere of life ; because the number of those who can be either informed or instructed by the memoirs of eminent statesmen or great captains, bears but a small proportion to the multitudes that may receive benefit from the observations of such as have run through scenes, in which every common reader may possibly become an actor.

To inspire the mind of a reader with the desire of acting in a manner suitable to the relation in which we stand, to the great lord of nature, as well as to our fellow-creatures, appears to me the noblest object that an author can have in view. If by adhering to this principle, I have sometimes given into religious, as well as moral reflexions, I hope it will not be thought, that I stand in need of any laboured excuse. Some indulgence is certainly due to the natural frame and constitutions of men's minds ; and whoever has run through dangers and has experienced difficulties, will gradually contract somewhat of this serious disposition, how little soever he might have entertained of it before ; and therefore, those who at the first perusal may dislike these remarks, in a future period of their lives, may discover that such sentiments

iments merit a better reception. To be kindly received at first sight is very agreeable ; yet to be esteemed upon reflexion is of the two, most to be desired.

To temper that seriousness which reigns throughout this book, it is requisite there should be a mixture of other matter ; for we seldom profit by writings that do not afford amusement. Such a mixture there will be found ; since my subject also leads me to treat of many great events, which for their singularity have the air of romance : some of these have hitherto escaped notice, and others have been very confusedly and imperfectly represented. Variety is the most effectual method of pleasing ; for the human mind having very different faculties, is satisfied in proportion as a smaller or greater number of these are gratified.

There has been a general, and I doubt, too just a suspicion, that in penning the story of their own travels, authors have sometimes sought to heighten the agreeableness of their relations, by deviating from, or magnifying the truth. The same notion carried a little farther, has produced ingenious fictions, susceptible of greater ornaments ; and which, though they did not inform so much, have pleased more. I dare aver, and it is my duty to aver, that there is nothing of that kind in these sheets : and therefore, how singular soever some passages

passages may appear, it will be only justice to believe them literally true, particularly with regard to what I relate from my own knowledge ; and as to other facts, as I have been careful to avoid being imposed upon myself, so I have endeavoured to avoid becoming the instrument of imposing falsehood upon others.

It has been long a maxim with me, that a book should be the true picture of the author's mind : such with all its imperfections I am sure is this. The folly of writing, if it be one, is a folly I shall never commit again ; and having taken this resolution, I have said all that I have to communicate to the public.

Whatever the fate of my endeavours may be, I shall still hope for the continuance of your LADYSHIP'S protection. If the strongest sense of gratitude ; if the most profound veneration for the qualities you possess ; and more especially for that unwearied beneficence which is your peculiar characteristic, ought to merit your esteem, I shall always preserve a just title to it. In saying this I commend myself, without paying half the tribute that is due to your virtues, which are too great, and too numerous, to be concealed from the world. I conclude this long address with the most zealous wishes, that providence may prolong the thread of
your

your life, to be a blessing to the humble and poor, and a shining example to the great and happy. I am, with the most sincere respect,

M A D A M,

Your LADYSHIP'S

London,
January, 1753.

most obliged, and

most devoted

servant,

Jonas Hanway.

C O N T E N T S

O F T H E

S E C O N D V O L U M E.

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ERRATA omitted in the FIRST VOLUME.

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ERRATA to the SECOND VOLUME.

PAGE 29. lines 4 and 8. for ORMU, read ORMUS. p. 66. l. 2. too, r. to. p. 134. l. 20. majory, r. majority. p. 138. l. 9. is is, r. it is. p. 159. l. 32. RAINLEIGH, r. RASHLEIGH. p. 195. l. 15. or, r. for. p. 194. l. 12. dele and. p. 197. l. 31. amicable, r. amiable. p. 200. l. 4. this, r. his. p. 206. l. 12. dele as. p. ditto, l. 22. dele to. p. 217. l. 23. his PRUSSIAN, r. his PRUSSIAN majesty. p. 218. l. 13. obtain in, r. obtain. p. 246. l. 26. HOLIFERNES, r. HOLOFERNES. p. 309. l. 34. 600,000, r. 6,000,000. p. 313. l. 3. The, r. But the. p. 318. l. 13. fied to bloudy, r. the stad holder ship.

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P A R T I.
 T H E
 A U T H O R ' s R E T U R N
 F R O M
 P E R S I A T O R U S S I A ,
 W I T H

An historical account of the CASPIAN trade, to the prohibition of it.

C H A P. I.

The author returns to RUSSIA with a cargo of raw silk. A barge sent up the VOLGA to ASTRACHAN with letters is plundered, and the crew murdered. The author performs quarantain, and goes up to ASTRACHAN.

I HAVE thus discharged the duty I imposed on myself to give a description of the CASPIAN sea and its shores, from modern and authentic relations, corroborated by my own experience. Having also given

VOL. II.

A

a par-

a particular account of my own adventures and observations in PERSIA, I now prepare to leave that country.

On the 13th of September, 1744, I left RESHD, and arrived at PERYBAZAR, intending to depart for ASTRACHAN. Here we embarked in a flat bottomed PERSIAN boat, to go down the canal formed by the inroads of the sea: the reeds through which we passed sent forth an ungrateful stench. The sand bank on the bar of ENZELLE is often shifted by the north winds, which usually create a great surge, and render it difficult to get off the shore. In about five hours we reached the peninsula of ENZELLE, where the RUSSIAN consul BAKOONIN, and several merchants of that nation had taken up their lodgings in tents, for the convenience of the pure air, and for the easier communication with their ships. I visited the consul, and desired, as there was no plague or epidemical distemper in GHILAN, that he would grant a bill of health for captain WOODROOFE's crew and passengers. Upon which he required me to send on shore two of our RUSSIAN seamen, who wanted to leave the ship, though we could not conveniently navigate her without them: as I knew that he had given countenance to these mutinous fellows, I desired to be excused. He then demanded in very imperious terms, if I acknowledged him as her imperial majesty's consul. I answered in the affirmative, and that otherwise I should not have applied to him for a bill of health. "As such then," replied he, "I demand the two RUSSIAN subjects." Upon this occasion he took the liberty to tell me with some warmth, that I opposed his measures, and had been continually intriguing since I came into PERSIA. What he meant I know not, nor do I believe he knew his own meaning; this I know, that he was too much an enemy of our trade, to relish my endeavours to establish it. If moderate presents and a decent deportment could have made him our friend, the factors either in GHILAN, or in St. PETERSBURG, were not wanting in this respect; but he seemed determined to oppose our interests. I contented myself with laughing in his face, in return for this vague and idle accusation, but as he gave his word of honour, that the men should return on board according to their engagement to serve the ship, I consented

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ed to their coming ashore : we parted in a civil manner, and upon his giving us a bill of health, I went on board.

Though the success which we had at ASTRABAD, was no more than an effect of what has been always considered as one of the antient laws and customs of PERSIA ; yet in the distressed state of that country, had it not been for ELTON's connexions, and the SHAH's pride in appearing superior to these rebellions, we might not have had such good fortune. The whole sum hitherto recovered, was faithfully invested in raw silk, which after so many perils, I had now the satisfaction to see safe on board ; upon which we departed.

The 29th of September, after a passage of 13 days, we came to anchor at YERKIE : here we were visited by the commander of the guardship, who informed us, that if we had any other goods on board but such as were of the produce of GHILAN, and did not declare them, the law made it death to the offender, besides burning the ship and cargo. Mr. BAKOONIN, the RUSSIAN consul, had represented to the governor of AS-TRACHAN, that there was a plague at CASHAN, from whence manufactured PERSIAN goods were wont to be brought into RUSSIA. The commander having required us to come on shore, we went to a small uninhabited island, on the east side of the entrance of the VOLGA. A fire being made, the surgeon and his attendants took the windward of us, and demanded to see our breast, as is usual in such cases ; and after he was satisfied that we had no infection, our letters were delivered to him, being first dipped in vinegar, and dried in the smoak. The next day the commander sent for the captain and myself to come on shore, on the same island, where we were a second time interrogated if we had any CASHAN goods on board, and by virtue of an order he had received for that purpose, required of us to declare in writing in what places we had been since we left RUSSIA.

The 1st of October, we found the water fall from 12 to 9 feet, so that we lay near the ground ; but the danger was not great, because the winds, which create a swell, raised the water also. On the 2d, the wind

blew so hard at south west, that the RUSSIAN ship which departed from GHILAN in our company, having lost her sheet anchor, was driven on shore at CHETIRIE BÖGRIE, and in no small danger of being plundered by the KHALMUCKS. After we had waited here with impatience till the 11th of October, in very cold and disagreeable weather, without any supplies of fresh provision; a signal was at length made by the guard-ship, for us to come on board. Here we had the mortification to learn, that we were ordered to perform a quarantain of six weeks on an uninhabited island, a little to the eastward; but it was impossible for us to execute this order, in all its parts, as there was not sufficient water for our ship by two feet. However, the news which afflicted us most was, the loss of all our letters, dispatches, and passports, with the lives of twelve soldiers: for one of the EMPRESS'S boats which was sent up eleven days before, had been attacked on the way by the KHALMUCKS, and the whole crew murdered. Upon this two boats well armed were sent up the river in search of these barbarians who had committed this outrage. At length on the 16th, I received letters from the ENGLISH agent in ASTRACHAN, acquainting me that captain WOODROOFE'S ship and crew were ordered to perform a quarantain of twelve weeks instead of six, and that neither the ship nor myself would be permitted to return to PERSIA in quarantain. The whole secret of the affair was, that her imperial majesty's ministers finding that Mr. ELTON was deeply engaged in projects, which they considered as detrimental to the RUSSIAN empire, had given orders to the governor of ASTRACHAN, not only to prevent any goods going to the consignment of Mr. ELTON; which was naturally considered as a prelude to the total prohibition of the trade; but also to detain the two BRITISH ships as soon as they should arrive. However, six weeks quarantain would answer the purpose as well as a longer time, and in the issue it was reduced to that period.

The governor of ASTRACHAN, apprehending that I might have something to communicate to him, permitted me to come to the city, on condition of remaining a week longer in quarantain, detached from the crew, and without bringing with me the least part of my cloaths or baggage. Having therefore given the necessary orders for landing the silk, the

the 20th I went up a little branch of the VOLGA, and landed on the island CARAZA, now appointed for quarantain, where we found several warehouses and habitations, with a command of thirty soldiers. Here lodgings were appointed for me in a house detached from the crew, and the other passengers. The RUSSIAN seamen were now become so mutinous, that the master was obliged to put them on shore.

My quarantain being expired, on the 26th the governor of ASTRACHAN sent me his barge rowed by twelve granadiers, with some of his own cloaths, for I was required to strip myself entirely naked in the open air; and pass through the unpleasant ceremony of having a large pail of warm water thrown upon me. Having gone through this discipline, I embarked for ASTRACHAN. The VOLGA about this place falls into a multiplicity of channels; and as the weather was hazy, it was with difficulty we found our way into the great stream. We were soon informed, that four boats of KHALMUCK robbers were in the river; so that self-preservation called on us to be on our guard. In the way we fell in with a command of soldiers searching the creeks for these barbarians. In the evening we got to the noted fishery of LAVRINTIE IWANNICH, where we rested. Here I observed very large dogs, like ENGLISH mastiffs, but not so fierce; also immense quantities of fish, which are prepared with salt, and laid up in large piles.

The 27th, we arrived safe in ASTRACHAN, where I received information of what had passed in LONDON and St. PETERSBURG, for several months before, in relation to ELTON and our unhappy CASPIAN trade. The next day I waited on the governor, whose behaviour was now very different from what it had been twelve months before. He was reserved upon the article of our trade in general, though very inquisitive concerning ELTON. I took notice to him, that I found myself in some disgrace in RUSSIA, on account of my supposed connexion with ELTON; though, in reality, we were entirely separated, his pursuits and mine being of a very different nature. It was plain from his discourse, that he thought this separation was political only; but he was too polite to tell me so in express terms. I did not appear before him with an empty hand, yet his

his behaviour was hardly within the limits of civility. The reproach which I presume he was under for indulging us, had now changed his conduct in such a manner, as if it had been criminal to appear an advocate for our trade. This was the situation of our commerce on the CASPIAN side, whilst the traders at home were at some loss, to whom they should now consign a large quantity of woollen goods laid up in this place, especially as the market in GHILAN was glutted.

I passed my hours very disagreeably, being for the second time since I left St. PETERSBURG, separated from all my cloaths, servants, and conveniencies of life, and detained in a civil quarantain; for I was not permitted to depart for St. PETERSBURG, till the six weeks were expired. This place afforded no amusement; nor had I any inclination to read, my thoughts being too much taken up, or rather perplexed with the unhappy situation of our commerce. During my abode in ASTRACHAN, I had a remarkable proof of the nature of military governments. None of the RUSSIAN merchants wear swords, except those who are immediately employed by the crown, in some particular office; nor are they entitled to military rank. This distinction I experienced; for on the same spot on which I happened to be insulted, when I wore no sword, soon after this accident the mistaken compliments of the military honours were bestowed upon me by the guard, for no other reason than being armed with this weapon.

C H A P. II.

*The author leaves ASTRACHAN, and travels to MOSCO, where he visits the
BRITISH ambassador.*

THE 22d of November, I obtained permission to depart for St. PETERSBURG. The VOLGA was covered with floating ice, insomuch that no boatmen would undertake to carry me to ZARITZEN; therefore I resolved to travel by land on the western banks of that river. As I had with me but two servants, I thought it necessary to join a caravan, the KHALMUCKS having lately committed several murders on that road.

Upon

Upon enquiry, I was informed that BOGDANOFF the secretary of the salt-office at ASTRACHAN, and several RUSSIAN merchants, under the convoy of five coffacks, were then ready for departure. I embraced the opportunity of their company, and crossed the VOLGA.

The 23d, we lost our way for some hours, the desert being full of hills, and in many places very sandy. Towards the evening, the RUSSIANS pitched their TARTAR KABITKAS^a; I preferred sleeping in my waggon, where I was better sheltered from the injuries of the weather. The next day we travelled about 30 wersts in a sandy road, without seeing any object, but a wide extended plain. At night we procured a supply of wood and hay, from a fishery on the VOLGA; we also received the agreeable news, that a boat loaded with provisions, which my fellow travellers had ordered to be sent after them from ASTRACHAN, happily found a passage through the ice, and was come near our encampment. I observed here many human skulls, as if the place had been a field of battle; for the KHALMUCKS always leave their dead uninterred. Upon examining several of these skulls, I could not discover any sutures, which I imagined were necessary for the functions of animal life^b. In winter these wandering TARTARS fly from the rigors of the cold, to the southern extremity of their wild dominions.

The 25th, the road continued sandy, so that we could not travel above 30 wersts in a day. On the 26th, we arrived at the fortification called ENATAFFSKI KREPOST, 120 wersts from ASTRACHAN: here is a village in which two regiments of infantry, and one of dragoons were quartered. The fortification consists of a deep ditch, secured with a breast-work, and well provided with artillery. Though this settlement had been made only the summer before, yet it was well supplied with the necessaries of life, and from its situation promised great improvement. It stands on an eminence, about half a werst from the VOLGA, a small branch of which runs into the valley just below it, and forms a peninsula; the adjacent country is well wooded, and the soil rich. These settlements are of

^a Tents. ^b The learned in surgery report, that the sutures in some particular persons, are by age or accident obliterated; but they doubt if there is any race of men without sutures.

great advantage to the RUSSIAN empire, for at the same time as they awe the TARTARS, and prevent their incursions, they open a trade with them for sheep and horses; and in some places for richer commodities.

The 27th, we proceeded fifteen wersts to another KREPOST, where we took a supply of wood and water, intending to travel in the night. On the 28th, the weather grew more severe, and the snow made wheel carriages very laborious, particularly to the horses in our TARTAR cart, which was loaded with tents and provisions. The next day we met a large caravan going to ASTRACHAN, which informed us that five persons were missing in ZARITZEN and CHERNOYARE, and as a bloody shirt had been found on the way, it was concluded they were murdered. Upon this we gave orders to our cossacks, to keep a stricter watch than usual. Some of the company who had been impatient to proceed forwards, and intended to leave us, now thought it improper to separate from the caravan. The 30th, we arrived at CHERNOYARE, where I had stopped in coming down the VOLGA the year before. Near this place, the KHALMUCK prince, and his flying court, were used to reside. Large posts were set up at certain distances on the adjacent plains, on which they intended to hang out signals, in case of an incursion of any great bodies of the TARTARS; by this means they might communicate the alarm from one fortification to another. Opposite to this place is a rich mine of rock salt, which contributes largely to the revenues of the empire. The VOLGA was now full of floating ice, which rendered the passage of it impracticable, and cut off the communication with ASTRACHAN.

On the 1st of December, our company divided, on which occasion I preferred the party that intended to make the most dispatch; this day we travelled 70 wersts. The 2d, we found a RUSSIAN waggon, and the harnesses of several horses belonging to the five persons who had been really murdered. We travelled the same distance as yesterday, and the day following we arrived at ZARITZEN.

As the snow now rendered the roads impracticable for wheel carriages, I set my waggon on a sledge. During my stay here, I dined with
the

the secretary, who acted as sub-governor of the place. He presented his wife to the company, who saluted her according to custom. She then offered a salver with small silver cups^c of brandy, which was repeated after dinner, but she did not sit with us at table. I was not more amazed at the profusion of meats than at the badness of the cookery: The quantity of beer, quash^d, and bad wine which my companions swallowed, was also prodigious; but it was a feast of friendship, and the intent of it to reconcile the ASTRACHAN secretary and one of the principal merchants of that city who had quarrelled: Their healths being drunk, the master of the house obliged them to kiss each other. They were then saluted by all the company in the same manner; and, to compleat the farce, they immediately reproached each other for past injuries.

On the 6th, I took my leave of my RUSSIAN friends, and departed from ZARITZEN, attended by two servants. We travelled 30 wersts to a village under the lines of communication from the VOLGA to the DON. The 7th, the cold weather increased so much, that the frost seized very strong wine which was under my feather bed. We travelled about 30 wersts to CASHALIENA, situated on the DON: The inhabitants here are a mixture of RUSSIANS and CIRCASSIANS; they are poor but blessed with liberty, having a HETMAN independent of the government of ZARITZEN. In four days more we had travelled only 220 wersts from CASHALIENA, and not without losing our way several times, the snow being yet untrodden. It often happens, particularly on the YAEIK STEP, that passengers who do not provide a compass, lose their way and perish. The winds now blew hard and excessive cold, so that our carriers could not face it, but were more than once obliged to halt.

The 12th, we reached MICHAELOVE. This place is the grand mart of the COSSACK towns. They hold their fair in January, when the merchants of CASAN bring woollen and other manufactures, for which the COSSACKS exchange the furs of foxes, taken near the DON. The next day we travelled to NOVOCHOPERSKAJA, the RUSSIAN barrier on

^c They call them CHARKA.
boiled up.

^d A species of small beer, being a second preparation of it

the river CHOPER, and from thence we proceeded 60 wersts. In the evening we stopt at BRUSANO, where the inhabitants informed us that a band of robbers had broken into two houses the night before, and plundered them; they had moreover tortured the peasants, by putting fire between their fingers to oblige them to deliver their money. These robbers had taken the road to TAMBOVE, and were so closely pursued, that we found hams and other provisions which they had dropped in their flight.

The 14th, we travelled 40 wersts, and arrived at a post hut on the desert, where we met the KHALMUCK embassador, attended by several RUSSIAN officers returning from MOSCO, whither he and his retinue go yearly to eat wholesome food, and obtain the present of a coat. From thence we proceeded to KUSMINKA, and the 15th we reached the city of TAMBOVE, situated on the river SNA. The next day proceeding 80 wersts we arrived at KOSLOVE: this is a large city, but all the houses are of wood, and make a very mean appearance. Here is a monastery where the monks maintain themselves chiefly by their own labour, and are consequently no great burthen to the society. The 17th, we arrived at ORANIENBURG, a fort 60 wersts from KOSLOVE, built by the once famous prince MENZIKOFF, who had the grant of a certain duty on the merchandize which is carried this way: In this place state prisoners are sometimes confined.

The 18th, we advanced 40 wersts, passing through many villages surrounded with arable lands, and well watered. The woods which the eye every way meets at certain distances, contribute much to beautify the prospect; but this was no season for rural pleasures. The 20th, these two days we travelled about 150 wersts. Upon the road we had frequent opportunities of observing in what manner the peasants render their houses habitable in cold weather. As few of them have any chimneys, the smoak of their stoves is carried out through the windows; but this method leaves so thick a cloud, that 'tis impossible to breathe above two or three feet from the floor till the wood is burnt to ashes; and consequently those who would not be suffocated must crawl in upon their hands. The 21st, we arrived at KHOLUMNA, an antient city, of which I have

I have already made mention in my journey to PERSIA. This being the season that the peasants send their tributes to their lords, the roads were crowded with carts loaded with provisions of every kind.

The 22d, we arrived in Mosco, where I was very kindly received by Mr. JOHN TAMESZ. Here I received letters acquainting me with the death of a relation, by which I reaped certain pecuniary advantages, much exceeding any I could expect from my engagement in the CASPIAN affairs: providence was thus indulgent to me, as if it meant to reward me for the sincerity of my endeavours.

Lord TYRAWLEY, the BRITISH ambassador, was preparing to set out the next day for St. PETERSBURG, the court being already gone for that place some few days before. My lord had laboured to reconcile the RUSSIAN court to Mr. ELTON, his conduct having been represented as subservient to the interest of the trade. The steady opposition of the court had however obliged the RUSSIA company to a submission, and the ambassador referred the matter to Mr. WOLFF, who was at this time appointed his majesty's consul at St. PETERSBURG. I thought it my duty to wait on his lordship on this occasion, but his hearing being at that time impaired by a cold, as was my voice with the same distemper; this conference, the only one I ever had with his lordship, was very short.



C H A P. III.

The author leaves MOSCO and arrives at St. PETERSBURG. The manner in which the EMPRESS of RUSSIA travels. Moral reflexions on credulity and prejudices, in relation to the conduct of Mr. ELTON.

THE kindness of Mr. TAMESZ, and my own indisposition, engaged me to stay in MOSCO till the 28th of December. I had in the interim provided a light sledge, being determined to travel post, to avoid the delays I had suffered in coming from ZARITZEN.

The great duke was now taken ill on the road with the small pox, so that great part of the court remained at CATILLOWA, and the horses being kept for their use, I was obliged to travel with the same cattle two or three stages together. Nothing can be accommodated more for ease and dispatch than travelling in sledges in frosty weather, when the snow is well trodden : As a proof of this, I may mention, that I slept without waking whilst I was carried 100 wersts*. The whole road was now marked out with young fir-trees set in the snow on both sides, at the distance of about 20 yards ; the consumption on these occasions, at a mo-

* 66 ENGLISH miles.

derate computation, is 128,480 trees. There were also gratapales of wood at certain distances, to be set on fire to give light to the streets and her court, if they passed by in the night. Her imperial majesty is drawn on these occasions in a large machine, which contains her bed, a table, and other conveniences, where four persons may take a rest. This machine is set on a sledge, and drawn by 24 post horses. If any of them fail on the road, others are ready to supply their place. She is generally three days and three nights on the way. There are several small palaces on the road, where she sometimes stops to refresh herself. PETER the GREAT once made the journey to St. PETERSBURG in 46 hours, being 488 ENGLISH miles; but it may be easily imagined this prince's carriage was of a very different kind from that of the EMPRESS, his daughter.

Early on the 1st of January 1745, I arrived in St. PETERSBURG, having performed the journey from MOSCO in about three days and a half. I had been absent a year and 16 weeks, in which time I had travelled about 4000 ENGLISH miles by land, through a variety of adventures and accidents, not indeed the most perilous, yet such as loudly called for a grateful acknowledgement of the goodness of providence.

I have already made some reflections[†] on Mr. ELTON's breach with me, at a time when I neither did, nor intended him any harm; on the contrary, that we might finish with him in an amicable manner, I offered him a sum of 10,000 crowns, in lieu of several demands, which however appeared to me to have very little foundation in justice. The circumstances I now was under, revived the remembrance of this incident. Tho' the quarrels of private persons seldom deserve a place in public relations, yet they sometimes serve as lessons of instruction, inasmuch as we learn from them how men are transported by their resentments, or how moderated by a love of justice and charity. What I have said against Mr. ELTON, I hope my reader will impute to the love of justice, the desire of self-vindication, and my impartial regard to historical truth: though I must confess it is next to impossible for a man to answer for his

[†] Vol. I. chap. 49.

own heart, as to those mixtures of malignity which seem to be inseparable from human nature.

Mr. ELTON was jealous of the reports I might make concerning his engagement and other connexions: In order to invalidate these, in case I should represent things in an unfavourable light for him, he strove to prevent my obtaining in RUSSIA the justice he had arbitrarily withheld from me in PERSIA. I had now the mortification in St. PETERSBURG to find several persons, who, to use no harsher expression, were become my opponents, because they imagined it to be their interest. Few mens hearts are so corrupt as to offend in a case of this nature, with their eyes open, yet things always appear to some of the colour, in which the medium of their interest represents them.

Men who act upon principles of honour, and with a zeal for the interest they espouse, very often flatter themselves into a security founded in the consciousness of their own innocence: their confidence is thus apt to create a contempt of falsehood, however artfully disguised under the appearance of truth; and they are from the very frame of their minds, exposed to be wounded by the arts of malice; these being weapons they never use; and consequently do not always learn how to guard against them. A plaintive strain is also as ill calculated to charm the generality of men into a love of justice, as it is fruitless towards the advancement of our interest in the world. The goodness of men's characters in general, prevails but little, except with those who love virtue themselves; so that complaints not supported with evidence, nor enforced by authority, are seldom listened to. A great delicacy of sentiment proves how we would live in a world which we frame to our fancies, rather than teaches how to conduct ourselves in the busy part of real life. It is also melancholy to consider, how great a propensity there is in most people, to listen to injurious reports of others, and to demand the most indubitable proof of their innocence, whilst they take the most trivial evidence of their guilt. And as to gratitude, which men of contemplative minds are apt to deify; though the goodness of the heart is more concerned in it than the strength of the understanding, yet in many cases these must go together:

ther : for when the mind is warped by prejudices, and wrong notices of things, gratitude seldom has its force; for the service asked, and the service done, can have the same aspect, only to minds rightly cultivated and informed. But there is perhaps much less ingratitude in the world than men complain of; for as we generally constitute ourselves the judges of our own merit, it is more than probable we shall sometimes over-rate it: the consequence of which produces, I believe, more than half the resentments in the world. Besides, mankind are seldom satisfied with acting right, unless they meet applause; but this likewise is a conduct in a great measure repugnant to the true notion of virtue.

To apply this moral to my own story; I acquitted my correspondents, in some measure, for mistaken apprehensions, into which I might have been myself betrayed in their circumstances. Our trade had a gloomy aspect : it was not surprising that fears and jealousy should arise ; for this is generally the case in such a state of things; and 'tis sometimes hard to distinguish friends from foes : but they honourably referred the several matters in dispute, which were at length happily determined in my favour, by impartial arbitrators. I obtained my own; and as to any other personal advantage, it consisted in exercising my mind in patience under trials, and increasing my knowledge of the world.

C H A P. IV.

An account of the quantity and different sorts of silk produced in the northern provinces of PERSIA. Manner of ordering silk worms, and of buying silk in GHILAN.

I WAS now happily arrived at St. PETERSBURG, where I resided about five years. During this time my journal is of course discontinued: I shall therefore proceed in the historical account of the CASPIAN trade, till the period of its dissolution; first making a few previous and necessary remarks.

There are doubtless many accounts of raw silk, from its original appearance to the beautiful manufactures made of it, much superior to any
I am

I qualified to give; yet it will not, I think, be improper to mention this, among such other particulars as occurred to my observation, during my short abode in PERSIA. If we may judge from the duties paid in RESHD, the trade began to flourish on our arrival there; for in 1742 the customs amounted only to 20,000 crowns, but in 1743 they rose to 50,000, and made about the same sum in 1744. The annual produce of GHILAN in good times, I compute to be 30,000 batmans^s of raw silk, of which about 6000 are consumed in PERSIA, 4000 sent to BABYLON, and the remainder over the CASPIAN sea. SHIRVAN formerly produced a large quantity, but that province is now in a much worse condition than GHILAN. This commodity is brought to market all the year round, in greater or smaller quantities, but chiefly in August and September. They have several kinds of it, the first is called SHERBAFF, or weavers silk, because the weavers, particularly in RESHD and CASHAN, are supposed to use the best they can procure; but what generally goes for the PERSIAN fabrics at CASHAN is the finest sort, the threads of which are more split; this is usually all white, whereas the other is white and yellow; nor is it wound off so short, so that though finer we do not esteem it so much as SHERBAFF. There is also a sort called ARABS, from being bought up for the most part by ARABIANS, who send it into TURKEY, where it is afterwards manufactured.

GHILAN produces the best and greatest quantities of silk; next to this come SHIRVAN and ERIVAN, then MAZANDERAN and lastly ASTRABAD; but the latter is vastly inferior, serving only for a manufacture mixed with cotton, of which they make their shirts and drawers. GHILAN silk is sent into RUSSIA and TURKEY, and part of it is kept for the PERSIAN manufactures; but that of MAZANDERAN and ASTRABAD is seldom or ever exported. From SHIRVAN they formerly sent all their silk to TURKEY and RUSSIA. The peasants of GHILAN perceiving that the ENGLISH required the SHERBAFF to be short wound, prepared it in that manner, and the silk proved good, and was much esteemed by our manufacturers. The peasants gave this reason for chusing to have their

filk long wound : in moist weather the filk wound on a large wheel is not so apt to stick or be gummed together, in those parts where it lays on the bars, or divisions of the wheel, where it is often rendered black, and so hard that it cannot without great difficulty be separated, besides, with a large wheel they make more dispatch ; but all this time they did not consider the inconveniency of winding it off to be manufactured. These peasants are extremely tenacious with regard to the price of their filk : their business is usually done by brokers, but the buyer attends to pay the money. They sell it in small quantities, so that a cargo cannot always be collected. Besides this inconvenience, there is that of bad money, for they are often obliged to cut it through, in order to see that it is not copper silvered over. Their jealousy ran so high, that the governor of GHILAN once published an order, that whoever refused any kind of money, except it was manifestly bad, his ears and nose should be cut off, and his estate confiscated : but I never heard that this order was carried into execution.

The filk worm, as is well known, takes its birth from an egg no bigger than a small pin's head. In the month of March, when the sun is already very warm, I observed the peasants in GHILAN prepare to give life to the eggs which they had preserved during the winter, carrying them for the most part about them, in the warmest part of their bodies, and particularly under their arms. In ten or more days, according to the heat it receives, it becomes a maggot and begins to feed : the shrub mulberry-trees which are annually pruned, produce the most tender and proper leaves for their food. In about 40 days the worm arrives to its maturity, and winds itself by daily gradations into a pod of filk as big as a pigeon's egg. When this egg is completely formed, which is usually known by the silence of the worm within, they suffocate it by covering it with blankets, or by the heat of the sun ; unless they wind off the filk immediately, for then warm water answers the same purpose. Some of them however must be permitted to live and perforate the pod, for when it breaks from its enclosure, it casts its seed or eggs, by means of which the generation is preserved. From the pods thus perforated the filk cannot

be wound off as from the others, but being prepared by pounding, it is spun off like cotton yarn. This silk we call **KEDGE**, the remains or refuse of which is so inferior, as to admit only of being milled and made into silk wadding.

The cleanness and clearness of raw silk constitute a great part of its goodness; inferior silk has many knots and coarse stuff sticking to the threads. The *moss*, or head of silk, often appears fair to the eye, when much coarseness is concealed under it; for it is a trick of the peasants of **GHILAN**, to hide the defects as they wind it off from the pod. The best silk has constantly a gloss or brightness: the white or silver-coloured is most esteemed, but in **GHILAN** the greatest part comes yellow from the worm. White silk that is soiled, is generally found to have lain in a moist place, which hurts its strength as well as beauty. Silk should be equal, strong, and round as wire, and also clean; the greatest part of it should be in a medium with regard to fineness, for the fineness is not the easiest to manufacture to advantage. The threads of silk being thus even, that is, as near as possible of one size, and not coarse and fine intermixed, can be most easily separated in the winding; but otherwise the coarse is apt to tear the fine, and make waste in manufacturing it. The size which we usually most esteem, is wound off 16 or 18 pods or cocoons. A *moss*, which is about 60 inches in the round, can be most conveniently reeled off; longer is not approved of, and if shorter it is apt to break by the quick revolutions of the reel, being glued together with its own gum. It is also to be observed, that there is a vast difference between silk cleaned by combing, and that which remains just as it came from the pod. The former to an unskilful person, who does not observe the broken threads and the ends of the combings, shall look better than the latter, though it be considerably worse.

When the **ARMENIANS** and **RUSSIANS** pack up their silk, they generally comb the heads of the *mosses* to deceive the buyer, but this makes it really worse, because it hurts it in the winding off. These people, who were never famed for probity, have long practised the art of false package. Hence, at **SMYRNA**, and **ALEPPO**, where the **ARMENIANS** sell their silk

filk to the factors of our TURKEY company, as likewise in RUSSIA, it has often been rejected upon that account; especially as they hold it a constant maxim, not to suffer their bales to be broken up except at the heads. The price of filk in GHILAN generally arises in proportion to the advance on foreign goods, except in a very great scarcity, as of late. During the course of the BRITISH CASPIAN trade, we found it vary from 12 to 18 crowns the batman^b; it was generally about 15, but within these two or three last years, the RUSSIANS and ARMENIANS have paid from 30 to 40 crowns.

C H A P. V.

The kinds of EUROPEAN goods which the RUSSIANS and ARMENIANS vend in the northern provinces of PERSIA, with a succinct account of the PERSIAN weights, measures, and coins.

I SHALL finish this short view of the trade of PERSIA, by giving a general idea of the different kinds of EUROPEAN goods which the RUSSIANS and ARMENIANS now vend in the northern provinces of that kingdom, with an account of the coins, weights and measures, according to the best informations I could procure; but I must observe that there seems to be a great discordance among writers in this particular. The chief demand of EUROPEAN goods, next to DUTCH cloth, is for BRITISH woollens, such as hair-lift drabs of 12 to 19 l. per peice of 37 yards in white, which the PERSIANS call REGREST: of these they usually consume nine bales in 30.

GLOUCESTER cloths of about 9 l. 10 s. to 11 l. 10 s. per piece, of 42 yards in white, which the PERSIANS call MAGHOOT, and consume thereof 10 bales in 30.

Ordinary YORKSHIRE cloths of about 3 s. 6 d. per yard dyed, which the PERSIANS call LONDORA, and consume thereof 11 bales in 30.

Five bales of shalloon of a middling quality, are ordinarily required in 100 bales of cloth.

From HOLLAND they reckon one bale of MAGHOOT, one of shalloons, and one of long ells, to 10 bales of BEGREST.

ENGLISH embossed cloth is also demanded; likewise indigo, cochineal, and in good times, some rich filks, gold and silver lace, velvets, and other rich manufactures.

The PERSIANS had been long accustomed to DUTCH cloths, which were thicker, and for the most part better shorn, and of a softer and finer wool, the crimson and scarlets of a finer dye; but they were dearer than ours. However after two or three years we improved some of our drabs, so as to be almost equal to the DUTCH cloths in substance, and, in my judgement, superior in softness and beauty.

The transit duty in RUSSIA is 3 per cent. on the value, with an agio of 150 per cent; which, with other petty charges, makes it about 8 per cent only in the custom house. In PERSIA the duty on EUROPEAN goods is 5 per cent. on the value.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MONEY IN PERSIA.

The TOMAN, BISTIE, and DENAER are imaginary, but the other denominations are real; the valuation and currency of silver money are, viz.

	Value in denaers.	Weight in muscahs.
A toman is 10 hazardenaers.	10000	50
It must be observed that the hazardenaer (which the ENGLISH called mill denaer, and the RUSSIANS a ruble) is computed by EUROPEANS, and accounts kept in hundreds.	100	
Consequently the same in lower denominations, viz.		
Peng sid denaer, or rupie, or nadirie	50	2½
Sid denaer, or shis shahie	30	1½
Abassie	20	1
Sid denaer, or mahmudie	10	
Shahie, or shahie	5	

Bistie

	Value in denaers.	Weight in muscals.
Bistie - - - - -	2	
Kazbekie - - - - -	$\frac{1}{2}$	

An ENGLISH crown melted down in RESHD, produced at 17 denaers¹ per muscal, only 95 denaers; but we always computed the mildenaer or 100 denaers, equal to an ENGLISH crown of 5 s.

THE GOLD COINS CURRENT ARE

	Value.	Weight in muscals and nackoot or karrats, 24 = 1 muscal.
Muhr ashreffie, or tréble ducat of } 6 mildenaer.	6—00	2 9
Ashreffie, or old ducat. - -	1—80	0 18—equal in fineness to a HOLLANDS ducat,
D° shah nadir, or new ducat. -	1—80	0 18
D° of mesched - - - -	1—80	0 18
D° bokhara current at 2 10 and	2—20	1
Fonduckli, turkish ducat, about -	1—80	0 18
Venetian ducat	1—80	0 17 $\frac{1}{2}$
The common abassie should be -	2—00	1
D° shah fultan hussien - - -	-	1 4
D° shah fuliman - - - -	-	1 14
D° shah fessie - - - -	-	1 16

N. B. 80 $\frac{24 \times 16}{10000}$ muscals = 1 lb troy.

WEIGHTS.

1200 muscals, or 1 batman, are averdupois lb	12	20343
ordinarily computed 12 $\frac{1}{3}$ lb ENGLISH.		
98 $\frac{1}{2}$ D° - - - - -	1	
1 D° I have found, to be 3 dwts. $\frac{1}{2}$ grain, } but nicer calculators call it grains }	71	1888
1 dunk, or donk - - - -	11	8648
1 karrat - - - - -	2	9662
1 hæbbie - - - - -	0	9887 $\frac{1}{2}$

107 muscals are lb 1 HOLLANDS.

¹ The common price of silver.

The

The old batman, or manshah, is 1200 muscals, or 200 drams, by which silk, cochineal, indigo, kedge, &c. are weighed.

The new batman shah is 1280 muscals, or $213 \frac{1}{3}$ drams, by which heavy goods are weighed.

At TAVRIS the batman called tayrizie contains 640 muscals, likewise chiefly used at MESCHED and HERAT, as it is also, more or less, through the whole country, for several species of goods. The antient batman of TAVRIS weighed 600 muscals.

At ISFAHAN, at SHAMAKIE, and all through SHIRVAN the silk batman contains 48 stils, or 1600 muscals, and 3 stils are called a shadah, and weigh 100 muscals; but the batman by which indigo is weighed, contains only 800 muscals.

At TÆHIRAN the batman is called re, and contains 1600 muscals; rice, wheat, liquors, and provisions are sold by the batman.

A chærvan, or load of a camel, is 50 batmans.

A load of a mule 25 batmans, according to the king's computation, but carriers usually load 30 to 34.

A chærvan of a horse is 20 batmans, but carriers usually load 25.

The same load of an afs, according to the common rule of carriers, is 15 batmans.

Kæbbie, a handful.

Dizz, or gerib, 1000 rice.

4 batman of shahi rice make 1 kuttie.

Corn and grain, and even liquids are sold by the batman, but rice when winnowed is sold per measure, ojar.

The muscal through all PERSIA is the same: the silversmiths commonly make use of pieces of money instead of weights, especially sifid denaers of $1 \frac{1}{2}$ muscal in weight.

1 karrat is 3 hæbbie.

4 karrats, or nockoot, are 1 dunk.

6 dunk 1 muscal.

6 muscals 1 dram.

THE MEASURE OF RESHD.

7 horse hair breadths are 1 barley corn.

7 barley corns are 1 finger.

24 fingers are half a gæze, or gaz = 1 cubit.

4000 cubits are 1 mile.

3 miles are one farfang.

But the measure in common use is the gæze zerræ, divided into 16 parts, called gierrie.

The foreign and PERSIAN merchants in buying of woollens, compute the gæze at 40 inches ENGLISH, but it is only 39 $\frac{1}{2}$.

1 D° is computed equal to 10 RUSSIAN archeens of 28 inches.

105 SMYRNA pikes are reckoned equal to 70 PERSIAN gæze.

The mokæfar gæze is 1 less than the shah gæze, and by the mokæfar, PERSIAN manufactures, and most part of retail goods are measured.

The tavis gæze is 1 per cent. longer than the shah gæze.

C H A P. VI.

The state of PERSIA in 1743 to 1745 in respect to commerce, containing several remarks on the trade of that country, as carried on by the FRENCH, DUTCH, RUSSIANS and ARMENIANS, with a succinct view of the revenues and military force of PERSIA.

THE countenance which we had received in PERSIA gave us an earnest of future success in that country; but at the same time inflamed the jealousy of the RUSSIAN merchants, who had never experienced such favour. However dangerous the enterprize I had been engaged in was at setting out, the issue of it proved the most successful during the whole course of the CASPIAN trade. It might indeed have cost us dear; for had not 1500 of the SHAH's forces defeated the rebel army, which my reader will remember consisted of 3000 men, in all human probability the whole southern coast of the CASPIAN sea must have submitted to their arms: thus the attempt of going to MESCHED by the route of ASTRABAD, would have been a means of involving the whole BRITISH commerce in those parts,

parts, in one common ruin, and of exhibiting that tragedy which was acted four years afterwards.

It was certainly a great mistake in us to attempt a trade to MESCHED by this or any other rout. Mr. ELTON, as the reader will remember, considered the removal of our EAST INDIA company's servants from ISFAHAN, as a material circumstance to encourage the factors of the RUSSIA company in the prosecution of this design; but in reality the very reasons that moved the former to order their factors from thence, should have confined the latter to RESHD, the place of our importation; and instead of seeking the PERSIAN merchants, we should have left them to seek us. How much the PERSIAN traders resented my attempt, may be judged by the declaration which HAHDGEE ABDULCRIM made to me at CASEIN, viz. "That if I had not been robbed at ASTRABAD it was highly improbable I should ever arrive safe in MESCHED." To this purpose we may remember that Mr. GRÆME was murdered in returning from that city the year before; but this indeed was imputed to his own indiscretion in not waiting for a caravan. Mr. VAN MIEROP had better fortune, with regard to his person; but he was several times obliged to take to his arms.

The account which Mr. VAN MIEROP gave of the import and consumption of MESCHED, extracted from the custom-house register of that city, made the quantities very inconsiderable; and the whole was sent by ARMENIANS, RUSSIANS, and GREEKS, from RESHD, viz.

	Pieces of begrest.	Pieces of londora.	Pieces of maghoot.
MESCHED and its neighbourhood.	305	100	700
For the consumption of BOKHARA.	20	50	10
Orange.	15	30	5
Balkh.	15	15	5
Anthuy.	10	15	5

Besides these, not distinguished with regard to the place of their consumption, were imported,

1000 shalloons } the most part from KHERMAN, by the way of the
1500 long ells. } gulph of PERSIA.

250 batmans of lahorî indigo, brought by the INDIANS, of whom there are a considerable number, who also trade in cloth from RESHD.

500 batmans of AMERICAN indigo from RESHD, by ARMENIANS; formerly it came from TURKEY, where they bought it of the FRENCH.

300 batmans of cochineal from RESHD, brought by ARMENIANS and others.

Though MESCHED was under the particular protection of NADIR SHAH, it was with difficulty that this gentleman sold to the value of 22000 crowns during the space of 27 months which he resided there, and great part of this sum was in exchange for PERSIAN manufactures, which no reason but the absolute impossibility of obtaining money induced him to accept; such was the distress of that country. For my own part I had the utmost reason to consider this as a military trade, and myself as having made a campaign. The journey had however afforded me an opportunity of seeing PERSIA, and of enquiring into many circumstances relating to the oriental commerce.

The confusion arising from intestine broils, must ever give a deep wound to trade, the security of which is founded in the arts of peace and the execution of civil laws: but the government of PERSIA was now rendered precarious, to a degree that threatened the subversion of that monarchy. The TURKS, the LESGEES, the INDIANS, the TURKUMANS, and other frontier nations, either favoured these intestine factions, or endeavoured to recover some limb which had been torn from them; so that every imaginable excess was committed upon no better principle than the power of doing it. In this situation it was the ill fortune of the RUSSIA company to find PERSIA governed by an usurper, and a tyrant whose cruelty had no bounds: and the prospect at this time in a more particular manner was overshadowed with a dark cloud, which threatened a storm. The RUSSIA company had already felt some of the difficulties in which they were involved; others they foresaw, but knew not how to provide against them.

The rebellions in SHIRVAN in 1743, of SHIRASS, ASTRABAD, HAZAR-JERIB in 1744, were not suppressed but by the slaughter of many thou-

sands, and the almost total ruin of those provinces. It is true that NADIR had enriched his treasures with the plunder of INDIA, yet the heavy taxes he had imposed on his people to support such a continued series of foreign and domestic wars, had reduced them to an extremity of poverty, and driving them to despair, obliged thousands to seek a voluntary banishment.

I have already observed that NADIR's army had been supported for upwards of four years by the taxes drawn from his PERSIAN subjects, and that his INDIAN treasure remained in a great measure untouched; this was one principal cause of their distress: by endeavouring to deprive them of the instruments of rebellion, he provoked them to rebel, and chastising them he completed their ruin. Could any trade be carried on under these circumstances?

It was computed that NADIR had near 200,000 men in pay, the charge of whom, officers included, was computed at 100 crowns¹ a year, and consequently the expence of maintaining his army was 20 millions of crowns², exclusive of the contingent expence.

In good times the provinces are supposed to bring into the exchequer the following sums:

		Mildenaers.	£.
The conquered provinces in INDIA were said to produce in 1743, 25 crore ¹ , which makes PERSIAN money	}	12,500,000—	3,125,000
KANDAHAR and HÆRAT	- - - -	1,000,000—	250,000
KHORASAN	- - - -	2,000,000—	500,000
ASTRABAD	-- -- --	50,000—	12,500
MAZANDERAN	-- -- --	400,000—	100,000
GHILAN, of which a million was once demanded, but is now set at	}	500,000—	125,000
SHIRVAN, including GEORGIA and some parts of DAGESTAN		1,500,000—	375,000

Carry over 17,950,000—4,487,500

¹ 25 l

² 5 millions sterling.

¹ Crore or 10 laks are 500,000 crowns.

	Mildenaers.	£.
Brought over	17,500,000	—4,487,500
ERIVAN and the parts of ARMENIA sub- ject to PERSIA }	2,000,000	— 500,000
IRAK, including CASBIN, ISFAHAN, and the country extending to the gulph, being the antient PARTHIA. }	1,500,000	— 375,000
ADERBEITZAN, in which ARDEVIL and TAVRIS are included ^m . }	1,500,000	— 375,000
	<hr/> 22,950,000—5,737,500 <hr/>	

The reader will naturally observe how great a part of the PERSIAN revenue was produced by NADIR's conquest in INDIA: it will also be obvious to him, that the charge of an army is certain, but the revenues to support that army are uncertain, especially if they commit the least violence; and here the whole was a scene of rapine: the consequence was, that except the conquered provinces in INDIA and those of GHILAN and KHORASAN, the rest of the kingdom was so impoverished as to be disabled from paying perhaps a quarter part of the usual tax. Next to the above mentioned, KANDAHAR, HERAT and ERIVAN were said to be the least distressed, but misery reigned in every quarter.

Of these 200,000 men, 60,000 were quartered in CABUL and the adjacent provinces on the western side of the SINDⁿ, which had been conquered and kept by NADIR; and the revenues appear to have much exceeded the expence of supporting that part of the army. If one considers this number of troops and large revenue, it was not unreasonable to expect a large demand for cloth and other EUROPEAN goods, but we were not then acquainted with the nature of cloathing a PERSIAN army; for indeed not a third part of it wears EUROPEAN cloth.

With regard to the quantity of goods imported by the PERSIANS over the CASPIAN sea, whilst the port of GAMBROON was open to the several

^m ADERBEITZAN is the antient MEDIA.

ⁿ Antient INDUS.

nations of EUROPE, the CASPIAN traders could but ill form an idea of the general consumption in that kingdom. The RUSSIA company were the more sanguine in their expectations, from a knowledge that in the beginning of this century, the factors of the EAST INDIA company had extended their trade as far as TAVRIS on the western coast of the CASPIAN, where they sold great quantities of the woollen manufactures of GREAT BRITAIN; but when the BRITISH factors in GHILAN, whose situation was now so much more advantageous, would have made an experiment of the like nature, they discovered that city and its confines to be in so ruinous a state as blasted their hopes of doing any business in those quarters.

When PERSIA enjoyed repose, the agent of the EAST INDIA company of ENGLAND lived in splendor: the regal government being held in great veneration in that empire, he acted as immediately under the crown of ENGLAND, and from thence derived an influence which he could not otherwise have possessed: his pompous manner of living had some good effects, but the expence was too considerable to be long grateful to the company.

With regard to the advantages the RUSSIANS enjoyed, it must be observed that besides the RUSSIAN minister who attends at the PERSIAN court, generally under the title of resident, the consul of that empire who is fixed in GHILAN is considered in some measure in a ministerial light, and allowed a company of RUSSIAN soldiers as a guard, at the expence of the EMPRESS their sovereign. Hence it was that Mr. ELTON recommended so strongly that a commission should be given to one of the BRITISH subjects in GHILAN, by which I presume he meant himself, to act as consul; but the state of things was now changed, and every step that could be taken to establish the interest of the RUSSIA company in PERSIA, in effect blocked up our passage through RUSSIA into PERSIA.

The advantages which the EAST INDIA company of ENGLAND enjoyed beyond the RUSSIA company, were such as will hardly admit of a comparison, nor indeed is it material to my present purpose: I shall pass over
in

in silence the trade from GREAT BRITAIN to the gulph of PERSIA, as also that between PERSIA and INDIA; observing only that after the PORTUGUESE had settled themselves in EAST INDIA they took the island of ORMU, and, being masters of the sea, carried on the trade between those countries. That great prince SHAH ABASS thought it his interest to dislodge them from his neighbourhood, for which purpose he entered into a treaty in 1622, with the agent of the EAST INDIA company, and by means of their ships he took ORMU and demolished the town, bringing the commerce of that island to the continent. This induced that prince to build the town of BENDER ABASSI, now called GAMBROON, which is reputed the greatest place of trade in all PERSIA. For these good services ABASS made the company a grant of half the customs of the new town in perpetuity; but his successors have not religiously observed the engagement.

The invasion of the AFGHANS in 1722, ruined the company's settlement at ISFAHAN in no less a degree than the death of NADIR occasioned the pillage of the RUSSIA company's factors in RESHD, as I shall have occasion to relate. Their loss, though very considerable, was not I believe superior to that of the CASPIAN traders, except the long interruption of their trade: in both cases extortion and plunder were carried to an extreme. The ARMENIANS suffered also*: the DUTCH likewise met the common fortune of the times, and being obliged to withdraw the greatest part of their factory from ISFAHAN, they settled in GAMBROON, where they secured themselves in a great measure by very strong fortifications: they did not come into PERSIA till ten years after us, but as they are the only traders in spice, so much in use over all ASIA, they have been encouraged to continue their commerce, though with less advantage than in past times.

The FRENCH first appeared in PERSIA in 1665, and concluded a treaty with the SHAH of PERSIA in 1674, but the miseries of that country in consequence of the invasion of the AFGHANS in 1722, compelled them also to retire from ISFAHAN. A very pompous proposal was made by

* See history of revolutions in vol. III.

a FRENCH projector, in relation to a trade over the CASPIAN in the beginning of this century, upon the occasion of an embassy from SHAH SULTAN HUSSEIN to LEWIS XIV. This person imagined that caravans could not be conducted safely through RUSSIA, and therefore he proposed to carry merchandize in vessels by the lakes and rivers with which that country abounds; but in regard to robbers he seemed ignorant that this would not mend the matter in the least. He mentioned also several commodities which he proposed to return to FRANCE, particularly rhubarb; but this article, as I have already remarked, is monopolized by the RUSSIAN government: this scheme never was, and I believe never will be carried into execution.

But of all the nations who have endeavoured to establish a trade with the north of PERSIA, the RUSSIANS are the most advantageously situated: the intestine broils of that country have not put a stop to their commerce; on the contrary they have sometimes turned to their advantage; for besides the ordinary course of their trade to and from PERSIA, they reap considerable profit by their trading voyages on the CASPIAN sea, carrying rice from GHILAN to BAKU, DERBEND, and sometimes to the southern coast, as I have already mentioned. And as this export of provision sometimes creates a scarcity in GHILAN, it occasions a demand for RUSSIAN meal, from which again new benefits are derived. Besides cloth and other EUROPEAN goods, the RUSSIANS also export red leather, furs, and linen for the northern provinces of PERSIA, and make their returns in raw silk. Hence arose their jealousy of the BRITISH traders; for the RUSSIAN merchants, particularly those of MOSCO, and the trading towns on the VOLGA, no sooner observed that the PERSIAN markets were glutted with EUROPEAN goods, by the RUSSIA company of ENGLAND, than they began to murmur, resolving to make remonstrances to court on the subject.

The ARMENIANS indeed have for some years extended their trade to the north of PERSIA, much beyond the RUSSIANS; for by means of

It has been said that this was entirely counterfeit, to amuse LEWIS XIV. in his old age; but it appears from several circumstances, as well as the nature of the thing, that this opinion was very ill grounded, if not ridiculous.

their

their credit in HOLLAND, joined to their own capitals, they employed in this branch of commerce about 100,000 l. This stock however was now insufficient to support them; for the excessive glut of the market in GHILAN, and the terrible oppression of the PERSIAN government, stopped the circulation of their trade, and consequently sunk their credit in HOLLAND. At length they were also constrained to abandon PERSIA, and in 1745 they retired to ASTRACHAN, to wait with their effects till there should be a fair opportunity of returning thither.

Whilst the RUSSIA company were in security, they could not be insensible of the benefits of buying raw silk immediately of the peasants of GHILAN; but advantages may be over-rated; and indeed cease to be such, when attended with vexations and inconvenience, like those which the CASPIAN traders experienced. It was not however the less ungrateful to observe the ARMENIANS, a people in themselves despicable, and of no consequence to RUSSIA, in competition with the BRITISH nation, supported and protected in this trade, when measures were so apparently taking to wrest it from us. The RUSSIANS do indeed alledge that many of these ARMENIANS are subjects of their country, and it is true in general, that such of them as are engaged in the CASPIAN trade do put themselves under the protection of that empire: these people are likewise educated in all the ferilities of ASIA, and understanding how to accommodate themselves to indignities, which the genius of a free nation will hardly submit to, are in some measure the better qualified to carry on a commerce through foreign dominions.

The share which the RUSSIA company enjoyed in this branch of commerce made an ECLAT, but it was not yet pushed to near the height which the ARMENIANS had carried it: of what consequence it was to the latter, may be easily deduced from hence, that not many years ago they imported into RUSSIA near 1000 bales of raw silk^a; of this the greatest part was sent to AMSTERDAM; part of the silk was also sent to

^a Of 25 batmans is 300,000 lbs. of 16 ounces, whereas all the BRITISH trade never amounted to half that quantity.

the GERMAN markets, and about 100 bales remained in the city of MOSCO for the use of the RUSSIAN manufactures.

C H A P. VII.

The RUSSIA company endeavour to reconcile Mr. ELTON to the court of St. PETERSBURG. They urge him to leave PERSIA. Their letters upon this occasion to lord TYRAWLEY, his majesty's embassador to the RUSSIAN court; as also to Mr. ELTON. The ARMENIANS intrigue to dispossess us of the CASPIAN trade.

DURING my negotiations in PERSIA, the RUSSIA company in LONDON endeavoured by all possible means to reconcile Mr. ELTON to the court of St. PETERSBURG. KNEZ SHERBATOVE, the RUSSIAN minister in LONDON, made repeated remonstrances to the BRITISH ministry, complaining loudly of ELTON, whom the company defended; for some of the members could not be persuaded that he was really in the PERSIAN service, or if he was, that it ought not to give offence to RUSSIA. This contributed to inflame the jealousy of the RUSSIANS, and to change it into resentment; so that finding they could not obtain any satisfaction upon the subject of their complaints, the college of commerce in St. PETERSBURG, in consequence of a memorial from the great chancellor, issued an order to the BRITISH factors in that city, signifying "that no goods or merchandize consigned to Mr. ELTON would be permitted to pass through the RUSSIAN empire." This news had reached PERSIA before I left it.

The RUSSIA merchants thus finding the court of St. PETERSBURG so much in earnest, resolved to desist from any farther solicitations in behalf of Mr. ELTON, and, if possible, to recall him from PERSIA: with this view the committee appointed for the body of the traders, came to a resolution of uniting their two houses in GHILAN, and wrote to Mr. VAN MIEROP and myself, as follows.

"London

“ London, August 17, 1744.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ **T**HOUGH by many intervening accidents the uniting of our
 “ two houses in PERSIA has been hitherto prevented, yet it has
 “ been our general view from our first setting out, as the only means to
 “ preserve this trade, and carry it on successfully, as well for our own
 “ interest as that of the nation in general; and this has been on every
 “ occasion recommended to us in the strongest manner by his majesty's
 “ ministry.

“ We have sufficiently observed, as well as felt, the ill consequences
 “ of two rival houses opposing each other, by running down the price
 “ of our manufactures, and raising that of raw silk, to the great detri-
 “ ment of the national interest.

“ To prevent these prejudicial effects, and compass this salutary work,
 “ we are come to the unanimous resolution of fixing one house, under
 “ the firm^{*} of messieurs HANWAY and MIEROP. We congratulate you
 “ and ourselves on this happy coalition of parties and interest, desiring
 “ that all disputes and animosities may be for ever buried in oblivion.

“ We hope a firm and hearty friendship will animate your endeavours
 “ for the general good of the adventurers, assuring you that all our future
 “ consignments shall be made to you only.

“ We are, &c.”

It is remarkable, that the same day on which the committee did me this favour, as appears from the date of the letter; Mr. ELTON thought proper to feign a quarrel with me. The distance of GHILAN from LONDON, the jealousy and discontent of the RUSSIANS, and the interest of private traders defeated every resolution of the committee. This was the case also with regard to the proposed settlement of their factory: I had no inclination to remain in so wretched a country, nor could I have been of any service to the company; for the moderation with which I conducted myself towards ELTON, and from whence the company had received impressions in my favour, had rendered me an object of jealousy to the

* A mercantile term for the signature of merchants.

RUSSIANS. This appeared two months after this letter was wrote, when the college of foreign affairs sent a memorial to the college of commerce in St. PETERSBURG, in which it was ordered " That the college of commerce do acquaint the merchants of the prohibition which is made solely on account of the injurious conduct of ELTON towards the RUSSIANS, and that the said merchants shall not send any goods to either of their agents, ELTON or HANWAY, for they shall by no means be permitted to pass through ASTRACHAN."

In the interim the RUSSIA company, anxious for the preservation of their trade, wrote to Mr. ELTON as follows.

" SIR,

London, October 26, 1744.

" **Y**OUR friends and correspondents having had singular proofs of your capacity, and of your steadiness and industry in promoting the CASPIAN trade through RUSSIA, are very sensibly affected, as you may imagine, that any part of your conduct should give the least offence to her imperial majesty of RUSSIA, much more that the steps you have been taking should procure an absolute prohibition of correspondence with you. We have used our utmost endeavours to mitigate this resolution, but find, by the repeated memorials delivered here and in MOSCO, that there is no appearance of continuing this trade unless you leave PERSIA. We flatter ourselves that in consideration of the necessity we are under of obeying her imperial majesty, that you will sacrifice your private views to the public good, and, as soon as possible, return to your native country.

" The committee for the CASPIAN trade, and all others who are interested, propose, on your return to ENGLAND, to settle on you 400 l. per annum, to be levied on the PERSIAN trade; or to solicit an honourable employment for you in the BRITISH navy, in which last we have a moral certainty of succeeding, whatever may be the fate of the trade; and we cannot doubt of your preferring such a competency at home, to any advantages you can now expect.

" We are, &c."

This

This letter they inclosed to lord TYRAWLEY, his majesty's ambassador in RUSSIA, desiring his good offices to prevent the destructive consequences of Mr. ELTON's conduct. Their letter is as follows.

" MY LORD,

London, October 26, 1744.

" **I**N our last letter we applied to your lordship concerning our trade to PERSIA, and had the honour to represent, that we had at last compassed an union, and resolved to have only one house in GHILAN. As the court of RUSSIA persists in their resentments against Mr. ELTON, which involves our trade over the CASPIAN in great difficulties, we therefore acquaint your lordship, that we are determined neither directly nor indirectly to make any consignment, or carry on any trade with ELTON, of which we beg your lordship will acquaint that court.

" You are sensible, my lord, that we have no coercive power over Mr. ELTON, but we have all joined in a general letter to him, representing the inconveniencies arising to our trade by his stay in PERSIA; and, to induce him to return home, we have agreed to make him the offer of a handsome yearly pension, with an intent to preserve this trade, and to avoid giving any kind of offence. Her imperial majesty's ministers must be convinced that this is all we can possibly do; and with this we comply, from a sincere desire of removing the displeasures of the RUSSIAN court.

" We are, my lord, &c."

In December following, lord TYRAWLEY sent this letter to Mr. ELTON, through DAGISTAN into PERSIA, with another from himself, and also a passport from the great chancellor count BESTUCHEFF, that he might have safe conduct through the RUSSIAN dominions.

Mean while the ARMENIANS, who had treated our MESCHED scheme as extravagant, now beheld our success with a jealous eye, and employed all the engines of falsehood and corruption to ruin our trade: they declared without reserve, that they would cheerfully disburse a large sum to dispossess us of it; but they made no doubt but we should do their business ourselves, exulting in a persuasion that the consequences of Mr.

ELTON's engagements in PERSIA, would be a means of utterly extinguishing our commerce.

C H A P. VIII.

Mr. ELTON's answer to lord TYRAWLEY, and also to the committee of the CASPIAN traders. Remarks on his conduct and that of the RUSSIA company. The author's letter to JOHN ELTON on this occasion.

MR. ELTON having received lord TYRAWLEY's letter, made the following reply.

" MY LORD,

GHILAN, February 7, 1745.

" **I** HAD the honour to receive your lordship's letter, dated the 7th of December last; I have also the enclosed passport for my safe return through RUSSIA, and a letter from the principal members of the RUSSIA company, for all which I beg leave to make your lordship my most humble acknowledgments.

" Your lordship's recommending my return to GREAT BRITAIN, must necessarily have the greatest weight with me, though at the same time I apprehend it is not the interest of those gentlemen who desire it as my own, that I should return. I am, my lord, under no engagements to the SHAH, but those of gratitude for the many favours his majesty has been pleased to confer on me; and such, a man of the least generosity can never forego. In about six weeks I expect to be called to his camp, when I shall endeavour by all honourable means to disengage myself from his affairs; but I must be so ingenuous as to confess I have little hopes to succeed in this point, as I am too well assured of the SHAH's steadiness and resolution to accomplish whatever he attempts.

" Were the merits of my conduct in PERSIA impartially considered, I humbly conceive that my fellow-subjects ought to be blamed more than I, inasmuch as they do not reap the benefit of this branch of trade in its utmost extent; and that those mischiefs attributed to me are
" very

“ very unjustly laid to my charge. To this end I must crave, my lord,
 “ that you will peruse the enclosed letters, which perhaps may give a dif-
 “ ferent opinion of the CASPIAN trade, from what your lordship seems
 “ at present to entertain of it. I must humbly refer your lordship for my
 “ ultimate resolve in regard to my return, until I arrive at the camp,
 “ and know the SHAH’s pleasure therein.

“ I am, my lord, &c.

J. ELTON to the committee for the CASPIAN traders.

“ SIRs,

GHILAN, February 7, 1744-5.

“ I HAVE been acquainted with your resolutions of August last, and
 “ received copies of your letters to the right honourable the lord
 “ CARTERET and lord TYRAWLY in my behalf.

“ The difficulties I met with here when I arrived last from RUSSIA,
 “ and my zeal to promote the interest of my employers, necessitated me
 “ to give into the SHAH’s measures, as the only means to obtain his
 “ majesty’s favour, being then, as I am now, satisfied, that without it,
 “ our affairs must have been inevitably ruined. These steps, however
 “ unforeseen the consequence, raised very powerful enemies against me;
 “ I say however unforeseen, for it never entered my mind, that the build-
 “ ing a few ships of burthen for the SHAH, could give umbrage to so
 “ powerful a monarch as her imperial majesty of RUSSIA; or that the en-
 “ deavours of so insignificant a person as myself, could be ever thought
 “ worthy the notice of her ministers. Does not our sovereign permit
 “ his subjects to serve her imperial majesty of RUSSIA, both by land
 “ and sea? and does not the treaty of commerce tolerate the subjects of
 “ RUSSIA to reside in GREAT BRITAIN to learn arts and sciences? yet I
 “ never heard that any powers of the north were offended, or took um-
 “ brage at our indulgences to the RUSSIAN nation.

“ It is objected, that as our trade is carried on through RUSSIA, it is
 “ in her imperial majesty’s power to stop or incommode it whenever she
 “ thinks proper; but if this should ever happen, then what does a treaty
 “ of commerce, or indeed any other treaty avail, if the endeavour of a
 “ single

“ single subject, even if his pursuits were contrary to the laws of his own
 “ country, can destroy the right a whole nation has to the benefit of
 “ such a treaty? You have given up publicly to his most powerful ene-
 “ mies, to whom he never gave just subject of offence, a person you
 “ have been pleased to think has deserved well of you, and whom you
 “ condescend to acknowledge may yet be of no small advantage to the
 “ future advancements of your affairs. What can be desired more from
 “ you, or what in reality is more in your power? The freedom, God be
 “ thanked, of our nation is such, that if her subjects transgress not their
 “ own laws by rebellion, piracy, or the like, they have nothing to fear,
 “ even from their own sovereign, much less from any other monarch on
 “ earth: and it may be presumed, that they will be protected in the just
 “ rights they were born to, though those rights may be as inconceivable
 “ to a man bred a slave, as colours to a person born blind. I think,
 “ Sirs, it concerns you to be as anxious, at least to establish your inter-
 “ est with that monarch, in whose country your principal scene of action
 “ lies, as with the prince who gives you access to it’.

“ It is true, your case is critically circumstanced; you are to gain the
 “ interest of the SHAH by the very means that must deprive you of the
 “ favour of her imperial majesty: however, I do not question but all
 “ this may by some means or other, which your own prudence will
 “ suggest to you, be easily reconciled. The welfare of the BRITISH
 “ trade through RUSSIA, is what I always had, and still have, most at
 “ heart, however I may have been mistaken in my pursuits to establish
 “ and advance it; but I am very far from being conscious that I am
 “ mistaken; therefore, gentlemen, if you should happen to be of a dif-
 “ ferent opinion, the greater still must be my misfortune. I have the
 “ truest sense of obligation to you, but if nothing except my immediate
 “ return can continue me in your favour and esteem, I beg you will not
 “ loose one single thought upon me.

“ I am, &c.

* Here he enumerates the several grievances arising from the arbitrary conduct of the RUSSIAN
 consul in PERSIA, which are too tedious to insert, particularly as they are contained in the memo-
 rial, chap. IX.

Besides

Besides these two letters, he wrote a very long vindication of himself, not without many shrewd remarks, but very inconclusive. Whether Mr. ELTON was persuaded that the building ships on the CASPIAN for the PERSIAN service, would be attended with inconveniences to the RUSSIANS, is what I cannot determine; but this seems to be certain, that we might have traded without such a project; and it appeared quite agreeable to reason, that unless we could convey our merchandize through the RUSSIAN empire with the good will of that nation, there could be no conveyance at all: the nature of a trade through a foreign dominion, such as RUSSIA and TARTARY, must be so constituted, that whenever it is not relished by the inhabitants, it is liable to be ruined by many secret means, against which no sanction of national compact can provide. The RUSSIANS had long enjoyed the sovereignty of the CASPIAN, and it was not to be imagined they would be idle spectators, if the PERSIANS claimed any share of it, much less that they would expose themselves to the consequences of a PERSIAN naval power, which might affect their commercial affairs, or the security of their frontier.

Tho' NADIR's predominant passion was that of military glory, yet he was not ignorant of the advantages of commerce, so that a prudent conduct would certainly have procured us a sufficient degree of his favour, as subjects of a foreign prince with whom he was in friendship; and as merchants, by whom his revenues received a considerable increase. This was the sense of the matter, and so evident, that neither the ambassador nor the RUSSIA company thought it would answer any purpose to contradict Mr. ELTON's reasonings: however I resolved to write to him once more, in my own name, in remembrance of our former acquaintance; and on account of the effects he yet had in his hands, not to mention the civility he was entitled to for opening this branch of commerce. In regard to his conduct, he had probably erred in judgment only, for it could not be conceived that he designed to destroy this infant trade, of which he had been in so eminent a degree the parent. With the consent therefore and approbation of his majesty's ambassador, I wrote to him as follows.

Mr. JOHN ELTON.

SIR,

St. PETERSBURG, April 30, 1745.

“SINCE I left ASTRACHAN in November last, I have not wrote to
 “you, nor would I trouble you now were I not actuated with a sin-
 “cere desire of promoting your interest together with that of the trade.
 “I cannot but consider it as a misfortune, that it ever was imagined the
 “government of this country could be unconcerned, with regard to the
 “enterprize in which you are engaged. You declare that your only
 “intent was to obtain protection for our trade, and the merchants for
 “some time considered it in this light; nor ought we now to be further
 “accountable than to use our endeavours to remove the occasion of the
 “offence. You cannot be insensible that the BRITISH ministry, as well
 “as the RUSSIA company, are intirely disposed to show a due regard to
 “the inclinations of the RUSSIAN court: for there needs no argument
 “to prove the impossibility of carrying on the trade in opposition to
 “them; and every government will judge for itself.

“The only way to convince the company of the integrity of your in-
 “tentions, is to endeavour by all possible means to remove the occasion
 “of offence; and this cannot be done effectually without your leaving
 “PERSIA. The merchants have made you an offer, for the particulars of
 “which I refer you to their own letter: the strongest assurances have been
 “given by the ministry here to his majesty's embassador, for the security
 “of your person in returning through this country; so that nothing seems
 “to be wanting but your hearty concurrence to the establishment of our
 “trade: on the other hand, should these motives prove ineffectual through
 “any temptation you may have in PERSIA, it will be as hard to persuade
 “the CASPIAN traders that you intend them any good, as it will be
 “easy to imagine in what light you must be considered.

“My lord HINDFORD often expresses a great solicitude for your re-
 “turn; he has even entertained such an opinion of your capacity, that
 “he would gladly recommend you to the king, as a very fit person to
 “go in search of the north west passage, the parliament having lately re-
 “solved

“ solved to give a very considerable premium to the first discoverer.
“ If this argument has no weight, there are many other reasons of the
“ greatest force which ought to engage every good subject to use his ut-
“ most endeavours to put a stop to this growing evil, and reconcile us to the
“ RUSSIANS: And can you, who have acquired so much reputation, re-
“ fuse to sacrifice a private passion to the public good?

“ In all countries there will be people of different opinions, but, if
“ what I observe is right; those who are at the helm of the RUSSIAN go-
“ vernment, and whose judgment alone is of much weight in this matter,
“ think that our trade may become advantageous to RUSSIA, as the an-
“ tient course of it through TURKEY will be diverted, and the profit re-
“ moved hither, by the duty and charges to, and from PERSIA: you may
“ be assured however that no advantages are esteemed an equivalent for
“ the alarms which are given by the undertaking in question, should it
“ be pursued.

“ We flattered ourselves that our trade would not be exposed to any
“ severe resentment, for an accident which is foreign to it; and remote
“ from the intentions of the merchants; but this in fact is not the case;
“ you must leave PERSIA, or our trade is undone: and what will your
“ stay in that country avail? You will soon be sensible of the impossibi-
“ lity of pursuing this enterprize with any success, for the many reasons
“ I have often mentioned to you, which are now too tedious to enu-
“ merate. I will take no other notice of myself than that I have been
“ persecuted in consequence of your mistaken jealousy and unprovoked
“ resentments; but I can forgive. I heartily wish that all may be well
“ again, and am, Sir, &c.”

C H A P. IX.

The CASPIAN trade obstructed on Mr. ELTON's account. Memorial on this subject to the BRITISH consul at St. PETERSBURG, in consequence of the greivances complained of by the BRITISH factors in PERSIA. NADIR SHAH's decree detaining J. ELTON. The SHAH sends a commissary into RUSSIA with a cargo of raw silk. The BRITISH ships are sold to RUSSIAN merchants.

MR. ELTON, I presume, was not so blinded by his prejudices, but he acknowledged in his own breast, that my letter contained, in a great measure, the true state of the case; but it is probable he was too deeply engaged to leave his master; or had private reasons why he did not chuse to return to ENGLAND; unless some very good provision had been made for him, and secured in the most satisfactory manner. He was now in a country where no amusements could call him off, and though he had to struggle with great difficulties in the pursuit of his undertaking, his genius and industry were equal to them: the fear of being baffled and rendered an object of contempt on one side; and on the other, the hope of acquiring honour as well as profit by his success, were very strong motives to action; but these were yet strengthened by his resentment of the persecution, which he naturally supposed would be carried on against him on the part of the RUSSIAN court. Thus the same incentive which stimulated his endeavours to promote the SHAH's designs, encreased the odium of the RUSSIANS against him, which they demonstrated in repeated instances destructive of our CASPIAN trade.

As neither the merchants in LONDON, nor the factors in St. PETERSBURG, thought themselves in strict justice accountable for what NADIR, or his servant ELTON, should think proper to employ themselves about, it was but natural they should struggle hard to preserve their trade: they had already suffered a detention of their effects in ASTRACHAN, and many indignities from the RUSSIAN consul in GHILAN; this at length produced the following memorial which the BRITISH factors in St. PETERSBURG, addressed to his majesty's consul in that city in the summer this year¹.

“ To JACOB WOLFF, esquire, his BRITANNIC majesty’s consul at St.
“ PETERSBURG.

“ SIR,

“ **T**HE BRITISH trade through this empire to PERSIA, having re-
“ ceived great marks of attention both from the BRITISH and the
“ RUSSIAN governments, we hope the difficulties it now labours under
“ will also merit their particular regard. Her imperial majesty’s father,
“ of immortal memory, often proposed and recommended this trade to the
“ BRITISH subjects; and it is now agreed to by a solemn national compact.
“ The BRITISH legislature thought it worthy their encouragement, and
“ in consequence of a powerful and expensive solicitation, an act of par-
“ liament was obtained in our favour, the good effects of which we ex-
“ pect to be preserved to us.

“ The ministers of her imperial majesty cannot be insensible of the
“ great importance of the BRITISH trade to the subjects of this em-
“ pire, and it is upon this account we presume, that the protection of
“ RUSSIA is promised to us, as to the most favoured of all the nations in
“ friendship with this government. We are not only the subjects of a
“ prince in perfect amity with her imperial majesty, but from a regard to
“ our own particular interests, and even from inclination, we have a con-
“ cern for her happiness and glory: hence we are the more affected
“ with the treatment we have received from the RUSSIAN consul in GHIL-
“ LAN, especially as we have given all possible proof of the sincerity of
“ our desires to remove every object of offence.

“ We cannot indeed conceive that the RUSSIAN consul is authorized
“ to distress us; but under a pretence of zeal for the service of his own
“ country, he has endeavoured to render our trade and factors odious,
“ the better to carry his own point: this can be no other than to give our
“ share of the trade, into the hands of the ARMENIANS, because he
“ makes exactions on them with impunity; especially with regard to the
“ shipping in GHILAN, over which he assumes so destructive an autho-
“ rity. His taking away captain BLAIR’s crew, at a time when the BRI-

“ TISH ship ELIZABETH was in the extreameſt diſtreſs ; his writing to
 “ his court that this ſhip was ſold to the SHAH ; his miſrepreſentations
 “ of the conduct of every private BRITISH factor in GHILAN ; his tak-
 “ ing the advantage of ELTON’s enterprize, to inſinuate as if all the
 “ BRITISH ſubjects were plotting againſt the RUSSIAN government ; his
 “ arreſting an ARMENIAN, who is our factor’s head ſervant and broker,
 “ a perſon of worth and ſobriety ; his beating him cruelly, and preventing
 “ the execution of his maſter’s buſineſs, are all incontestable proofs of his
 “ intentions to ſacrifice our trade to his private views. Therefore, Sir, we
 “ beg that either he may be recalled from GHILAN, or ordered, in the
 “ moſt ſerious manner, to conduct himſelf towards the BRITISH factors in
 “ PERSIA, as to perſons intitled to all poſſible protection and regard. If
 “ neither of theſe can be obtained, we ſee no proſpect of preſerving our
 “ trade, nor any method of preventing its being wreſted from us very ſoon.

“ The merchants of ASTRACHAN have as many ſhips as can find em-
 “ ploy ; we only deſire the liberty of a free agreement for the freight of
 “ our goods, that our trade may not be obſtructed by the RUSSIAN con-
 “ ſul upon any frivolous pretence. As our ſhips on the CASPIAN were
 “ built by imperial authority, and the uſe of them is no longer continu-
 “ ed to us[†], we deſire that the government will pay to their owners the
 “ charge of building and fitting them out, agreeably to the repeated de-
 “ clarations made by KNEZ SHERBATOVE, her imperial majeſty’s miniſter
 “ at the BRITISH court. Moreover, as no buſineſs can be carried on
 “ without correſpondence, we deſire that the ſaid conſul be ordered to
 “ deliver our letters regularly ; for we write about our own affairs, and
 “ have no manner of concern with Mr. ELTON’s projects.

“ We are further reſolved to do our utmoſt to promote the moſt per-
 “ ſect underſtanding with the officers and ſubjects of her imperial ma-
 “ jeſty, both in ASTRACHAN and in PERSIA ; in conſequence hereof our
 “ principals in LONDON have lately ſent over, through this country, two
 “ perſons of good conduct[‡], who are amply inſtructed to avoid all theſe

[†] This was thought an expedient to reconcile theſe differences.
 and Mr. G. PRESTON.

[‡] Mr. CHARLES THOMPSON

“ unhappy differences. But give us leave, Sir, again to repeat that it is
 “ absolutely impossible to prevent these painful contentions, and the total
 “ dissolution of our trade, whilst Mr. BAKOONIN, or any other RUSSIAN
 “ consul who may succeed him, is so very much indisposed to live in
 “ harmony with us. If there is any particular circumstance in which
 “ our factors are deficient, we desire you will acquaint us, or give them
 “ instructions yourself; and it would be a great means of reconciling all
 “ difficulties, could they be informed what orders are given concerning
 “ them, that they be not ignorant of any thing which can contribute to
 “ the establishment and support of a perfect understanding.

“ We are, &c.”

But our trade was devoted to ruin, and no remonstrance whatsoever could make any impression on the RUSSIAN ministry. Though our complaints were founded upon very strong evidence of the frequent insolences and the most wanton indignities offered us by the RUSSIAN consul in GHILAN; yet we could obtain no satisfaction: they were indeed tacitly acknowledged, but at the same time we were continually reproached with Mr. ELTON's proceedings in PERSIA, which was in effect to undeceive us with regard to the support of our commerce, on any other terms than his removal. And yet the RUSSIAN ministry saw we could not make any impression upon ELTON, his remaining in that country being at length determined, as the reader will judge from NADIR SHAH's decree, of which ELTON himself sent us a translation, viz.

Y the merits of Almighty God our commands are ever obeyed.

The properest of the christians GEMAL BEG^a, commissioner of
 “ our royal navy on the CASPIAN sea, is by our imperial and most gra-
 “ cious favour exalted, and given to KNOW; that his petition with re-
 “ gard to his finishing one large ship, and desiring leave to go with such
 “ ship to ASTRACHAN; and concerning several other points; is come
 “ to our most sacred presence, and the meaning thereof understood.

^a GEMAL BEG is a flattering appellation, signifying the lord of beauty, or, as we may translate it, “ the knight of the good countenance,” which NADIR gave ELTON; for BEG seems to be more properly a title answering to our knights.

“ But

“ But as our imperial design is to call the properest of the christians at
 “ new year * to our victorious stirrup, and to settle our naval affairs on a
 “ right foundation. Therefore the properest of the christians must defer
 “ going to ASTRACHAN himself, but send such sailors as he has with
 “ him who understand navigation, to take care of the ship to that port ;
 “ and the properest of the christians must remain where he is, and fi-
 “ nish the other ships ordered, give full directions concerning them,
 “ and not exclude himself: but on the contrary, make the beauty of his
 “ service appear in the presence of our universal glory; taking this as a
 “ command, and to remain in his duty.

“ Dated the 26th of the moon SHEWAL, 1158 *.”

The conclusion of this decree seems to be very definitive, though it is the ordinary stile in such cases. It is not in the least surprising that NADIR made a favourite point of his maritime designs: his exactions had disabled his people from contributing to the support of his army, and had also the pernicious consequences of putting an entire stop to trade. But his inclination to war being not lessened by the necessity of using his INDIAN treasure, while his avarice encreased beyond all conception, he determined to turn merchant himself: by the intimation given in the decree, he expected one of his own vessels would be ready to transport his first adventure to ASTRACHAN; but in this he was mistaken, for none of the vessels, which ELTON completed for him, ever came farther than DERBEND, and that only for one or two voyages.

The SHAH had ordered a capital of 100,000 crowns to be employed in trade, under the care of HAHDGEE SEFFIE, the customer of RESHD, a man of good reputation: he ordered him to lay out half the capital in raw silk and PERSIAN manufactures, to be immediately transported into RUSSIA; and there to be sold for his account, or to be carried from thence to any other part of EUROPE, as this commissary should think most for his interest. The HAHDGEE was accordingly sent over in a RUSSIAN vessel to ASTRACHAN with 200 bales of raw silk.

* The beginning of the year which he alludes to, according to the PERSIANS, is the vernal equinox, or 10th of March.

* November 19th, 1745.

A royal merchant who might blend politics with commerce, could not easily procure a favourable reception in RUSSIA: the design in itself was not less ungrateful to the RUSSIANS, than that of ELTON's building of ships. It is not improbable that a man of NADIR's genius had some regard, in a project of this sort, to the intelligence which he might procure of what was passing in EUROPE, especially concerning the TURKS, the entire conquest of whom he had often meditated. As a merchant however he declared his expectations of a return of 60 per cent. per annum, which, considering NADIR's usual conduct, was no great encouragement to his agent ever to make him ANY RETURN AT ALL.

The RUSSIANS and PERSIANS are by treaty mutually exempt from paying customs, but as in GHILAN the SHAH received the duty of silk of the peasants, and consequently the RUSSIANS paid it in the price given for that commodity, so in RUSSIA no one was permitted to buy PERSIAN silk without paying the duty upon exportation; and thus the intention of favouring each other was on both sides defeated: but had the PERSIAN commissary thought it proper, or could have obtained a passage through RUSSIA into any other part of EUROPE, he would have saved the transit duty to his master, as the RUSSIANS save the duty of their imports into PERSIA.

To return to our own affairs; it was still impossible for the BRITISH factors in GHILAN to conduct themselves in such a manner, but the RUSSIAN consul in that province found something to object to; in particular that they were too much in the PERSIAN interest, and interfered with the RUSSIAN merchants, whose greatest profits arose from shipping. The memorial recited in the last chapter, mentions our acquiescence in giving up what we could not keep, viz. the two BRITISH ships on the CASPIAN sea: at the request of the court of St. PETERSBURG, these ships were at length sold to RUSSIAN merchants at ASTRACHAN, and from that time navigated under the RUSSIAN flag. Thus ended the short-lived BRITISH navigation on the CASPIAN sea, whereby a deep wound was given to this trade already in an expiring condition. The RUSSIANS however benefited by our loss, and received no small advantage

tage from the models we left them, and by learning of us in those parts, as they had before done in St. PETERSBURG, the use of the best materials for ship building.

C H A P. X.

Antient trade to TURKEY. Several factories established in that country. Manufactories in LANGUEDOC. The enterprising genius of the FRENCH, and the amount of their LEVANT trade in 1720. Defence of the TURKEY company. Remarks on the silks imported from the CASPIAN, and also on bullion.

WHILST the RUSSIA company was thus endeavouring by all possible means to establish their CASPIAN trade, our commerce to the LEVANT was greatly the subject of debate; and though it might not be in so bad a condition as that over the CASPIAN, yet it certainly languished with a very sensible decay. The connexion it has with the CASPIAN trade; and the utility which a memorial of what then past, may have in regard to any future inquiries, will, I hope, be an excuse for this digression.

Our trade to TURKEY first began to flourish in queen ELIZABETH'S reign, when it was carried on mostly by bullion. King JAMES I. established a company by charter, and CHARLES II. confirmed it: but it was no earlier than the reign of the latter that we introduced our woollen manufactures into TURKEY in any considerable quantity, and of these our kerseys were then the chief part; however, we have now a treaty of commerce subsisting with the PORT, and by means of our TURKEY company have supported ourselves in that trade for a series of years, much to the advantage of the nation. The factories established in TURKEY are at SMYRNA, ALEPPO, CONSTANTINOPLE and CAIRO: at all these places the FRENCH are settled also; they import cloth and AMERICAN goods, in exchange of which they take wool, corn, oil, raw silk and other rich commodities; they have likewise several other settlements, by which they increase their influence in TURKEY. It was not however
till

till the reign of LEWIS XIV. that they made any shining figure in this trade. The first introduction of the FRENCH into the LEVANT trade was attended with very favourable circumstances to that nation; for the TURKS, in hopes of obtaining their assistance against the emperor CHARLES V. shewed them a very distinguished regard.

Under LEWIS XIV. Mr. COLBERT established fabrics of cloth in LANGUEDOC, and obtained great support and encouragement to the manufacturers: by this he proposed not only to promote the commerce of his own country, but to enter into political schemes with the TURKS. The FRENCH, in order to shew their superior power and grandeur, sent at this time a large fleet of ships of war to CONSTANTINOPLE; a thing which has been since practised by FRANCE, though not with equal success. So industrious is that nation to try all possible expedients to promote her interest, and from the pride of military glory, to direct her aims to the increase of her riches by commerce: I remember when I was a factor at LISBON about the year 1740, Mr. CHAVIGNIE came as ambassador from the court of FRANCE to the king of PORTUGAL, and as we then imagined, chiefly with a view to commerce. The PORTUGUEZE thought it was highly inconsistent with the dignity of his character as an ambassador, to bring patterns of woollen goods, and produce them publicly at court; but he was of a different opinion, and probably was not without hopes of supplanting us. Soon after his arrival, several FRENCH ships and sloops of war anchored in the TAGUS, the officers of which, even to the subalterns, were conducted in procession to court; a sight which was extremely ridiculous to the PORTUGUEZE, who are no strangers to the superior maritime power of GREAT BRITAIN. But what gave them the worst impression of this effort of FRANCE, was the attempt of introducing clandestinely a considerable quantity of FRENCH linens, which were brought, and part of them secretly landed, by those very ships of war.

In regard to Mr. COLBERT's scheme of establishing the FRENCH commerce in TURKEY, the reader will observe by the papers already quoted, and delivered to our ministry in June 1739, what great encouragement

was given to the manufactories established in LANGUEDOC, and since extended to PROVENÇE. Before this time the UNITED PROVINCES had a considerable trade to TURKEY, but it is now declined, and in some places does not entertain near the number of factors as they had formerly. In 1720, when the plague broke out at MERSAILLES, FRANCE imported into TURKEY 500,000 l. value.

	£.
Of which in cloth about - - - - -	240,000
In cutlery and other small goods - - - - -	20,000
Indigo - - - - -	50,000
Sugar - - - - -	20,000
Coffee - - - - -	15,000
And the ballance in silver - - - - -	155,000

It is to be observed here, that the FRENCH have the permission of sending the produce of their AMERICAN colonies directly to TURKEY; and the situation of MERSAILLES, in regard to the LEVANT trade, is certainly a great advantage, especially as that city enjoys an exclusive charter. Their cloths are spungy, but they are thin, light and soft, and adapted to the taste of the TURKS: as their manufactories are under good regulation, they support the quality, and by this means prevent the diminution of the price; and as there is an account given of the merchants and their effects, no one is suffered to sell more than a proportion of the stock he possesses; so that they seem here to employ their arbitrary power to an advantageous purpose. Immediately after the conclusion of queen ANN's war, the FRENCH crowded to TURKEY with such a profusion of cloth and other goods as glutted the market extremely, by which means many of the principal merchants of MERSAILLES were ruined: this revived our trade, and in the next five years, though we sent a considerable quantity of silver, we annually exported 18,000 cloths for TURKEY; but from that time our trade began to decline.

PETER the GREAT having taken possession of GHILAN in 1722, the inhabitants of that province neglected the cultivation of their raw silk, so that our factors in TURKEY soon felt the effect of it; and this was
another

another wound to our LEVANT trade. Besides the progress of the FRENCH, and the RUSSIANS seizing the silk provinces of PERSIA, further reasons appeared for the decay of our TURKEY trade. The coffee from EGYPT, which used to be a considerable article, had of late years very much failed, as it came cheaper from MOCHA by our EAST INDIA ships. Rhubarb, which had also been at a much higher price than it is at present, a great part of it which used to come by way of TURKEY, is now brought through the RUSSIAN dominions for account of that government, and generally sent to AMSTERDAM. The price of raw silk in EUROPE had likewise declined for some time². Mohair was an article of some importance, being consumed in buttons, button-holes and camblets: but goats, of whose hair this is made, sometimes rot as our sheep do, and this occasioned a diminution in the import, whilst our home consumption also decreased by means of the new fashion of metal buttons. The buyers of mohair however complained aloud that this commodity was imported only from TURKEY, and that the merchants had kept it up to an exorbitant price, importing only 600 bags for the space of 16 months, and the package of that very inferior.

In regard to the SHERBAFF silk, which was bought by our factors in GHILAN, and sent home through RUSSIA, it was found to be two shillings in a pound better than the PERSIAN SHERBAFF imported from TURKEY; for the waste of one is only 10 per cent. and the other 20, the latter being a natural consequence of the fraudulent package used by the ARMENIANS³.

With respect to FRANCE, the duty in TURKEY called MESSATARIA, has been taken off in favour of that nation, which is 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ dollar per bale of cloth, and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. ad valorem on all goods sold by weight: they also obtained a reduction of the custom, a bale of 20 cloths being charged at 30 dollars only, which was before at 40. These were very strong reasons why the TURKEY trade was so much declined, reasons which called aloud for all the relief that the nature of the thing would possibly

² From 1745 it again advanced very considerably.
 regard in this particular.

³ The RUSSIANS seem to have as little re-

admit: but that such an unrestrained liberty of commerce as the complainants required, would have answered the end, and afforded that relief, was very far from being a clear matter.

With regard to the carrying on the silk trade by bullion, the parliament thought it for the interest of the nation to tie up the hands of the RUSSIA company, in the purchase of raw silk in PERSIA for gold or silver, or in exchange for any commodities except our manufactures. The RUSSIAN government was likewise so far alarmed as to make it death to export gold or silver through that country into the SHAH's dominions. It often happens however, when the demand for cloth in PERSIA is much short of the value of the raw silk at market, this commodity is then obtainable only for money. The TURKEY company was very sensible of this, and though their trade was understood to be carried on by manufactories only, yet they have often imported into TURKEY great quantities of SPANISH silver. Indeed I never could apprehend this to be injurious to the national interest, more than the commerce which is carried on from hence to the UNITED PROVINCES and other countries, in the gold and silver of foreign dominions. The national coin, I conceive, ought to be sacred to us who have no mines of gold or silver; but foreign coin or bullion is only a commodity, which may be advantageously exported in exchange for any material of a beneficial trade. An unwrought commodity manufactured at home, whilst it gives employment to our people, will produce gold and silver; for industry is the true source of riches: besides, trade seldom can be forced but to a great disadvantage, and perhaps in no country with more difficulty and loss than in PERSIA. Nor can the consumption of our manufactures be diminished by exporting bullion, unless we suppose that where money is plenty, there will be less demand for cloathing; whereas experience proves the contrary: and as to bartering cloth for silk, it is not practised in PERSIA; but ready money being paid for such silk, the PERSIAN merchant will lay it out again in cloth if he finds it beneficial. When a market is glutted, it is often better to sell even at a loss, which may be always done where there is money, and by this means make quick returns, than to suffer goods to lay-by any length of time: when

when a market is NOT glutted, manufactures or merchandize are always supposed to be most beneficial to the private merchants, and consequently the import of them preferred to gold or silver: but if at any certain time there is absolutely no demand for our goods, is it beneficial to a nation to prohibit the use of gold and silver in the purchase of an unwrought commodity, the manufactory of which brings an accumulation of wealth?

We do in fact send out gold and silver to several countries in EUROPE^b, from whence we receive only wrought commodities, or useless articles. But if the prohibition of employing gold or silver is founded in reason, it cannot operate to the intent of the legislature in particular cases. It does not, I think, seem applicable to the TURKEY nor to the INDIAN trade; nor will it I conceive be to that of PERSIA, if ever we establish ourselves again in the northern provinces of that country.

C H A P. XI.

Enquiries concerning the LEVANT trade in 1744. The great advantage of it. The importance of our woollen manufactures. Further reasons for the decay of the LEVANT trade. The interposition of the crown necessary.

OUR TURKEY trade was now fallen into so sensible a decay, that several persons, particularly clothiers and packers, began to interest themselves deeply: Mr. JOHN LODGE, an eminent packer, shewed a patriot spirit upon this occasion: and, in conjunction with several considerable merchants, he espoused the cause of the national interest, as it appeared to him, with a becoming warmth. The decay of this branch of commerce was obvious, but the causes of it were not universally understood, though it had been so much canvassed not long before^c.

The desire to vindicate our own acts is natural to us, and where private advantage and inclination interfere with the public interest, the lat-

^b HOLLAND and SWEDEN in particular, and from HOLLAND we export silver to RUSSIA, which constitutes part of the ballance of our trade with that country.

^c See vol. I. chap. VIII.

ter generally suffers. The TURKEY company became suspected of partiality, but the complainants were subject to the same imputation: the latter urged that the conduct of that company was the only cause of the decay in question, and that to make it intirely a free and open trade would be the best or only remedy to restore it. Upon enquiry into the circumstances of the LEVANT traders, it was found that our annual imports of raw silk from all countries, except TURKEY, for 21 years, viz. from the year 1720 to 1740 inclusive, did not exceed 170,000 great pounds of 24 ounces, of which was brought from the EAST INDIES about 120,000

From ITALY	—	—	—	—	—	30,000
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From SPAIN, and other places in the MEDITERRANEAN	—	20,000
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But from TURKEY only, including the three following years, viz. from 1720 to 1743, of the same weight was yearly imported

—	—	—	—	—	—	36,000
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The importation however decreased very fast. In 5 years, from 1722 to 1726, the import from TURKEY was 1,472,491 small pounds of 16 ounces, which amounts annually to great pounds

—	—	—	—	—	—	196,000
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But in 1737 to 1741, it was 659,519 small pounds, which are great pounds annually only

—	—	—	—	—	—	88,336
---	---	---	---	---	---	--------

Mohair yarn imported from TURKEY for the above 23 years, was yearly

—	—	—	—	—	—	200,000
---	---	---	---	---	---	---------

Cotton wool for 20 years, as above, from the year 1721 to 1740, yearly

—	—	—	—	—	—	330,000
---	---	---	---	---	---	---------

Cotton yarn for the said 20 years	—	—	60,000
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Thus at a moderate computation, viz. silk at 19 s. the great pound, cotton wool at 1 s. cotton yarn at 2 s. and mohair at 6 s.^d deducting 15 per cent. for duties, freight and charges, which is also national profit, remains 236,470 l. There was also a considerable value in rhubarb, coffee and other drugs, to make up the annual amount of our imports.

The value of our woollens exported to TURKEY, together with tin, cochineal, and some lead, for the above 20 years, has been annually on-

^d RAW AMERICAN cotton is at 20 d. mohair from TURKEY, according to the quality, is from 2 s. 6 d. to 12 s. the pound.

ly 180,000 l. From hence it appears what considerable advantages have been made by the LEVANT merchants, and how much it is an object worthy of the national protection ; for if by exporting 180,000 l. for the most part in our wrought wool, the source from whence our riches are chiefly derived, we could have returns in unwrought commodities annually to the value of 236,470 l. how many thousands of the industrious and most deserving part of this nation would not such a trade employ in a series of years ; and what an accumulation of wealth would it not produce ! This consideration should awaken all our care, to adapt our cloth to the taste of the TURKS, and indeed of every nation ; and to be assiduous not only to preserve the trade we already possess, but also to extend it, at the same time as we guard against the consequences of the industry and application of those who are already come in for a large share of this commerce.

The state in which several other nations have lived for some ages, seems to have soothed us into a notion that things will always remain in the same condition : this lulls us into a security with regard to their commercial enterprizes, and is the occasion of our reluctance to believe any thing to their advantage. Can there be a greater proof of the rapidity with which a manufacture makes its progress, when encouraged by a powerful prince than is met with in FRANCE ? In the year 1700 there were only 3000 pieces of cloths made in LANGUEDOC, but in 1740, the same province manufactured 80,000 pieces. It is very clear from the great progress of the FRENCH, that although GREAT BRITAIN abounds most in materials, skill and industry can bring other nations to rival, and, in some instances, even to excel us at some markets.

It is true, that the long and best sort of wool was for some time full a guinea per tod of 29 lbs. which is above 20 per cent. more than the common price. The demand for our woollen manufactures both for ASIA and AMERICA, as well as in the several markets of EUROPE, has been also very great of late years, and probably will in some measure continue the same ; however, every flow must naturally have its ebb, as the same experience evinces*. We ought not by any means to think we

* In 1752, coarse woollens are fallen in price near 20 per cent.

are in no danger, whilst our observation proves what other nations are able to perform. If our very success argues the great importance of preserving our manufactures, it is deeply incumbent upon us to keep the manufacturers to a just standard: in this the interest of gentlemen who have large pasture lands is intimately concerned, as well as that of the trader, and indeed of the whole nation; we ought therefore to be watchful, not only to afford these manufactures on easy terms, but to improve and adapt them to every taste: and upon this point, next to the materials, the contest will chiefly rest. The peculiar advantages which some nations enjoy, can hardly ever be forfeited without their own faults: we have seen the complaint of the LEVANT traders, with regard to their cloth; the same complaint would have existed in the CASPIAN trade, had it continued; and it cannot be intirely from the connexion there is between the FRENCH and the POLANDERS, that the latter take of us only coarse cloths; FRANCE and AIX LA CHAPPEL annually furnish them with 100,000 l. value in cloth, which is inferior to ours in substance and duration, but its softness, colour and lightness give it a preference in their esteem. We are every day making new fabrics, and shew great art and fertility of invention in articles of less moment. No nation can make such excellent cloth as this; why we do not employ our skill and industry to accommodate every taste, and to come in for a share at every market, whilst our natural advantages secure some to us intirely, is what I do not comprehend, unless we are glutted with riches.

The complaints already mentioned prove how inconsiderate our clothiers are, who from a presumption of being sure of a demand regard only the present moment; and we generally find the quality of goods is inferior, in proportion as the demand is large: the consequence is, that when the demand slackens, the manufacturer cannot be easily brought back to his proper standard of work. Another matter of complaint is, that the excesses to which our common people are addicted, have increased the price of their labour beyond the due proportion of the value of provisions, so that the clothier is tempted to increase his quantity rather than improve the quality of his goods. These evils, though difficult
to

to cure, are certainly not irremediable; but the attention of the merchant, in conjunction with the legislature, may, in a great measure, prevent the pernicious consequences.

As the world grows more enlightened, every country will make efforts to be independent: the consequence must be, that the nation whose luxury at home raises the value of all its productions most, will have the least foreign trade; and if at the same time it makes a great consumption of foreign productions, it will certainly decline into poverty. If we learnt the art of parsimony in any tolerable degree, we should fight our neighbours with a two-edged sword.

It may be justly considered as one argument of the great opulency of this nation, that many artificers, mechanics, and even persons of laborious professions, have by their industry acquired great fortunes, and live in splendour; this is hardly to be found in any other nation. FRANCE, which is our great competitor, can hardly produce an instance of a dyer, packer, or other mechanic employed in preparing and finishing manufactories, who are arrived to such a condition of life. The luxury in FRANCE does not appear to have yet reached to near the height as it is in ENGLAND, among the middling or laborious orders of the people; and whilst they can procure the necessary parts of labour much cheaper than we do, they must consequently have the advantage over us. But it is time to put an end to this digression, and to return more immediately to the TURKEY trade.

What passed in the year 1718^f, is a convincing proof that the company fell into mistakes, through an impatient desire of private gain, injurious to the national interest; nor is it so much to be wondered at as lamented; but it did not follow that the trade could, in the nature of things, be made free and open. On the contrary, there were several reasons for the decay of the TURKEY trade; foreign to the exclusive privileges of the company: among many others which they assigned, was that of the heavy expence with which it was loaded; for it appeared by accounts

^f See vol. I. p. 54.

from 1733 to 1740, that the sums levied on the LEVANT company at CONSTANTINOPLE were no less than - - - - - 214,074 dollars

At SMYRNA, for the same time - - - - - 57,628

At ALEPPO, for the same time - - - - - 80,065

Which, including extraordinary presents, and reckoning the dollars at 3 s. comes to 8000 l. a year, which is about 4 per cent. upon their exports, a burthen which no EUROPEAN trade at this time can bear, and what had now involved the company in a heavy debt.

No man will doubt that every kingdom is rich, in proportion to the number and opulency of its inhabitants; is it not then the interest of the crown of GREAT BRITAIN, and of the whole nation to ease this branch of trade, and to support the embassador in TURKEY, whose appointments are about half the sum in question? and would it not be for the dignity and advantage of the government, that the embassador should not only appear as the king's servant, but have a fixt salary from the crown, at a court where regal power is so much respected? Certainly this circumstance is worthy of more attention from the legislature than yet appears to have been bestowed upon it. Among other minuter particulars which I have heard complained of there is this, that we have not any LAZARETTO at STANLEY CREEK, so that the cargoes are deprived of many conveniences in quarantain which other nations enjoy.

C H A P. XII.

Necessity of regulations in TURKEY. Companies essential to some trades. The great benefits of the oriental trade. The JEWS refused admittance into the TURKEY trade. A bill proposed for regulating the LEVANT trade.

Monopolies, or exclusive privileges, are generally ungrateful to the people of a free state; it was therefore natural to those who had not any personal knowledge abroad, nor experience at home, relating to the commerce of ASIA, to think that a total freedom in the TURKEY trade

trade would remove the evils under which it laboured: the difference between the CHRISTIAN and MOHOMMEDAN religions, also the various politics and customs, render it indispensably necessary that our factors in TURKEY, should be under subordination and restrictions: but this never could be the case, was the trade open as that of PORTUGAL or SPAIN: and though in the circumstances of this declining trade, as great an indulgence ought to have been shewn to every subject, as the nature of the thing will admit; yet the interest of the company I do not conceive can be preserved without an incorporated society, who, by keeping their factors in due subordination abroad, will watch over the honour of the nation, as well as their own commercial interest.

The want of such a society in our CASPIAN trade, produced many sad proofs of that discord which must threaten the subversion of every establishment of this nature. The RUSSIA merchants are but nominally a body corporate, compared with the LEVANT traders, and however good the inclinations of the former might be, they could not support that œconomy which the nature of their circumstances required. This, to all appearance, would be the case with the TURKEY company, was their trade left intirely open: indeed this must ever be the case, in proportion to the necessity there is of supporting good order abroad, as well as at home.

But this argument receives an additional force, with regard to countries where our military strength is essential to the support of our commerce. We have seen this verified lately in the AFRICAN trade, till the crown took the care and burthen of supporting the fortifications in that quarter of the world. It is true, some directors of companies in past times, have played so unfair a game, as will probably render their names odious; but this makes nothing against the general notion of companies, as essential to the conduct of certain trades, more than the evil administration of a minister does to government in general. There are, I know, several persons of very eminent rank and authority in this country, who have contracted an invincible prejudice against trading companies; but they do not seem to distinguish the nature and circumstances of the several branches

of trade, to which different kinds of œconomy are necessary, particularly in our ASIATIC commerce.

And now I have mentioned this subject, it may not be improper to observe, that the oriental trade is truly the mistress and sovereign of all others, and has been so for many ages. The PORTUGUEZE and the DUTCH laid the foundation of their power and reputation in this commerce: with regard to the BRITISH nation it ever must be of the highest moment, not only on account of the immediate advantages derived from it, but also to check the growing power of FRANCE and other nations in regard to their commercial interest in ASIA: it can be no diminution of the value of this trade, as some imagine, that many articles imported from thence, serve only to promote luxury; for upon the same principle GREAT BRITAIN may reject the fruit and wine of PORTUGAL and SPAIN with the sugar and tobacco of AMERICA; and this would carry us into a speculation foreign to the present constitution of the world, with regard to commerce in general.

When we consider the great numbers of hands employed as mechanics as well as seamen, this trade appears to be an object of the highest national regard: nor is it any solid objection to the oriental trade, that it requires the exportation of a great quantity of silver; for the wealth of a nation is not to be computed from the quantity of gold and silver in it; OUR riches at least consist in the produce of the country, and the industry of the inhabitants: by these this nation is become great and powerful; by these we draw silver from MEXICO, and gold from BRAZIL in so ample a proportion; and even from EAST INDIA we have supplies of gold; so that in this course of circulation what detriment is it if we send a quantity of silver to ASIA? We are to consider further the great advantages of exporting our woollen manufactures, and of importing from thence raw silk and raw cotton, which furnish fresh employment to our people: we are to remember the useful commodities of other countries, which we receive in return for our INDIA goods, and the ballance in money: in a word, it may be asserted, that the advantages are too apparent to need any enumeration.

As to the **LEVANT** trade, I can easily comprehend the force of the arguments which the **TURKEY** company used upon this occasion, with regard to the danger of letting in all sorts of people, and consequently of taking off such salutary restrictions as experience has proved to be necessary. It was not, I presume, from an impatient desire of power that the **TURKEY** traders rejected the measures proposed: every nation trading to **TURKEY** makes and practices rules different from those in use in their commerce with **CHRISTIANS**. The **DUTCH**⁵, who are not in so good a condition in **TURKEY** as the **ENGLISH**, have, among others, one distinguished regulation, which is, that no ship of less burthen than 300 tuns, and mounting 24 guns, shall go to **TURKEY**: and the **FRENCH**, whom I have already mentioned, support the utmost uniformity of conduct in regard to this trade, both at home and abroad. The duty which our **TURKEY** company have taxed themselves with at present, is 3 per cent. on goods consigned to their own factors, and 5 per cent. if consigned to the subjects of the **GRAND SEIGNIOR**; and none but a subject of **GREAT BRITAIN** and free of the company, can send any goods to that country; but that freedom may now be easily procured. The **ENGLISH** factors have hardly been known to make any difficulty in paying this duty, and if they do, the remedy is by distraining.

The power of determining disputes between the **BRITISH** subjects in our factories abroad, is generally vested in the **BRITISH** consul, in a greater or lesser degree, according to the difference of places; but this seems to be founded rather in the consent of parties, than in any law of our constitution, so that appeals are often made to the national magistrates; whereas in **TURKEY** all differences are determined within ourselves, and and generally brought to a speedy decision.

It is a good maxim in commerce, to keep it as much as possible in its course, and not make alterations by way of experiment; but the sickly condition of this trade demanded a more salutary regimen. In what proportion it had decayed in the five last years, with respect to raw silk, mo-

⁵ They have however a consul at **SMYRNA** and **ALEPPO**, and a minister at **CONSTANTINOPLE**, and, if they do not equal, come near us in point of interest in that country.

hair and cloth, the following is an extract from the custom-house, which was published upon this occasion, viz.

Silk imported from TURKEY the five preceeding years.

			lbs.
1734	—	—	274,720 ¹ / ₂
1735	—	—	106,401
1736	—	—	227,976
1737	—	—	87,774
1738	—	—	168,634
			<u>865,505¹/₂</u>

Silk imported from TURKEY the last five years.

			lbs.
1739	—	—	170,391
1740	—	—	none
1741	—	—	324,175
1742	—	—	2 ¹ / ₂
1743	—	—	138,308 ¹ / ₂
			<u>632,877</u>

Mohair yarn imported from TURKEY the five preceeding years.

			lbs.
1734	—	—	97,327
1735	—	—	none
1736	—	—	236,722
1737	—	—	241,179
1738	—	—	216,806
			<u>792,034</u>

Mohair yarn imported from TURKEY the last five years.

			lbs.
1739	—	—	49,388
1740	—	—	none
1741	—	—	152,146
1742	—	—	none
1743	—	—	208,699
			<u>410,233</u>

Cloth exported to TURKEY the five preceeding years.

	long cloths	short cloths
1734	4,766 ¹ / ₂	500
1735	18,946 ¹ / ₂	3,150
1736	8,368	1,485
1737	11,463	2,182
1738	21,574 ¹ / ₂	1,664
	<u>65,118¹/₂</u>	<u>8,981</u>

Cloth exported to TURKEY the last five years.

	long cloths	short cloths
1739	1,991 ¹ / ₂	660
1740	8,254	1,680 ¹ / ₂
1741	3,910	583
1742	5,168	2,222
1743	12,100	1,750
	<u>31,423¹/₂</u>	<u>6,895¹/₂</u>

A review

A review of this account could not but alarm the commercial part of the nation, and induce the legislature to take it seriously into their consideration.

The JEWS now desired to be admitted into a share of the trade, and the demand of the generality of the people was for an open commerce, or a limitation of the charter granted to the TURKEY company: the JEWS were strongly objected to, particularly by those members of the company who had most experience in the trade. The consideration of difference in religion among people subject to one common government, does not seem essential in commercial affairs, nor is it regarded much in our EUROPEAN trade; but the great influence they are supposed to have in ASIA, created an insuperable difficulty to their admittance. It seemed natural to believe, that by admitting no other JEWS than those of LONDON, and placing these under the same common restrictions as other subjects, that they would employ their power in favour of this nation, under whose government they are happy. It appeared however on this occasion, as if they were doomed to be excluded on account of their religion, at least it seemed a hard supposition, that EUROPEAN JEWS should be at the bottom of all schemes against EUROPEAN trade with ASIA, as was then alledged. It was further objected, that the JEWS in CONSTANTINOPLE would promote a monopoly of the TURKEY commodities with the JEWS in ENGLAND, to the prejudice of the other subjects of this nation, and that the JEWISH factors abroad would underwork the CHRISTIANS: it was also urged, that the influence of the JEWS, arising from their great riches, would have too great a weight in the commercial scale. But was not this an acknowledgment that they were bold traders, possessed of large capitals, and would be contented with small profits? if it was, and that the trade was really in danger of being lost to this nation, were not these the very people who bid fairest to rival the FRENCH? There was yet a further objection, that they might go to market to MARSEILLES for their cloths, and only bring their silk here: even this might be preferable to the loss of the trade, for all commodities which we manufacture at home, are certainly great national benefits: but it was reasonable

able to imagine, that the JEWS under the protection of the BRITISH crown, might be restrained to a subjection to BRITISH laws, as well in commerce as in civil society in general.

It was however allowed, that the JEWS who reside in TURKEY are, for the most part, an immoral people, and have by a kind of confederacy established an exorbitant brokerage of 1 or more per cent. as it were by inheritance; and this reason, joined to others of the like nature, induced the FRENCH to stipulate with the TURKS, that they might not be obliged to employ JEWS. The debate, which at this time ran high, was at length reduced to this issue, viz. whether the liberty of trading to TURKEY should be granted to all his majesty's subjects, or to all his christian subjects only; and whether it should be made an open trade, or continue exclusive under the restrictions the legislature might judge necessary. Upon this occasion the following bill for enlarging and regulating the trade to the LEVANT seas was proposed to the parliament.

“ **W**HEREAS king JAMES the first by his letters patent, bearing date the
 “ fourteenth day of December, in the third year of his reign, did grant
 “ to several persons therein named, and to their sons, and such others as should
 “ then after be admitted or made free, that they should be one fellowship, and
 “ one body corporate and politic, by the name of the governor and company of
 “ merchants of ENGLAND, trading into the LEVANT seas, and by the same name
 “ should have perpetual succession; and did direct, that all persons, subjects of
 “ this realm, being mere merchants, which then were, or after the date of the said
 “ letters patent, should happen to be under the age of twenty-six years, or not out
 “ of his or their apprenticeships, should be admitted into the freedom of the said
 “ company, if he or they should demand the same, within one year next after
 “ he or they should attain the age of twenty-six years, or within one year after the
 “ end of his or their apprenticeships, and should offer and pay to the said governor
 “ and company, for his or their admittance, the sum of twenty five pounds; and
 “ did further direct, that all persons, subjects of this realm of ENGLAND, being
 “ mere merchants, above the age of twenty-six years, should be admitted into
 “ the freedom of the said company, upon paying a fine of fifty pounds; and did
 “ also direct, that all and every the sons of such as were or should be free of the
 “ said company, and also all their apprentices employed in that trade, for the
 “ space of three years or upwards, within the limit of the said letters patent,
 “ should,

“ should, after the end of their apprenticeships, be admitted to the freedom of
 “ the said company, on payment of the sum of twenty shillings only :

“ And whereas king CHARLES the second, by his letters patent, bearing date
 “ the second day of April, in the thirteenth year of his reign, did ratify and con-
 “ firm the same letters patent of king JAMES the first; and did further direct, that
 “ no person residing within twenty miles of the city of LONDON should be admit-
 “ ted into the freedom of the said company, or have any benefit of the privileges
 “ thereof, unless he be made free of the said city.

“ And whereas of late years the trade into the LEVANT seas has very much de-
 “ creased; and the taking of less fines for the admission of persons into the free-
 “ dom of the said company, and not restraining the freedom thereof to mere
 “ merchants, and such persons only who reside within twenty miles of the city
 “ of LONDON, as are free of the said city, and the allowing persons admitted into
 “ the said company to trade jointly or separately, and to export all sorts of goods
 “ and merchandize of the growth, produce or manufacture of GREAT BRITAIN,
 “ or the dominions thereof, or the EAST INDIES (not prohibited by law to be ex-
 “ ported) to any port or place within the limits of the said letters patent, from
 “ what parts of GREAT BRITAIN, and at what time, and in what quantity, and
 “ on board what ships (navigated according to law) they shall respectively think
 “ proper; and also to import in the like manner, from any port or place within
 “ the limits of the said letters patent, raw silk, or any other goods or commodi-
 “ ties purchased within the said limits (not prohibited by law to be imported) by
 “ barter, with woollen or other manufactures, goods or commodities exported
 “ from GREAT BRITAIN, into any port or place within the limits of the said let-
 “ ters patent, gold or silver in coin or bullion excepted, or with the produce a-
 “ rising from the sales of such manufactures, goods or commodities so exported
 “ as aforesaid, are the most probable means to recover and extend the said trade,
 “ for the benefit of this nation :

“ May it therefore please your most excellent majesty, that it may be enacted,
 “ that from and after the 24th day of June 1744, every subject of this realm,
 “ desiring admission into the said company of merchants of ENGLAND trading in-
 “ to the LEVANT seas, commonly called or known by the name of the TURKEY
 “ company, on request in that behalf to be made to the governor or deputy go-
 “ vernor, shall be admitted into the said company, within the space of twenty-
 “ eight days after such request shall be made, and shall have, use and enjoy, all
 “ the liberties, privileges, jurisdictions, franchises, powers and authorities, grant-

“ ed to the said company by the said letters patent, as largely, fully and amply,
“ too all intents, constructions and purposes, as any other member of the said
“ company could, can, or may have, use or enjoy the same, by virtue of the said
“ letters patent, such subject paying for such his admission, for the use of the said
“ company, only the sum of twenty pounds and no more, and taking the usual
“ oath of the freemen of the said company, or being of the people called QUAKERS, the affirmation.

“ And be it further enacted, that from and after the said 24th day of June
“ 1744, the sum of twenty pounds and no more, shall be demanded, taken or
“ accepted, by the said company, for any admission to the freedom thereof; the
“ said letters patent, or any statute, law, order, constitution or ordinance of
“ the said company, made or to be made to the contrary thereof in any wise
“ notwithstanding.

“ And be it further enacted, that where any person or persons residing in any
“ out-port, or any other place within this realm, being subjects thereof, shall
“ make request to be admitted into the said company, by his agent or deputy,
“ making tender of twenty pounds for his admission, the governor or deputy
“ governor, shall, within twenty days after such request, appoint one or more
“ person or persons to admit such person or persons into the freedom of the said
“ company; and to administer to him or them the oath to be taken by the free-
“ men of the said company, or being one of the people called QUAKERS, a so-
“ lemn affirmation; which oath or affirmation he or they are hereby impowered
“ to administer; which admission, and administration of the said oath or affirma-
“ tion, shall be as good and effectual, as if the same were actually done by the
“ said governor or deputy governor.

“ And be it further enacted, that if any person, being a subject of this realm,
“ shall, by himself or his agent, make request to be admitted into the said com-
“ pany, and shall pay or tender, or cause to be paid or tendered, the sum of
“ twenty pounds for his admission, as directed by this act, and he shall be refused
“ to be admitted and made free of the said company, contrary to the true in-
“ tent and meaning of this act; every such person being so refused, shall be from
“ thenceforth deemed to be, and shall be, free of the said company, and a mem-
“ ber thereof, and shall enjoy the same liberties, privileges, jurisdictions, fran-
“ chises, powers and authorities, in as full and ample a manner as any other
“ member of the said company doth or may enjoy any thing herein, or in the
“ said letters patent contained, or in any statute, law, order, constitution, or ordi-
“ nance

“ nance of the said company, made or to be made, to the contrary thereof in
“ any wise notwithstanding.

“ Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed
“ ed to extend, to oblige the sons of such person or persons as are or shall be
“ free of the said company, on or before the said 24th day of June 1744, nor
“ any person or persons, who are, or shall be, apprentices to any merchant or
“ merchants free of the said company, on or before the said 24th day of June
“ 1744, to pay any greater sum for his or their admittance into the freedom of
“ the said company, than the sum of twenty shillings.

“ And be it further enacted, that from and after the said 24th day of June
“ 1744, all and every person or persons being free, or to be made free, of the said
“ company, may and shall separately or jointly export, or cause to be exported,
“ out of GREAT BRITAIN, to any port or place within the limits of the said letters
“ patent, in any BRITISH or plantation built ships navigated according to
“ law, at any time, to any person or persons whatsoever, being subjects of this
“ realm and free of the said company, or sons or apprentices of freemen of the
“ said company, so long as he or they shall continue to submit to and remain
“ under the protection and direction of the BRITISH ambassador and consuls respectively
“ for the time being, and subject to the by-laws and regulations of
“ the said company, and from any port or place in GREAT BRITAIN, as he or
“ they shall think proper, any goods, wares or merchandizes of the growth, produce
“ or manufacture of GREAT BRITAIN, or the dominions thereof, or the EAST
“ INDIES, (not prohibited by law to be exported) and also to import in the like
“ manner, from any port or place within the limits of the said letters patent,
“ from any person or persons whatsoever, being subjects of this realm and free of
“ the said company, or sons or apprentices of freemen of the said company, so
“ long as he or they shall continue to submit to, and remain under the protection
“ and direction of the BRITISH ambassador and consuls respectively for the
“ time being, and subject to the by-laws and regulations of the said company, raw
“ silk, or any goods or commodities purchased within the said limits: (not prohibited
“ by law to be exported) such raw silk, goods or commodities, being purchased
“ by barter, with woollen or other manufactures, goods or commodities,
“ exported from GREAT BRITAIN into any port or place within the limits of the said
“ letters patent, (gold or silver in coin or bullion excepted) or with the produce
“ arising from the sales of such manufactures, goods or commodities exported as
“ aforesaid, or with the produce arising from the freights of such ships, or from
“ consulage,

“ consulage, or the commission for factorage upon manufactures, goods or commodities which have been or shall be exported from, and imported to GREAT BRITAIN, and not otherwise, upon paying and securing the customs and other duties payable for the same, to his majesty, his heirs and successors, by any law now in force; and upon paying such sum or sums of money as are or shall from time to time be adjudged requisite and convenient for the common profit or sustentation, or the necessary and reasonable stipends, and other charges of the said company, and are or shall be assessed on any goods, wares, or merchandizes, to be exported or imported as aforesaid, or upon any ships laden with the same, by the greater part of any general court of the said company; any statute, law, order, constitution or ordinance of the said company, made or to be made to the contrary thereof, in any wise notwithstanding.

“ And be it further enacted, that from and after the 25th day of March 1745, every commander, master, or person having the charge of any ship or vessel, on board of which any raw silk, goods or commodities purchased within the limits of the said letters patent, shall be laden or shipped to be imported into this kingdom of GREAT BRITAIN, shall produce and deliver to the collector or comptroller, or other chief officer of the customs, at the port or place where such ships shall be unladen at the time of making his report, a certificate or manifest under the hand and seal of the ambassador, agent, resident, consul or vice-consul for the time being, residing at the port or place, where such raw silk, goods or commodities were laden or shipped, testifying that the person or persons, to whom such certificate or manifest is granted, had made oath, or, being one of the people called QUAKERS, had solemnly affirmed before him, that such raw silk, goods or commodities, were truly purchased by barter with woollen goods or other manufactures, goods or commodities which had been exported from GREAT BRITAIN, or with the produce arising from the sales or commissions for factorage of such manufactures, goods or commodities; or from consulage, or with the produce arising from the freight of such ship or vessel, or any other BRITISH or plantation-built ship or vessel, which had been employed in the said trade, to the best of his or their knowledge or belief; which oath or affirmation, the said ambassador, agent, resident, consul or vice-consul respectively, is hereby authorized to administer; and the said commander, master, or person having the charge of any such ship or vessel, shall likewise make oath, or, if he be one of the people called QUAKERS, solemnly affirm before the said collector, comptroller, or other chief officer of the customs, at the time when he delivers such certificate or manifest as aforesaid, that
“ such

“ such raw silk, goods or commodities were truly shipped, or put on board, at
“ the port or place, as in the said certificate or manifest is mentioned.

“ And be it further enacted, that if any person shall falsely make any oath or
“ affirmation, by this act directed to be made, and shall thereof be legally con-
“ victed, such person shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds of lawful mo-
“ ney of GREAT BRITAIN, and be imprisoned for the space of six months, and if
“ any person shall forge or counterfeit any certificate or manifest by this act direct-
“ ed, or shall publish such certificate or manifest, knowing the same to be forged
“ or counterfeited, and be legally convicted thereof, such person shall forfeit the
“ sum of two hundred pounds of lawful money of GREAT BRITAIN, and be im-
“ prisoned for the space of twelve months, and if any commander, master, or
“ person having the charge of any such ship or vessel shall land, or suffer or per-
“ mit to be landed, out of any such ship or vessel, in any port or place in GREAT
“ BRITAIN, any raw silk, goods or commodities laden or shipped in any port or
“ place within the limits of the said letters patent, before he hath delivered
“ such certificate or manifest, and made such oath or solemn affirmation as afore-
“ said, such commander, master, or person, being legally convicted thereof,
“ shall forfeit and pay treble the value of such raw silk, goods or commodities,
“ and all and every such forfeiture or forfeitures aforementioned, shall be sued
“ for, recovered and adjudged in any of his majesty's courts of record in GREAT
“ BRITAIN, with full costs of suit, by bill, plaint, information or action, where-
“ in no privilege, protection, wager of law, or more than one imparlance shall
“ be allowed, and one third part of all such forfeiture or forfeitures so recover-
“ ed, shall go and be paid to his majesty, his heirs and successors, one other third
“ part to the governor and company of merchants of ENGLAND trading into the
“ LEVANT seas, and the other third part to him or them who shall inform and
“ sue for the same.

“ Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be constru-
“ ed to extend, to authorize or empower any person or persons, being free of
“ the said company, to vote or give any voice or suffrage in the election, nomi-
“ nation, choice or appointment of any officers or minister employed, or to be
“ employed by the said company, or in the change or removal of them, or any
“ of them, or in disposing of the company's monies, unless such person or per-
“ sons hath or have in his own name, and for his own account, traded in the
“ said company, so far as to pay forty shillings at the least, in impositions to
“ the

“ the said company, towards the public charges, within one year then next, before
 “ such vote, voice or suffrage is to be given.

“ And be it further enacted, that the said governor or deputy-governor, shall,
 “ and are hereby required to call a general court as often as request shall be
 “ made to the said governor or deputy-governor, in that behalf, by writing
 “ under the hands of any seven or more of the members of the said company,
 “ within ten days after such request shall be made, as aforesaid; any thing in
 “ the before-recited letters patent, or any statute, law, order, constitution or or-
 “ dinance of the said company, to the contrary thereof, in any wise notwith-
 “ standing.’

This bill, after passing the commons, was thrown out of the house of lords by a majority of three: it must be observed however, as the case stands, the trade does not seem to suffer any inconvenience from the exclusive privilege of the TURKEY company, as admittance is given for 20 l. but it does appear even at this time ^b, that to one ship which we have in the TURKEY trade, the FRENCH have ten; and unless we should have a successful naval war, we shall hardly be able to exceed even this proportion; it may be well if we do not yet loose ground.

C H A P. XIII.

Fresh difficulties with relation to the CASPIAN trade. The merchants petition his majesty. The king's letter to SHAH NADIR upon this occasion. The SHAH's decree in relation to JOHN ELTON.

TO return to what concerns the CASPIAN trade, it seemed impracticable to induce Mr. ELTON to leave PERSIA; on the contrary he continued to pursue his design. He had surmounted so many difficulties, that it was hard to say whether he was a greater object of hatred or admiration to the RUSSIANS: but certain it is he compleated one vessel intended to mount 20 three-pounders, which is of greater force than the RUSSIANS ever navigated on the CASPIAN: this being a royal ship, the person who had the charge of her thought proper to require naval honours of the RUSSIAN merchant ships on the PERSIAN coast; several o-

ther complaints were sent to court, some false, and others of a trifling nature; the great object was the PERSIAN ship already afloat, and the other vessels on the stocks, which they apprehended might soon be equipped. The cloud which had hung over us for some time, now grew darker; but our vexation did not arise only from the disgust of the RUSSIANS, for the prohibition of correspondency with Mr. ELTON, occasioned his arresting a large quantity of goods brought by the new factors, messieurs PRESTON and THOMPSON, on a claim of commission due on them. This caused an alarm among the merchants in LONDON, who immediately applied to the king: his majesty, with his wonted humanity and tendernefs, shewed a particular readiness to oblige the RUSSIA company, by writing to NADIR SHAH about the beginning of 1746. The king's letter was as follows:

“GEORGE THE SECOND, by the grace of almighty God creator of
 “heaven and earth, king of GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE and IRE-
 “LAND, the most invincible and most mighty defender of the chrif-
 “tian faith, &c. The most high exalted PRINCE in ample honour and
 “dignity sends kind salutations, with wishes of health and true hap-
 “piness.

“Most noble and most mighty prince,

“**T**HE governor and company of our royal merchants trading to
 “RUSSIA, and through RUSSIA to PERSIA, having represented to
 “us that JOHN ELTON, whom we recommended to your serenity by our
 “royal letter of the 7th of February in the year of our lord 1743-4,
 “had by his management almost ruined the trade of our subjects to your
 “serenity's dominions, though it is of great advantage to our respective
 “kingdoms, and that there was remaining a considerable ballance due
 “to our merchants; and the company having determined not to employ
 “JOHN ELTON in their service, have besought us to recommend to your
 “protection their new factors, MARTIN KYCK VAN MIEROP, CHARLES
 “GEORGE PRESTON, CHARLES THOMPSON, and RICHARD WILDER, as
 “our favoured subjects and merchants; and also that your serenity would
 “command that JOHN ELTON do immediately settle and adjust with the
 “said

" said factors the accounts and demands depending, by paying the bal-
 " lance, and delivering to them such goods as remain in his hands be-
 " longing to our company of merchants not disposed of. We have
 " thought fit to acquaint your serenity therewith, and desire that you
 " will favour our merchants with your royal countenance and protection,
 " not doubting but that your serenity will, upon the receipt of this our
 " royal letter, cause justice to be done to our company and merchants,
 " by ordering JOHN ELTON to settle the accounts depending between our
 " merchants and him; to pay the ballance that shall appear to be due
 " to the new factors hereby recommended to your serenity, and to deli-
 " ver to them such goods belonging to the company's trading members
 " as may remain in his hands.

" As justice is the glory of princes, we can make no doubt of your
 " serenity's ready compliance with this our request, since the trade car-
 " rying on by our subjects in PERSIA tends so highly to the advantage
 " of both nations, and requires particular marks of your favour and sup-
 " port. We hope that as our merchants are strangers in your empire,
 " and place their entire dependance in your royal favour and protection,
 " your serenity will hear them favourably, and redress any grievances
 " they may now represent, or may at any time hereafter have just cause
 " to lay before you. We cannot conclude without congratulating your
 " serenity upon the glorious success of your invincible arms, and repeat-
 " ing our wishes of health and true happiness to your serenity and your
 " royal family. Given at our court at St. JAMES'S."

Mr. ELTON had in the interim petitioned as complainant, and obtained the following decree from NADIR SHAH.

" **I**N the name of the exalted God; it is the imperial command, that
 " the magnificent ACHMED BEG, KURYSAUL BASHI of our high
 " court, the noble MYRZA MAHOMMED ZEKIE, and also the great MA-
 " HOMMED KHAN BEG, who by the sovereign favour is governor of
 " GHILAN, do know, that GEMAL BEG has by a petition represented,
 " that according to a contract he has made with certain of his partners,
 " who

“ who are now in ENGLAND, whatever goods or merchandize they might
“ at any time send from ENGLAND, upon their arrival in GHILAN they
“ should be opened in his presence, and 9 per cent. on their value should
“ be paid to him : and whereas the officers of the RUSSIAN state have pro-
“ hibited the merchandize to be brought before him, and the 9 per cent.
“ to be paid; he requests that the people belonging to his partners lately
“ arrived in GHILAN should without pro or con pay to him this proportion.

“ But whereas these people who have brought goods and merchandize
“ hither, are strangers, and are come to this country on account of trade,
“ and the proprietors not being present, we cannot absolutely determine
“ this matter; therefore our royal decree is, that you summon GEMAL
“ BEG and his partners, and hear and settle their affairs according to law
“ and justice: let no hurt be done to him, nor at the same time any me-
“ thod taken that may be injurious to the persons sent by the said mer-
“ chants. Know this to be our pleasure, and conform thereto. Dated
“ the last day of the month SHEVAL in the year 1158.”

It appeared from hence that ELTON had advanced the most palpable and absurd falsties, in assurance of success, founded in his interest with the SHAH: his judges also had no abilities to enter into the merits of the case, nor honesty enough to determine according to equity. After many circumstances too tedious to enumerate, the decree produced the delivery of the 42 bales of goods which ELTON had arrested. As for the accounts of former transactions and effects, he adjudged them as he pleased, and did much less injustice than he might have done; for he made returns in part to those to whom he was most deeply indebted.

C H A P. XIV.

The RUSSIAN court prohibits the BRITISH CASPIAN trade. The decree of the empress of RUSSIA on this occasion. The author's remarks on the letters of the RUSSIAN consul, on which the decree was founded.

THE scene now began to close: the RUSSIAN ministry being persuaded that Mr. ELTON's conduct was of a dangerous tendency, the EMPRESS published a decree in November 1746, of which the following is a translation.

The decree of the empress of RUSSIA, interdicting the BRITISH trade over the CASPIAN sea.

“ THE ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary residing here on
 “ the part of his majesty the king of GREAT BRITAIN, cannot be
 “ ignorant in what manner the empire of RUSSIA has endeavoured to cul-
 “ tivate and augment the friendship long subsisting with his majesty,
 “ particularly by the treaty of commerce concluded between the two
 “ crowns in the year 1734, which was renewed in the year 1742, at the
 “ conclusion of the happy alliance. Her imperial majesty was desirous
 “ to shew her good-will, by granting not only a free commerce to the
 “ BRITISH merchants with her subjects over the whole empire without
 “ any obstruction, but also through her dominions into PERSIA, which
 “ till then had never been granted. As a proof of her imperial majesty's
 “ affection to the BRITISH nation, in exclusion of all others, the duties
 “ were mitigated, and many other privileges and immunities were agreed
 “ to, that the trade to PERSIA might be the more easily conducted. It
 “ is not necessary to mention the advantages granted to the merchants
 “ concerned in that trade, the treaty of commerce sufficiently shows
 “ them.

“ These privileges have been since augmented, for, at the request of
 “ the BRITISH merchants, a permission was given them to have their
 “ own ships on the CASPIAN sea, though this is not mentioned in the
 “ treaty: but these indulgences have given room to entertain some ill-de-
 “ signing

“ signing persons on the PERSIAN coast, who have shown themselves
 “ disaffected to the empire, and have openly acted against the interest of it.
 “ The person who has given occasion to this unexpected proceeding, is
 “ the well-known ELTON, who formerly was in this service as captain
 “ in the ORENEURG expedition; and after his dismissal from it, when
 “ the BRITISH merchants began to navigate the CASPIAN in their own
 “ ships, he was engaged by those merchants, and sent with their ships
 “ to PERSIA, where he was appointed their agent. The first step
 “ which ELTON took was detrimental to the RUSSIAN consul and mer-
 “ chants, for instead of an amicable intercourse with them, he fomented
 “ animosities. Secondly, he treated with great inhumanity the RUSSIAN
 “ mariners who were hired on board the ENGLISH ships, and refused to
 “ pay them the full wages he had agreed for. Thirdly, he carried with
 “ him contraband goods and materials in the said ships, from ASTRA-
 “ CHAN. Fourthly, and what is the worst of all, he gave himself into
 “ PERSIAN protection, engaged in that service, insinuated several projects
 “ to the PERSIANS, and introduced some arts hitherto not known a-
 “ mongst them, to the great detriment of this empire.

“ His excellency the ambassador may thus plainly see how RUSSIA has
 “ been rewarded for her indulgence granted to the BRITISH nation by
 “ such an advantageous treaty. Notwithstanding all these circumstances,
 “ the greatest moderation has been used on her part, in hopes that mat-
 “ ters would be rectified. To this end, in the year 1743, the minister
 “ and plenipotentiary Mr. WYCH, then residing here, was acquainted with
 “ ELTON’s conduct; the RUSSIAN minister at LONDON, KNEZ SHEBBA-
 “ TOVE, was also informed of the same, and his instructions concerning
 “ them were often repeated: he represented these complaints against EL-
 “ TON in the strongest manner, insisting that he should not only be re-
 “ called from PERSIA, but obliged to make satisfaction for the excesses
 “ he had committed: moreover, that this trade to PERSIA could not be
 “ understood to exist, but as it might be carried on agreeably to the regu-
 “ lations made here concerning it, and without prejudicing the subjects
 “ of this empire: for as the trade was allowed out of mere good-will to

“ the ENGLISH, and so many valuable privileges granted to their merchants, it is not natural that it should be suffered, contrary to the interest of the empire.

“ RUSSIA at length sees herself obliged to guard against such injurious practices, by taking such measures as are absolutely necessary for the preservation of her interest. In consequence of the many repeated complaints made on this head by the RUSSIAN minister at LONDON; lord TYRAWLEY, the ambassador then residing here, gave in answer to this ministry, a memorial dated the 4th December 1744, setting forth, that his majesty had ordered the merchants of the ENGLISH company trading to PERSIA, not to consign any more of their goods to ELTON, and to forbid his being any ways concerned in that company: also that the merchants of their own accord would allow ELTON a pension of 2000 rubles per annum during life, on condition of his returning from PERSIA to ENGLAND, and that the king, upon ELTON's arrival in ENGLAND, would grant him a post in the navy; concluding with a request for a sufficient passport for him to travel through RUSSIA into ENGLAND: the said passport was granted, and delivered to the ambassador at MOSCO, and immediately sent into PERSIA, together with letters from the ENGLISH company to ELTON, and they were safely delivered to him by the RUSSIAN consul in PERSIA. But all this had no effect; on the contrary, advices are since arrived from PERSIA, both from the RUSSIAN resident and the consul in that country, that ELTON was not only unwilling to go from thence, but had evaded lord TYRAWLEY's order, alledging that this order was given out at the same time as the king of GREAT BRITAIN sent his recommendatory letter to the PERSIAN SHAH, relating to the ENGLISH merchants trading in that country; and that he had the SHAH's orders to take all ENGLISH merchants and factors under his protection.

“ If this be fact, it has certainly encouraged ELTON to prolong his abode in PERSIA; to push on the projects he has brought on the carpet; and to carry them into execution, to the great loss and detriment of this empire. The RUSSIAN subjects residing in that country also complain

“ plain that BLAIR, BROWN, and other ENGLISHMEN who have left that
 “ country, have been concerned in these projects: and lastly, that PRES-
 “ TON and others, who still remain there, have been instrumental to the
 “ same end. And these proceedings are still carried on with the same ill
 “ temper, of which the consul, general WOLFF, was acquainted in 1745;
 “ but since that time many more exorbitances have been committed,
 “ which can be clearly proved.

“ Not to mention the disorder and damage which ELTON, in con-
 “ junction with the PERSIANS, has created to the RUSSIAN merchants;
 “ his injurious designs have succeeded in part, and he is indefatigable in
 “ projecting new ones. To connive at these proceedings any longer, will
 “ be of very dangerous consequence.

“ All these vexations and inconveniencies arise from the trade this em-
 “ pire has permitted the BRITISH nation to carry on, and which never
 “ was granted to any nation before; and things being now come to this
 “ extremity, our patience and moderation can hold out no longer. No-
 “ body can in justice blame us to look back at the many complaints made
 “ to his BRITANNIC majesty’s court at LONDON, and the hopes we en-
 “ tertained that proper measures would be taken to redress the grievances
 “ complained of: but it is now plain, that no other remedy is left than
 “ that RUSSIA shall immediately put a stop to the trade: her imperial
 “ majesty’s interest, and the security of her empire obliges her to lay hold
 “ of the strongest, readiest, and most effectual method for this purpose.

“ In consideration however of the great friendship which her imperial
 “ majesty has always entertained for his majesty the king of GREAT BRI-
 “ TAIN, she wishes sincerely to maintain the treaty of commerce con-
 “ cluded with his majesty, in its whole extent, sacred and inviolable,
 “ without any alteration or abridgment, and to fulfil it in every respect
 “ to the end of the term stipulated; but there is now an absolute necessi-
 “ ty, not only to make an alteration in the trade permitted to the ENG-
 “ LISH nation to PERSIA, but to break it off intirely.

“ There-

“ Therefore, in consequence of her imperial majesty’s gracious order,
 “ the same is made known to all those whom it may concern, and by
 “ these presents to his excellency lord HINDFORD, the ambassador extra-
 “ ordinary, to the end that he may be pleased to acquaint his court
 “ therewith; and at the same time to assure his majesty in the strongest
 “ manner, that her imperial majesty has been obliged to take this reso-
 “ lution against her inclination: in all other cases her imperial majesty
 “ will ever give the strongest marks of her friendship to the king and
 “ nation of GREAT BRITAIN; and will endeavour by every means to in-
 “ crease it. And to prevent all obstructions to the sincere intentions which
 “ her imperial majesty has of maintaining a strict friendship and harmo-
 “ ny between the two courts and nations; it is now become necessary
 “ to put a stop to the evil practices of ELTON and his confederates, the
 “ other subjects of GREAT BRITAIN, now in PERSIA.

“ Her imperial majesty is so far convinced of the friendship of the king
 “ of GREAT BRITAIN, that she expects his majesty will neither approve
 “ nor suffer those people to remain in PERSIA, but order, in the strictest
 “ manner, that ELTON, together with the ENGLISH subjects there with
 “ him, shall without fail, as soon as possible, remove from thence and
 “ return to ENGLAND. May it also please the ambassador to acquaint
 “ the ENGLISH merchants and members of the company trading to PER-
 “ SIA, and residing in St. PETERSBURG, and in due time also those at
 “ ASTRACHAN, that they shall not only forbear sending any more goods
 “ to PERSIA, but use all their endeavours to settle and liquidate their ac-
 “ counts with the subjects of PERSIA, and make the necessary prepara-
 “ tions to withdraw their effects and servants without delay.

“ St. PETERSBURG, November 1746, signed

G. A. BESTUCHEFF RUMIN.

C. NICH. WORONZOFF.”

It was in vain for the merchants to complain of this edict, but in a national way it became the duty of the BRITISH minister to remonstrate against the violation of the treaty of commerce. My lord HINDFORD, his majesty’s ambassador, knowing that I had been in PERSIA, desired me
 to

to give in writing what I had to say in regard to the vindication of the BRITISH subjects. I complied the more readily with my lord's request, from the personal knowledge I had of the RUSSIAN consul, on whose letters great part of the complaints mentioned in this decree were founded. The reader will judge of the conduct and genius of this man, who from a common secretary and interpreter, did not content himself with less than ten led horses to make his public entrance into RESHD, as the EMPRESS's consul. He was born at CONSTANTINOPLE, and had contracted an inclination to the customs of ASIA: finding our trade ungrateful to his court, and unprofitable to himself, he over-acted his part, and was impatient till he had seen an end of it, which served to inflame the resentment of the court. He did not stop there, for his conduct exposed him to the complaints and resentments of the RUSSIAN merchants also, who, in less than two years afterwards, obtained his recal and disgrace.

By the following articles of defence it will be easy to judge of the nature of these complaints, which are mentioned in the decree in more general terms.

ST. PETERSBURG, November 1746.

Remarks on several letters wrote in 1744, 1745, and 1746, by the RUSSIAN consul to his court.

I. I observe that the consul has a most extraordinary way of exaggerating; for it seems absurd that Mr. ELTON should attempt to hide what all the world might see, or to suppose the carpenters and seamen were his privy counsellors in secret affairs.

II. Whether Mr. ELTON is pushed on by his ambition or not, he may by his natural industry in a country where no pleasures can take off his attention, make some improvements.

III. 'Tis no unusual thing for the SHAH to flatter a man one day, and put him to death the next. I believe that NADIR's decrees, in relation to his marine, promise ELTON to protect him against his enemies; but I do not see that any conclusion can be drawn from thence to the prejudice of the RUSSIAN state.

IV. 'Tis possible RUSSIA in time may suffer damage, if the PERSIANS build any ships; but I much doubt if such ships can or will long exist: if ELTON had gone into GHILAN by way of GAMBROON or TURKEY, or found his way through RUSSIA, with a design of building ships, and without any employment from the ENGLISH merchants, could the ENGLISH trade in such case be made accountable for the conduct of a private man, who acts thus in a circumstance foreign to trade?

V. Notwithstanding the reports of the consul, I am morally certain, that the ENGLISH merchants and factors in general, or BROWN and PRESTON in particular, are not concerned in supporting ELTON, nor have any interest in the success of his schemes.

VI. 'Tis not to be imagined that ELTON builds ships for shew only; their being employed in carrying provisions in the manner which the consul mentions, ought not to be imputed to resentment, but considered as a natural consequence of their being built.

VII. In the summer 1745, Mr. JAMES BROWN carried with him to the PERSIAN camp, the king's letter to NADIR SHAH, dated February 2, 1744, desiring that justice might be done to his subjects; in consequence whereof, after great solicitation, Mr. BROWN obtained a decree for the payment of the money due to him from the provinces and governor in GHILAN; but nothing is more false and absurd, than that Mr. BROWN desired on that occasion to put himself under ELTON's protection. 'Tis notorious, by volumes of correspondence, that Mr. BROWN always avoided all sort of connexion with ELTON; nor in matters of trade had ELTON any sort of authority or preference which might create a dependance. As to Mr. BROWN's being ready to die in defence of ELTON's honour, I do not suppose the consul is serious; nor can I comprehend what he means by power given to ELTON over the other factors. But the consul's assertions are agreeable to that conduct which he has always observed towards us, rather provoking ELTON than endeavouring to bring him off from his pursuits.

VIII. How unfair and inconclusive are the consul's reasonings! because the merchants have not been successful in the repeal of ELTON, therefore they have not been sincere; and therefore they are yet allowing him

him a pension as the founder of the trade, while it is obvious that the measures which ELTON was pursuing, threatened the destruction of the trade. The consul insinuates that the ENGLISH would not make any figure in PERSIA but by ELTON's means: he is ignorant what figure our EAST INDIA company makes, and has made there; and what figure we make in every quarter of the world where our merchants carry on their commerce by sea.

IX. The consul has artfully played one BRITISH house against the other, with a view to ruin both. His conduct towards us has been calculated to destroy that harmony which might have existed between the other BRITISH factors and the RUSSIANS, whatever consequences Mr. ELTON's conduct might have produced.

X. The RUSSIANS have formerly run old ships ashore on the western coast of the CASPIAN, with a view to break them up and sell the wood, fuel being extremely scarce in those parts; by this means the PERSIANS got as much timber as would build a new vessel: but what is this to the purpose, unless the consul would make us accountable for the conduct of the RUSSIAN subjects, as well as for ELTON's?

XI. If ELTON in the advice he gives the PERSIANS is steady and consistent, it is for his own purposes, and not for those of the trade. The matter therefore I apprehend is reduced to this point, whether the whole BRITISH nation is accountable to the RUSSIAN government for the conduct of one private person in PERSIA?

XII. I grant it was injudicious in ELTON to make the RUSSIAN ship strike to the PERSIAN. When I was on the CASPIAN we always paid the compliment to the RUSSIAN flag, thereby acknowledging the sovereignty of the EMPRESS.

XIII. As to the illegal commerce complained of, I have heard of a quantity of bar tin, which has been since reputed contraband, but it was not then included in the contraband articles, and was actually entered for PERSIA, and passed ASTRACHAN in a regular open manner.

XIV. I am morally certain that the RUSSIAN seamen were not ill treated; but, on the contrary, used with greater humanity than in their own ships.

The conclusion (article XV.) is, I think, extremely absurd: a report may be certain in the consul's sense; that is, it may be certain there is a report, when the thing reported is false, as this must needs be concerning the ENGLISH merchants settling a pension on ELTON to support him in PERSIA, instead of bringing him home from thence; and I humbly presume it would be very hard if a simple hear-say should be made a reason sufficient to annul an article in a treaty subsisting between two crowns.

C H A P. XV.

Reflections on the foregoing transactions. Proposal made by the RUSSIA company, to exchange the EUROPEAN goods in PERSIA for raw silk already in RUSSIA. Danger of the company's effects in PERSIA. Letter upon the same subject. The BRITISH ambassador obtains orders for a ship, to secure the effects of the CASPIAN traders. Letter upon this occasion from the factors in St. PETERSBURG to the factors in GHILAN.

THE prohibition of our trade was no matter of surprize to me, neither did I think it any great loss to the nation; having from a long and painful experience received very disadvantageous impressions of it. However, whilst there was any hopes of preserving it, I acted my part in the whole affair with the utmost assiduity and attention. It was apparent, from the situation of RUSSIA with regard to PERSIA at that time; from ELTON's rashness; and the jealous disposition of the RUSSIANS in general, that this trade was an unavoidable object of offence: the reader will also observe from the several facts related in my journal, that notwithstanding the reputed security of conveyance through the RUSSIAN dominions, great part of the way is exposed to the incursions of the TARTARS, and to the plunder of the RUSSIAN pirates on the VOLGA. Should foreign wars draw off the forces, or occasion any great diminution of the garrisons in those parts, the road could not be long safe: few years have passed without some particular accident; but we had to fear the ill designs of secret as well as open enemies; for whatever advantages might have been derived to the BRITISH or RUSSIAN nation at large, neither the

ARMENIAN NOT RUSSIAN merchants could ever be intirely reconciled to us, whilst we received any considerable profit from it. Our business therefore was to make as good a retreat as possible.

HAHDGEE SEFFIE, the SHAH's merchant, whom I have already mentioned; after spending near a whole year in ASTRACHAN, at length arrived in MOSCO with about 200 bales of silk. It was natural to suppose, that his business was to make as speedy a return to his master as possible: therefore several members of the RUSSIA company, who had a glut of goods in PERSIA, could not but grasp at the least intimation of bartering them against raw silk in RUSSIA. The correspondence I had on this subject with one of my private employers, gave birth to a resolution of all the CASPIAN traders, in consequence whereof the following letter was addressed to the BRITISH consul.

“ SIR,

St. PETERSBURG, February 25, 1747.

“ **T**HE CASPIAN traders in LONDON having great quantities of effects in GHILAN, which cannot be sold yet for a considerable time, desire to barter them against raw silk now in RUSSIA. As the memorial prohibiting the BRITISH CASPIAN trade expresses an earnest desire that the same should be finished with all possible dispatch, we beg you will solicit a permission for the purpose above mentioned. The SHAH's commissary, HAHDGEE SEFFIE, being now in MOSCO with 200 bales of raw silk, and the RUSSIAN merchants not disposed to buy them on the terms demanded, we propose to make a barter with the commissary in behalf of our principals, whose orders we have received for that purpose: and in case the same is brought to effect, we will, upon the exportation of the raw silk from hence, pay to her imperial majesty's custom-house, the usual duty of 3 per cent. in dollars, on a valuation of 52 rubles per pood, the same as we pay at ASTRACHAN on our own imports. This we presume will be agreeable to the RUSSIAN merchants of MOSCO, and a singular benefit to the BRITISH merchants who are inclined to make this barter, and at the same time will greatly facilitate a compliance with her imperial majesty's decree:

“therefore we hope a permission will be granted us without loss of time,
“in order that we may treat with the commissary.

“We are, SIR, &c.”

However reasonable and consistent this proposition may appear, it was not relished; on the contrary, many objections were started. If the affair had been opened to the HAHDGEE, and he had consented to this barter, it would not have agreed with the plan which the court seemed to have laid down; for this new commercial scheme of NADIR SHAH was as ungrateful to the RUSSIAN government, as ELTON's naval achievements; and we had no hopes of any indulgence whilst the name of ELTON remained. It is also probable, that the RUSSIAN ministry foresaw the impending revolutions in PERSIA, and that they might have occasion to arrest the effects of the HAHDGEE, to indemnify the RUSSIAN subjects for losses they might sustain by plunder in that country; for this really happened not long after, and part of those effects were arrested accordingly.

Reports already prevailed, that fresh rebellions were formed in PERSIA, and the experience I had bought in that country alarmed my jealousy; for it was but too evident, that the PERSIANS were continually revolting, in spite of that prodigious success which had attended NADIR's arms, and in defiance of those acts of cruelty with which their rebellions had been punished. Thus the CASPIAN trade was indeed a trade militant, and attended with all the fears and cares of war; but as we were so far advanced in it, it behoved us to make as good a retreat as possible, especially as the RUSSIANS would not permit us to continue it any longer.

At this timeⁱ there was a report that the RUSSIAN merchants and subjects had quitted PERSIA; this was not unlikely, for the declining age of the SHAH, the rebellions in KHERMAN and GEORGIA, together with the universal misery and oppression which reigned throughout that kingdom, might be a sufficient inducement for them to retire to their own country. These considerations made great impressions on us, and this produced the following letter from our factors to his majesty's consul.

ⁱ June 1747.

" SIR,

St. PETERSBURG, July 24, 1747-

" **A** Ccording to the reports which now prevail, many of the provin-
 " ces in PERSIA are revolted: we have reason to apprehend that
 " GHILAN will follow the example, and the effects of our principals in
 " RESHD may be involved in the general confusion. We therefore en-
 " treat that you will obtain permission of the RUSSIAN government, for
 " the BRITISH factors in GHILAN to ship off for ASTRACHAN the cloth
 " and all other effects under their care, in case their apprehensions of
 " imminent danger from a rebellion, or other reasons which the necessity
 " of the times may suggest, should determine those factors to take this
 " means for the security of their persons and effects.

" For this end it is necessary that orders be sent to ASTRACHAN and
 " GHILAN, that these factors be assisted with one or two good RUSSIAN
 " ships, paying the freight thereof; and that all possible protection be
 " afforded them on the parts of the RUSSIAN ambassador, governor, con-
 " sul, &c. both in GHILAN and ASTRACHAN, till such time as they shall
 " find it safe to return to GHILAN, to finish the sale of their remaining
 " effects. Delays may be attended with the most dangerous consequen-
 " ces, nor will the case admit of waiting for orders from LONDON.

" We are, SIR, &c."

His majesty's consul being at that time indisposed, the contents of the letter were communicated to my lord HINDFORD, who was not ignorant of our danger; and with that care and assiduity with which his lordship always attended the commercial as well as military interest of this nation in RUSSIA, he presented a memorial to the great chancellor, and the very next day obtained an order for a ship to be sent from ASTRACHAN to GHILAN. Our fears were not ill grounded, for about this time NADIR, whose cruelty had rendered him, the dread of ASIA, had suffered a violent death, and left his unhappy people exposed to those miseries which he had entailed upon them.

The necessary orders were dispatched to ASTRACHAN, and proper instructions given: in consequence hereof the factors in St. PETERSBURG received

received an answer from ASTRACHAN, and also from LONDON, in relation to the measures proposed for the safety of the effects. These circumstances occasioned the following letter from the factors in St. PETERSBURG to those in GHILAN.

“ GENTLEMEN,

St. PETERSBURG, September 1747.

“ **Y**OU will find by the inclosed, that the proprietors in LONDON, have given us a power of ordering and instructing you, in regard to their concerns under your care. The grand object of our attention at present is the security of their effects. We should be greatly concerned if you were constrained by a sense of immediate danger to ship off your EUROPEAN effects, but the plunder of them would be still a greater misfortune. The measures taken by Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON of ASTRACHAN are very agreeable to us; he has sent you a stout vessel to be used as a safe warehouse, or to bring off your effects; or in any other manner you shall think proper. You must be guided by the situation of affairs in that country. We flatter ourselves the danger is over, and that the revolution said to have taken place, will be attended with many happy consequences; and, by creating a circulation of money, the inhabitants will be delivered from their oppressions.

“ We apprehend it is necessary to you as merchants, who have no minister from our own sovereign, to desire the protection of the throne, for the security of your effects, as well as for their more speedy sale. If there is a new king, and you think proper to pay him your compliments in form, attended with a present, according to the custom of the country, it will be agreeable to your principals; and we give you full power to act in this particular as you judge most expedient. We only recommend that you shew a proper regard to the unprosperous state of the affairs under your care.

“ As Mr. ELTON's conduct has occasioned so much mischief and ill blood, we desire you, not only to avoid giving any offence to the RUSSIAN government, but to cultivate a perfect understanding with the ministers

“ ministers and officers of her imperial majesty. The regard which was
 “ shewn you by the RUSSIAN ambassador in GHILAN, is already a proof
 “ that you act upon right principles, which your own experience will
 “ corroborate.

“ The proprietors are impatient to finish the sale of their goods under
 “ your care, in the best and most expeditious manner, and therefore they
 “ hope that an offer of goods to the king of PERSIA, at an easy rate,
 “ might engage him to take off a large parcel. Whether forcing a sale
 “ can be effected in any satisfactory manner, we know not; but we give
 “ you this intimation of their pleasure, that you may act according to
 “ it: and we yet flatter ourselves, that the tedious disbursement, and heavy
 “ charge attending this trade, will be compensated by the future returns.

“ We are, &c.”

C H A P. XVI.

Consequences of NADIR SHAH's death. The factors in PERSIA plundered of 80,000 l. Fresh disturbances in PERSIA. Letter upon this subject from the factors in GHILAN to the factors in St. PETERSBURG. Answer to the above letter. Letters from the factors in GHILAN to their employers in LONDON.

NADIR was now cut off, and his nephew ALI KOULI KHAN seized upon the PERSIAN diadem, under the name of ADIL, or the just: he published his decrees and manifestoes in every quarter of the empire, complaining of the cruelty of his uncle, whose hands were so deeply stained with blood. He professed to begin his reign upon other principles, and instead of demanding fresh subsidies of the people, who were languishing in the extremest poverty, he remitted all taxes for a considerable time.

As no violent convulsion of the state immediately succeeded upon NADIR's death, and ALI had taken possession of the army and treasury without opposition, we could not but flatter ourselves that all was in a
 state

state of security, and we rejoiced at the change of government, which promised a happy conclusion of our CASPIAN trade: but providence had a chastisement in reserve for us, as the reader will judge from an extract of the letter wrote by the BRITISH factors in GHILAN to the factors in St. PETERSBURG.

“GENTLEMEN,

RESHD, February 20, 1748.

“**B**Y the last ship that sailed for ASTRACHAN in autumn, we had the honour to acquaint you in what manner an offer was made to us by the RUSSIAN minister, of the ship which Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON sent from ASTRACHAN. As it was impossible for us to ship the goods in so short a time as the RUSSIAN resident limited, and as accounts from all parts of this empire gave us to expect peace and tranquillity, we indulged ourselves in the hopes of an uninterrupted security. About two months ago we obtained a decree from ADIL SHAH, directing the governor ACHMED KHAN to take the remainder of our demand of AGA HASAN, for the goods which they had forcibly taken from us sometime ago, on which about 6000 crowns are yet due. It was said that AGA HASAN and his adherents, represented to ADIL SHAH, that when the pretender SAUNⁱ, threatened to possess himself of that place, they took so much of our effects to raise soldiers for its defence; and that the king had ordered the governor to satisfy the sufferers as far as 8000 out of his treasury: however we have not yet recovered any thing. After escaping a total destruction, in consequence of NADIR's death, we thought ourselves extremely happy in being almost the only possessors of EUROPEAN commodities, with an increasing demand, and secure from any danger, SAUN being taken by AMUR ASLAN KHAN, and blinded.

“The latter end of December the new SHAH arrived in MASANDERAN^k, ten days easy journey eastward from hence. We immediately felt the benefit of his approach, and had reason to expect great sales. Soon after his arrival, the SHAH sent for AMUR ASLAN KHAN, who was then at TAVRIS; but he excused himself, pretending to be sick: a

ⁱ He appeared in arms in SHIRVAN after NADIR's death. described in vol. I. chap. XLIII.

^k At the palace of ASHEREFF,

“ second message was sent to him to come as soon as possible; he then
 “ alledged that the country about SHIRVAN being in a rebellious disposi-
 “ tion, his presence with the troops was necessary: soon after two couriers
 “ went with presents to him from ADIL SHAH, pressing him to come
 “ with them; but instead of obeying the king’s orders he killed the cou-
 “ riers. It was reported that they had affronted the KHAN. The 15th
 “ of January a rumour was spread, that some troops were ordered hither,
 “ and it was then strongly suspected that AMUR ASLAN KHAN had de-
 “ clared against the king. We endeavoured to get to the bottom of the
 “ affair, and applied to KOULIFA, formerly the PERSIAN minister at the
 “ court of RUSSIA, who was then here: he told us he had indeed that
 “ day received intelligence that troops were coming this way, but if they
 “ entered this province, and were out of the jurisdiction of AMUR AS-
 “ LAN KHAN, he believed they would declare for the SHAH, and advised
 “ us to make ourselves easy; adding, that patience and a little time would
 “ bring all things to rights. However we applied to the RUSSIAN resi-
 “ dent, desiring a liberty to ship the most valuable of our effects on board
 “ the RUSSIAN vessels then in the port; he answered that we might get
 “ our MONEY ready to send on board, but as to GOODS he could not give
 “ us any room, having only two small snows; the ship which came to
 “ us in autumn being sent to BAKU; that he would dispatch a third vessel
 “ which was ready to sail for DERBEND, and order her to call at BAKU,
 “ with instructions for that ship to come to us immediately. The 19th
 “ of January in the night, we received certain information that a number
 “ of troops were on the road, and would arrive the next day, who gave
 “ out that they were going to the SHAH’s camp. Being thus alarmed we
 “ quitted our house, but for want of cattle to carry off all our money, we
 “ were obliged to send part of it to the resident’s quarters. Upon our
 “ arrival on board we were informed that 1700 men, under the com-
 “ mand of RIZA KOULI KHAN, had entered RESHD on the day we left
 “ it; and having sent for our warehouse-keeper demanded of him where
 “ our money was; he told them we had taken it with us, but this an-
 “ swer not being satisfactory, he was three several times beaten; he was
 “ also pricked with packing-needles, and threatened to be burnt, in hopes

“ of extorting a confession from him : but the KHAN perceiving that the
 “ money was not to be found, except about 700 crowns, which this
 “ servant had in his hands, ordered the foldiers to bring him goods, which
 “ they did to about the number of 160 bales ; when they desired that no
 “ more might be taken, as they had as much as they could carry off.
 “ The next evening ACHMED KHAN, who was gone to LAHIJON, two
 “ days before, and secretly carried away his valuable effects, returned
 “ with a few foldiers, and about midnight attacked the rebels, but in so
 “ shameful a manner that he was soon put to flight. This only served
 “ to irritate them, inasmuch that orders were given to plunder and dis-
 “ pose of all our effects ^k, which they accordingly did most effectually.
 “ They sold a great value at the most scandalous prices, as raw silk at one
 “ crown per batman ^l, begrest at two, three or four crowns per piece ^m,
 “ and other goods in proportion ; by which means they readily found
 “ buyers, who have either conveyed the goods out of the province, or
 “ secreted them.

“ As soon as we were informed that the rebels had quitted the place
 “ and marched for TAVRIS, and that forces were sent by ADIL SHAH in
 “ pursuit of them, we returned to our house, which exhibited only naked
 “ walls. We have applied to the people here to procure the restitution
 “ of such goods as can be discovered, and they give us fair words, but
 “ we have not been able to collect above 700 pieces.

“ The rebels are stopped at KESKAR by the peasants, and now surround-
 “ ed by the king's troops : the forces which were sent by AMUR ASLAN
 “ KHAN to their relief, have deserted, and come over to the SHAH's par-
 “ ty. Upon this news, we petitioned the SHAH's general to take care
 “ of our affairs : he immediately desired one of us to come to him,
 “ and Mr. VAN MIEROP accordingly set out yesterday. We hear these
 “ rebels have made use of our goods as a breast-work, and to cover them
 “ from the weather, so that we fear whatever is found will be of little
 “ value.

^k In value about 80,000 l.

^l Six pence per pound of 16 ounces.

^m $\frac{1}{3}$ part of the value.

“ The only hopes we have at present are in the clemency and justice
 “ of the SHAH, to whom we shall apply as soon as affairs are settled.
 “ Thus, gentlemen, you see to what a miserable state your affairs are re-
 “ duced : we suspect that some people here have acted contrary to their
 “ professions, for it is certain they are now possessed of great quantities
 “ of our goods. The very INDIAN merchants, who are PAGANS, blush
 “ at the conduct of the CHRISTIANS ; but fear restrains us from saying
 “ more at present. It is highly probable, from many circumstances, that
 “ ACHMED KHAN, the governor of this place, was in the conspiracy.
 “ When RIZA KOULI KHAN, the commander of the rebels, heard that
 “ ACHMED KHAN was coming to attack him, he produced letters in
 “ the presence of our warehouse-keeper, wherein he said ACHMED KHAN
 “ had invited him, and declared that the end of his coming was not to
 “ make himself master of the province, but of the money and effects of
 “ the FRANKS, meaning us ; and also of those of AGA MAHOMMED,
 “ the SHAH’s merchant.

“ The quantity of silk we have lost upon this occasion amounts to
 “ 18,000 crowns”. Our money still remains on board the ship ; for be-
 “ tween open enemies and false friends, we do not know where to trust
 “ ourselves, or it. God send us a happy deliverance from this scene of
 “ misery ; and in expectation of your counsel and instructions we remain,
 “ GENTLEMEN, your most humble servants.”

“ P. S. We have received intelligence that the commander of the re-
 “ bels at KESKAR is taken, and his forces put to the sword ; that
 “ the king’s troops have seized upon all the goods found in the hands
 “ of the rebels, which they have divided among themselves as spoil.”

We may here stop and contemplate this picture of PERSIAN frenzy and perfidious wickedness. These rebels dug up even the floors of the ENGLISH house at RESHD ; and, as a humorous specimen of their havoc, threw a quantity of sugar into a well, that dispatch might be made in sweetning the water. Patience is a remedy of great efficacy : here

* Which would have produced 8500 great pounds.

seemed to be no other for the present, so that we may indulge reflection, and try to what account it will turn: it threw me on a thought which might be impertinent to mention if I had not heard it seriously maintained, that national gain may arise from the loss of private merchants, providing that loss is in our manufactures. In proof of this PROFOUND DOCTRINE it is alledged, that the labour for which the artificers have been paid, vastly exceeds the price of the original material; and that if we get home so much as the original material is worth, the national interest receives no hurt. This is too deep a speculation for me, I confess, especially while I feel for my friends who suffer. I presume our riches arise from our labour as well as materials, and that the whole community suffers, in proportion to the calamities which happen to a part of it; and the greater the part which suffers, the greater the misfortune. The good which may in this case happen to some, in consequence of a loss by affording occasion of a fresh employment, can never be an equivalent for the greater diminution of private stock, because private stock is, without doubt, a part of the national stock; and that cannot be true of a particular loss, which, if general, would ruin our merchants, and consequently distress the nation. If the end of our labour is frustrated, how is it possible we can prosper, whilst that labour is acknowledged to be one great source from whence our riches flow?

But to return to our history; dreadful as this news was, the clemency of the new king seemed to promise us restitution, so that we flattered ourselves with the same success as we had obtained at ASTRABAD four years before: but it pleased providence to rebuke us for these sanguine expectations, which were hardly well formed, when news came that IBRAHIM MYRZA, the king's brother, was in rebellion.

The factors in St. PETERSBURG now made answer to the factors in GHILAN.

“GENTLEMEN,

St. PETERSBURG, May 11, 1748.

“THE melancholy account of the situation of your house contained in your favour of the 20th of February, you may easily imagine

“ gine gives us the most sensible concern ; but we flatter ourselves that the
 “ loss will be made good to you, and that your prudent management
 “ joined to the justice of your cause, can hardly fail of obtaining resti-
 “ tution from the clemency of ADIL SHAH.

“ As you are the best judges what means to take for this end, we
 “ therefore hope you have followed the dictates of your own reason and
 “ experience; and we learn by the news of the 10th of March, that
 “ you had a fair prospect of making this important recovery. The re-
 “ volt, which was further suspected, being unknown to us in any cir-
 “ cumstance, we cannot make any reflections on it. What the company
 “ at home will determine, you will hear soon ; but you must not hesitate
 “ to act as the circumstances of the times may require. This unhappy
 “ affair is the greater shock to us, as we had entertained the most fan-
 “ guine hopes of your making large returns.

“ We are, GENTLEMEN, YOURS, &c.”

It is easy to conceive in what manner the CASPIAN traders in LONDON received the melancholy news of the total plunder of their factory in PERSIA ; but the following letter from their factors in RESHD to their factors in ST. PETERSBURG, afforded some consolation.

“ SIRS,

RESHD, April 4, 1748.

“ **A**S an ambassador from ADIL SHAH to the court of RUSSIA is go-
 “ ing to ASTRACHAN, we embrace this opportunity to inform
 “ you of what has occurred since our last.

“ In regard to the SHAH's orders for collecting our plundered goods
 “ and returning them to us, nothing further has been executed ; and the
 “ small quantity mentioned to be delivered to us is not worth above 12
 “ or 1400 crowns. ACHMED KHAN declares that he had delivered 470
 “ pieces of our goods to the king's merchant, in lieu of his goods lost ;
 “ and the rest which he has collected being mostly damaged, he does not
 “ think worth the delivery : the truth is, he has sold a great part of them,
 “ and the remainder were given in payment of his own debts. In case

“ ADIL

“ ADIL SHAH should be pleased to pay us for the effects lost, we think
 “ it not safe to keep the money here; to invest it in raw silk cannot be
 “ done in less than three *racoltas**, and to let it remain on ship-board in an
 “ open road so long a time is also very dangerous; for these reasons we
 “ think it best to send it to ASTRACHAN. But in this case a difficulty a-
 “ rises, whether it will be suffered to return, as there is a prohibition to
 “ export any money from RUSSIA. We have discoursed with the RUSSI-
 “ AN resident on this subject, and he thinks our case very different from
 “ that of exporting money, and makes no doubt but it will be permitted.

“ We cannot reasonably expect your answer before winter, therefore
 “ we write to Mr. consul WOLFF, and the factors at St. PETERSBURG,
 “ to give us immediate orders, which in the mean time we shall observe.

“ The collector of the customs, who arrived lately, informs us that
 “ when he was in the camp he heard that the ministers were willing and
 “ ready to accommodate our affairs, but that the success would be at-
 “ tended with a great expence. In case the SHAH pays us in gold, it
 “ will be difficult to get it exchanged for silver to purchase silk, and this
 “ commodity is chiefly purchased with silver, and very little gold can be
 “ put off that way. If he pays in silver, it will be difficult to get such
 “ a sum exchanged for gold without giving an advance thereon; and
 “ gold, as you will see hereunder, is the most profitable of the two, if
 “ any of the merchants concerned chuse to have their returns in specie.
 “ The gold currency of PERSIA is, viz.

“ Muker ducats current at 6 crowns^p, weigh $2 \frac{9}{34}$ mufcals^q.

“ Lesser dittos - - - $1 \frac{1}{2}$ - - - $\frac{13}{14}$

“ Half crowns or rupies, fisd denaers and abassies are in general pretty
 “ equal at present, as few old ones which are more weighty now remain.”

* A mercantile term for the annual growth of certain productions.
 of silver. ^q $6 \frac{1}{2}$ mufcals = 1 ounce troy.

^p 1 crown weighs 5 muf-

C H A P. XVII.

The CASPIAN traders apply for his majesty's letter to ADIL SHAH. The king's letter to that prince. ADIL SHAH promises restitution, but is de-throned by his brother IBRAHIM. Letter from the factors in GHILAN to the factors in St. PETERSBURG, with a further account of the distraction of the times. ELTON escapes an assassination.

UNDER these flattering expectations, the CASPIAN traders in LONDON, in hopes of strengthening their interest in PERSIA, petitioned his majesty. In this they set forth the deplorable state of their affairs, and that as no treaty of commerce existed between the crowns of GREAT BRITAIN and PERSIA, they had no protection but what arose from the immediate favour of the PERSIAN monarchs, which they prayed his majesty to procure for them. The king, ever ready to succour the distressed, granted them his letter, dated in June 1748, as follows.

“ GEORGE THE SECOND, by the grace of almighty God, creator of heaven and earth, KING of GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE and IRELAND,
 “ the most invincible and most mighty DEFENDER of the CHRISTIAN
 “ faith, &c.

“ To the SERENE, most POTENT, and most RENOWNED prince ADIL
 “ SHAH, king of PERSIA, MEDIA and ARMENIA, &c.

“ The most high exalted prince in ample honour and dignity, sends kind
 “ salutations and wishes of health and happiness.

“ MOST NOBLE AND MOST MIGHTY PRINCE,

“ **W**E have lately received with great pleasure, by the governor and
 “ company of our royal merchants trading to RUSSIA, and through
 “ RUSSIA to PERSIA, the welcome news of your happy accession to the
 “ throne of the PERSIAN empire. We could not defer sending you these
 “ our royal letters, to testify the particular joy and satisfaction with which
 “ we received the account of your serenity's elevation to that high degree
 “ of power and dignity; upon which we congratulate you in the most
 “ friendly

“ friendly and affectionate manner, and with your serenity may enjoy it
 “ during the course of many years, with all happiness and prosperity.

“ Our said governor and company of our royal merchants having re-
 “ presented to us that they have received advices from their factors re-
 “ siding at RESHD; that in the month of January last a party of rebels
 “ had plundered them of all their goods and merchandize, both wool-
 “ len, as well as silk which they had provided as returns, to the amount
 “ of several hundred thousand mildenaers, and that they had but just
 “ time to escape with their lives, and part of what money they had by
 “ them, on board a vessel then riding at anchor in that port; they have
 “ therefore besought us to recommend this affair to you, and to desire
 “ that all restitution, justice, and ample satisfaction may be made to them,
 “ and likewise that you grant them your protection for their persons and
 “ effects from any insults or violations for the future.

“ We have thought fit to acquaint your serenity therewith, and de-
 “ sire that you will favour our merchants as abovementioned with your
 “ royal countenance and protection; not doubting but that your serenity
 “ will, upon the receipt of these our royal letters, cause justice to be
 “ done to our company and merchants.

“ Justice being the glory of princes, we can make no doubt of your
 “ serenity's ready compliance with this our request, especially as the trade
 “ carried on by our subjects in PERSIA, tends so highly to the mutual
 “ advantage of both nations, and requires some particular marks of your
 “ favour and support. And we hope, as our merchants are strangers in
 “ your empire, and place their intire dependance in your favour and pro-
 “ tection, your serenity will hear them favourably, and redress any griev-
 “ ances they may now represent, or at any time hereafter have just cause
 “ to lay before you. We rely on your royal favour and justice, and con-
 “ clude with repeating our wishes of health and true happiness to your
 “ serenity and royal family, &c.

“ Your affectionate friend. Sign'd G. R.”

This mark of his majesty's tender concern could not possibly produce any effect, for though ALI had many good qualities, he wanted those which were the most essential. Exalted with the notion of delivering PERSIA from tyranny, and receiving the crown as his reward; he abandoned himself to his favourite intoxicating gratifications of women and strong liquors; by which means he became an easy prey to the ambition of his brother IBRAHIM. After ALI had reigned about 12 months, IBRAHIM aspiring to the crown, collected a body of forces; and both armies meeting, ALI was taken prisoner and blinded; and the loss of his eyes threw a total darkness on the prospect which the CASPIAN traders had of the recovery of their loss from him.

This event banished the factors a second time from their house at RESHD TO ENZELLE, where they might the more easily secure the poor remains of their plundered fortunes. From hence after acquainting the factors in St. PETERSBURG of the defeat of ADIL SHAH^r, they wrote as follows.

GENTLEMEN,

ENZELLE, June 1748.

“ ON the 23d of May we retired to ENZELLE a second time, on the
 “ report of the arrival of a new governor on the part of IBRAHIM
 “ MYRZA^r, with some troops. The second instant we received news
 “ from RESHD, that ASKERI KHAN, lately MYRZA ASKERI, was arriv-
 “ ed there with 180 men, with order to collect such monies as belonged
 “ to the crown and the great men. Our interpreter, whom we had pur-
 “ posely left in RESHD to see what passed, came to us, and brought a
 “ letter from ASKERI KHAN, in which he acquainted us that he was
 “ very sorry to hear of our losses and sufferings, and ready to do us all
 “ possible service: that he had a decree from IBRAHIM MYRZA, which
 “ he would deliver to us as soon as we came to town. On the 3d we re-
 “ turned an answer, and acknowledged our obligations for his profession
 “ of friendship, and that as soon as we had finished the business we were
 “ obliged to perform, we would wait on him; for we think it safest to

^r The reader will remember that ALI KOULI KHAN took the name of ADIL.
 took the name of SHAH, but only MYRZA or prince.

^r He never

“ wait a few days and see how affairs are conducted by him.” They then recount the difficulties they labour under, in regard to the safety of their money, it appearing to be the chief aim of the RUSSIAN resident to oblige them to leave PERSIA with it; and continue thus. “ The 14th of May we visited the KHAN, who, after delivering IBRAHIM’s decree, assured us we had nothing to fear, and might depend on his good-will. He then sent several merchants to look at the cloth returned to us by MEHTI KOULI KHAN, and to agree for the price of it. On the 11th instant the resident came to town to fix his dwelling at ENZELLE, and the next day he sent a letter to our THOMPSON and WILDER, to acquaint them that he had received advice that 400 soldiers were sent by the KHAN to KISKAR, and desired them to consider whether it would not be best to retire from the place; they answered that they would consider of the matter; upon which he expressed his great concern for Mr. VAN MIEROP, who was at RESHD, adding that if we had any bales or parcels to ship, we must do it immediately, for in case of a necessity to leave PERSIA, he should not otherwise be able to give us any tonnage.

“ On the 17th Mr. VAN MIEROP returned from RESHD, and waited on the resident. We desired of him that at least two chests containing our money, might remain here until the departure of the last ship from hence, and if we should then think it necessary to send it to AS-TRACHAN, that we might have tonnage for it. It appears to us that all possible methods are practised to frighten and induce us to send our money and effects from hence, that the resident may be sole master of the silk market; and if some favourable circumstance does not encourage us to return to our house, it will be of very little consequence to us who has the market, for were we to purchase silk we know not where to trust it.

“ We are, &c.”

Whilst the BRITISH factors in GHILAN were thus complaining of their sufferings, the reader perhaps will be curious to know what became of

1 June.

ELTON

ELTON during these revolutions. NADIR's death did not intirely quash his hopes; being personally known to ALI KOULI KHAN, he expected protection from him; and, contrary to the belief of his friends in EUROPE, he received assurances of being supported by that prince; from whom he also received a present. ALI, who began to court the friendship of RUSSIA, would hardly have pursued his uncle's design of building ships, knowing, if he knew any thing, that the RUSSIANS would never submit to its being brought to maturity. The peasants of GHILAN subscribed to it as little as the RUSSIANS; insomuch that upon the occasion of NADIR's death, they attempted to destroy ELTON, and a ball was actually shot through some part of his cloathing: but as he escaped the fate of his master NADIR, he survived ALI's fortune also; and the reputation of his abilities having reached IBRAHIM, this prince likewise assured him of his protection.

C H A P. XVIII.

The BRITISH factors in GHILAN return home. Their letter upon this occasion. They arrive at St. PETERSBURG. The whole amount of the CASPIAN trade from its first establishment.

THE factors in PERSIA now thought it high time to look towards their native country, and as there was but little prospect of being serviceable to their principals, to provide for the security of their own persons, by removing from a scene of misery and distress. Mr. VAN MIEROP and Mr. CHARLES THOMPSON prepared to return home to EUROPE, for which purpose they had received instructions. Their letter to the BRITISH factors in St. PETERSBURG best explains the nature of their circumstances at this time,

"GENTLEMEN,

ENZELLE, September 23, 1748.

"WE remained at ENZELLE till the 20th of July, and hearing that
 "IBRAHIM MYRZA had sent for ASKERI KHAN under arrest;
 "that a new governor was arrived, and RESHD become safer; we ven-

“ tured to return home. We began then to buy silk, and to ship it off
 “ as fast as possible: the resident informed us that he intended to leave
 “ RESHD, with all the RUSSIAN ships on the 10th instant, and if we had
 “ any goods to ship, or intended to go to RUSSIA, we must be ready
 “ by that time. We desired of him, that in consideration of the amity
 “ between the crowns of GREAT BRITAIN and RUSSIA, the subjects
 “ of the former being deeply interested, that a ship might remain here
 “ during the winter, for which we were ready to pay the freight. To
 “ this he answered, that without an order from his court he could not
 “ let any ships remain after the 10th of September. We are credibly in-
 “ formed that IBRAHIM MYRZA has caused the eyes of his brother, the
 “ late king, to be put out, and sent troops to attack AMUR ASLAN KHAN,
 “ making slow marches that way himself.

“ On the 19th instant we went to ENZELLE, and desired the resident
 “ to grant tonnage for our silk on board of two ships, in order to di-
 “ vide the risk; but he answered, that he had reserved one for him-
 “ self and his friends, and the other for the consul and the trade, there-
 “ fore we must put all on board that ship. As we appeared determined
 “ rather to remain behind than leave our effects, he consented that this
 “ ship should remain till the 20th, provided we would be ready at that
 “ time, to which we agreed. About noon the governor of RESHD was
 “ taken under arrest, and his house plundered by two colonels and a par-
 “ ty, supposed to be in the interest of AMUR ASLAN KHAN. This cir-
 “ cumstance, joined to the distracted condition of the country in general,
 “ and the intended departure of all the ships for RUSSIA, induced us to
 “ send the money uninvested, by our MIEROP and THOMPSON.

“ We are, &c.”

Messieurs MIEROP and THOMPSON accordingly left PERSIA, leaving
 their partner Mr. WILDER behind; they brought with them about 33,000
 crowns value in raw silk, and as much more in gold and silver. The
 month following they arrived in ASTRACHAN, but for want of a regular
 correspondence on the part of the adventurers, it was the end of July
 the next year before they arrived at St. PETERSBURG; and here they
 were

were detained a whole year, on account of the jealousy of some of their principals.

Perhaps it may be imagined, that the intire amount of a trade in which above 150 persons were concerned, and in which the ballance of the account plundered was so very considerable, should be greater than we really find it.

The whole export of cloth and EUROPEAN goods, for account of the BRITISH CASPIAN traders, brought into PERSIA, cost as follows.

		crowns
1742	486 parcels	170,000
1743	414 ditto	144,900
1744	299 ditto	102,650
1745	value	252,942
1746	ditto	20,000
£. 174,398		689,592

The whole import of raw silk, according to the value in PERSIA.

	crowns
1743 - - - - -	120,000
1744 - - - - -	50,000
1745 - - - - -	62,000
1746 - - - - -	50,500
1747 - - - - -	13,000
1748 - - - - -	12,000
1749 - - - - -	33,000
in money - - -	33,000
£. 93,375	373,500

The price of raw silk rising much beyond its ordinary value, it may be easily calculated that the profits on this trade were very considerable, and equal to the risk, however great this may appear. A batman of SHERBAFF silk, containing 8 pounds of 24 ounces, being bought for about 16 crowns, the charges 34 per cent. till delivered for sale, brings it to about 15 s. 6 d. per pound; and such silk reached the price of 28 shillings^a; consequently those who came early into this trade, or sent the most proper goods, may not have suffered very much.

^a It may however be as 18 s. again, if we get a large supply from other countries.

C H A P. XIX.

*Extract of the author's letter to a friend, exhibiting a summary view of the
BRITISH CASPIAN trade from its establishment ; with remarks on the be-
haviour of the RUSSIAN resident and subjects, to the BRITISH factors in
GHILAN, on occasion of the plunder.*

I KNOW not how to give the reader an abridgment of this narrative, and at the same time explain the conclusion of the catastrophe, than by the following letter to a friend, the close of which, being the part most material to my present purpose, explains in what manner people are liable to be treated, even by their very good friends as well as their enemies ; and how particular circumstances may expose the subjects of any prince to the most unworthy usage.

" SIR,

St. PETERSBURG, December 1749.

" **A**S to the antiquity of the CASPIAN commerce, I never disco-
" vered that we had any trade over that sea, except a small trial
" made in the sixteenth century. To begin with the proper date of our
" late attempt, you must remember that his present majesty renewed a
" treaty of commerce with ANNA IVANOWNA in 1734, by which a li-
" berty of this trade is granted. You know that the parliament of GREAT
" BRITAIN passed an act in 1741, granting a liberty to such persons
" as are free of the RUSSIA company, to import the raw silk of PERSIA
" into GREAT BRITAIN, in return for BRITISH manufactures sold in
" PERSIA; in consequence whereof from 1741 to 1745, were sent
" 170,000 l. value into PERSIA.

" In 1743, JOHN ELTON, one of our factors in PERSIA, engaged him-
" self as a ship-builder in the service of NADIR SHAH, which offended
" the RUSSIANS, and at length occasioned a decree of the RUSSIAN court,
" published in 1746, prohibiting this trade. The cruelties of NADIR
" SHAH had involved his people in such extreme misery, that hardly the
" most trivial sales could be made by the BRITISH factors in the north
" of PERSIA from 1744 to 1747: in June 1747 NADIR suffered a
" violent

“ violent death; his nephew ALI then mounted the throne, and trade
 “ instantly began to revive; but in January following, AMUR ASLAN
 “ KHAN, a cousin of NADIR, revolting from ALI, sent a body of his
 “ forces and pillaged the BRITISH factors in RESHD to the value of
 “ 80,000 l. ALI soon defeated those rebels, and declared his intentions
 “ to do us justice; but his brother IBRAHIM MYRZA also revolting, ALI
 “ was taken prisoner and blinded.

“ You must observe, that the sovereigns of RUSSIA having been mas-
 “ ters of GHILAN from 1722 to 1731, are still considered with a re-
 “ spectful regard, and the persons and houses of their ministers are usu-
 “ ally sacred to the inhabitants of that province. The good understand-
 “ ing between GREAT BRITAIN and RUSSIA, and the repeated pro-
 “ mises of protection received from the RUSSIAN court, inclined our
 “ merchants at home and their factors in PERSIA to expect not only pro-
 “ tection and justice, but kindness and friendship from the RUSSIAN resi-
 “ dent and subjects in PERSIA. But the contrary happened; for I am
 “ well assured that several subjects of that empire were actually partners
 “ in the plunder, if receiving the stolen goods can make them such.

“ AMUR ASLAN KHAN having thus rebelled against ALI, this robbery
 “ might, in respect to the declared subjects of that prince, be deemed
 “ an hostile plunder only; but his taking the effects of strangers, who in
 “ confidence of the laws of hospitality came into PERSIA to trade, and
 “ neither provoked nor resisted, nor any ways opposed the invaders, makes
 “ this capture an absolute robbery; consequently the goods ought in jus-
 “ tice to be considered as stolen, and those who bought them as buying
 “ stolen goods. To buy such goods with a view to profit by the distress
 “ of him who is robbed, is certainly against all laws human and divine;
 “ and contrary to the friendship and alliance of the prince whose subjects
 “ are robbed, and of him whose subjects buy such stolen goods.

“ The passions of men in all countries betray them often into unwar-
 “ rantable excesses; but the civilized part of mankind have generally
 “ such impressions of moral duties, as seldom to violate their conscience
 “ without giving some marks of compunction. The RUSSIAN resident

“ was

“ was so far afraid or ashamed, as to disown he had bought any of the
“ goods ; as did the other subjects of RUSSIA ; but a great part of those
“ goods I am assured were seen in their possession, and particularly in
“ the resident's house: and when the factor Mr. VAN MIEROP, offered
“ the RUSSIANS payment of the value they had given for these goods,
“ they still alledged that they had not purchased any such.

“ The impressions which the honest part of the PERSIANS received
“ from the violation of justice in taking these effects, appears by the con-
“ duct of AGA MIR CASBINI, and his partner HAHDGEE MEHTIE.
“ These men had made a profit of 400 crowns, on a purchase of some
“ plundered cloth: the HAHDGEE declared against such gain, as contrary
“ to reason and religion, and gave notice thereof to our factors, who in
“ consideration of the great risk in transporting the goods to the place
“ where they had been sold, divided the profits with him.

“ In what manner the spirit of christianity inspires the true professors
“ thereof with the love of justice and humanity, beyond the doctrine of
“ MAHOMMED, is very evident to real CHRISTIANS who have lived a-
“ mongst MAHOMMEDANS: but neither the CHRISTIAN resident nor the
“ CHRISTIAN merchants, in this instance acted in the same manner as
“ HAHDGEE MEHTI.

“ You know, Sir, I was plundered at ASTRABAD in a rebellion against
“ NADIR SHAH in 1744. The rebels carried the farce so far as to give
“ me an obligation for the amount of the goods taken, promising pay-
“ ment thereof; which plainly shewed they did not think they had any
“ right to seize the goods of a stranger, because they rebelled against
“ their sovereign; how much less can the purchase of the goods in ques-
“ tion be warranted as legal ?

“ The RUSSIAN COURT has seized PERSIAN effects in RUSSIA to in-
“ demnify RUSSIAN merchants who lost effects by plunder in PERSIA.
“ I am persuaded therefore that this court would not acquiesce in the
“ conduct of her resident towards us. But the question is, if these in-
“ juries done us by the resident and his people, were proved in a proper
“ manner,

“manner, which will require some skill and expence, for the RUSSI-
 “ANS, who are the proper and legal evidences, are accomplices, whe-
 “ther it would avail to obtain restitution? perhaps the resident might be
 “punished in a pecuniary way, without any benefit to us. Inquisitions
 “concerning great illegal gains are things very much out of fashion, e-
 “ven in limited monarchies, and where laws are said to be revered, and
 “the execution of them considered as bulwarks of property; I am a-
 “fraid you find it so. But you will please to observe, that I am told
 “also the purchase of the goods in question, and retaining them, not-
 “withstanding the value paid was offered to be returned, is a warrant-
 “able act, and that men have a right to make their fortune by such
 “means, when such a happy occasion offers. If those who might be
 “appointed our advocates in this affair should happen to be of this opi-
 “nion, a complaint would be over-ballanced by a vexatious prosecution
 “to no purpose; but you are at liberty to take what measures you please.
 “I am sorry that it is not in my power to give you any relief; if it was,
 “I know my own opinion as well as inclination, and am very much,
 “SIR, yours, &c.”

C H A P. XX.

SHAHROKH prevails over IBRAHIM. The king writes to SHAHROKH SHAH.
*Distractions in PERSIA. Act of parliament to encourage the growth of
 silk in our AMERICAN plantations. A large supply of this commodity
 proposed from CHINA. Act for repealing the duties upon CHINA raw silk.*

THOUGH all the BRITISH factors except one had left GHILAN, the
 CASPIAN traders did not abandon all hopes of the recovery of their
 loss. The rebel AMUR ASLAN KHAN, the author of the unhappy plunder of
 our factory, was soon after seized by IBRAHIM, on the western coast of the
 CASPIAN, and put to death. In the mean time SHAHROKH was chosen
 king at MESCHED, and supported by a very powerful party. This news
 carried IBRAHIM back, but his fortune was soon reversed by the defection
 of his army, and his total defeat. Whether SHAHROKH was of the

blood royal is very hard to determine ; however he was received as such, and bid fair to establish himself on the throne of PERSIA ; therefore the CASPIAN traders thought proper again to petition the king for his letter, and his majesty was pleased, for the fourth time, to comply with their request, being about the month of January 1750 ; but as this letter, the change of name excepted, is almost verbatim what was wrote to ADIL SHAH, the reader will excuse my inserting it.

That no means should be left untried to obtain a recovery of the loss which the CASPIAN traders had sustained in PERSIA, the ENGLISH factors in St. PETERSBURG, on the behalf of their principals, united in sending a person of reputation, with orders to act in concert with Mr. RICHARD WILDER in PERSIA, intending to reconcile certain difficulties which had arisen among the adventurers, and apprehending that by gratifying both parties, there might be a coalition of interest ; and that this would be the best means of preserving that unanimity, without which a solicitation for the recovery would be attended with insuperable difficulties, should the PERSIANS discover any animosities, or even jealousies amongst the sufferers. With regard to their respective losses they had now but one common interest : but here again we had proof of the great want of regulations, and what perplexities commercial affairs in ASIA are subject to, if left free and open ; or with the appearance of a body corporate, without the substance of it.

Laws amongst CHRISTIANS in EUROPE, as I have already observed, differ extremely from MAHOMMEDAN governments, and the frequent violations of justice in practice amongst the latter, renders a more than common vigilance necessary to the good conduct of trade. In EUROPE every man has a right of claim according to the laws of the country he is in, such regard being had at the same time to private agreements, or the authority of the consul of his own nation, as has been found productive of the general good of the whole factory or community : but in ASIA there must be some regulations independent of the national government, or animosity and confusion inevitably ensue ; so at least we found it in the CASPIAN trade.

To wave this ungrateful part of our story, I must observe that the success the merchants had at ASTRABAD, the remembrance of the promise of ADIL SHAH, the assurance that PERSIA abounded in money, likewise that SHAHROKH was established in the government, inclined the factors and merchants to attempt a recovery at the risk of some expence; the antient laws of PERSIA also favoured this design: however Mr. CHAMBERLIN, who was charged with the king's letter last mentioned, found it unnecessary to proceed any farther than RUSSIA, PERSIA being still torn with intestine commotions: but nothing has been yet done, and it may be presumed that a great part of the INDIAN treasure is either carried out of PERSIA, or dissipated in such a manner as to leave no hopes of accomplishing any recovery.

These distractions having continued already for five years: the cultivation of raw silk in PERSIA has been also much neglected *. Many other reasons concurred to raise the price of silk, to the prejudice of this nation. Under these circumstances the BRITISH parliament was induced to try if our own plantations could produce this valuable commodity, and accordingly an act was passed as follows, in the 23d year of his majesty's reign, being 1750.

“ An act for encouraging the culture of raw silk in his majesty's colonies
“ or plantations in AMERICA.

“ **W**HEREAS it will greatly tend to the increase and improvement of
“ the silk manufactures of this kingdom, to encourage the growth and
“ culture of silk in his majesty's dominions in AMERICA; may it therefore please
“ your majesty, that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the king's most ex-
“ cellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and
“ temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the autho-
“ rity of the same, that from and after the 24th of June 1750, it shall and may be
“ lawful to import any raw silks of the growth and culture of any of his majes-
“ ty's colonies or plantations in AMERICA, directly from thence into the port of
“ LONDON, without paying any subsidy, custom, imposition, or other duty what-

* The ARMENIANS and RUSSIANS have for some years past imported hardly a tenth part of the usual quantity.

“ soever for the same; so as a due entry be first made thereof in the custom-house,
“ at the time of importation, and in the same manner and form (expressing the
“ package, marks, and numbers, together with the quantities and qualities of the
“ respective goods) as was used and practised before the making of this act; and
“ so as the same be landed in the presence of, and examined by the proper offi-
“ cer or officers of the customs appointed for that purpose; and so as the same be
“ imported in ships or vessels, that may lawfully trade to his majesty’s plantati-
“ ons, manned as by law is required; and on failure of the said conditions or di-
“ rections herein last-mentioned, such silks shall be liable to the payment of the
“ respective duties, as if this act had never been made.

“ Provided always, and be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that
“ in order to intitle the importer and importers of raw silk, to the exemption in-
“ tended by this act, every merchant or other person or persons whatsoever, who
“ shall, after the 24th of June 1750, load any raw silk on board any ship or
“ vessel, in any of the BRITISH colonies or plantations in AMERICA, shall, before
“ the clearing out of the said ship or vessel from thence, make proof, on oath, be-
“ fore the collector and comptroller of the customs, and naval officer, at the port
“ or place where such raw silk shall be put on board, or any two of them, that
“ the raw silk, which he, she, or they hath or have shipped on board the said
“ ship or vessel (expressing the quantity thereof) is bona fide of the growth and
“ culture of some or one of the BRITISH colonies or plantations in AMERICA, ex-
“ pressing the parish or place in such plantation where the same was cultivated
“ and produced, and by whom, producing such person’s oath thereto made be-
“ fore the governor of such island or province, or before the next justice of the
“ peace (which oath the said governor or justice of the peace, collector and comp-
“ troller of the customs, and naval officer, or any two of them, are hereby re-
“ quired and impowered to administer without fee or reward) and the master,
“ commander, or other person, taking charge of the ship or vessel, on board
“ which such raw silk shall be loaded, shall also bring with him a certificate or
“ certificates from such collector and comptroller of the customs, and naval offi-
“ cer, or any two of them, as aforesaid, under their hands and seals of office
“ (which certificate or certificates, such collector and comptroller of the customs,
“ and naval officer, are hereby required and directed to grant without fee or re-
“ ward) expressing the marks, number, tale, and weight of the raw silk, in each
“ bale, parcel, or other package whatsoever, so shipped or loaded on board such
“ ship or vessel, with the names, place or places of abode of the exporter or ex-
“ porters thereof, from the said BRITISH colonies or plantations in AMERICA; and
“ the

“ the name or names, place or places of abode of such other person or persons,
“ who shall have sworn the goods therein mentioned to have been of the growth
“ and culture of the said BRITISH colonies or plantations in AMERICA; and the
“ name or names of the person or persons to whom the same are consigned in the
“ port of LONDON; which certificate or certificates, the said master, commander,
“ or other person taking charge of such ship or vessel, shall, on his arrival in the
“ said port of LONDON, deliver to the collector, comptroller, or other chief of-
“ ficer of his majesty’s customs at the said port, at or before the entry of the said
“ raw silk; and at the same time shall make oath before any one of them the
“ said collector, comptroller, or chief officer of his majesty’s customs (who are
“ hereby required and empowered to administer the same without fee or reward)
“ that the said bales and parcels, and goods contained in such certificate, are the
“ same bales and parcels, and goods, as were taken on board in the said BRITISH
“ colonies or plantations in AMERICA; and if any raw silk of the growth and
“ culture of the BRITISH colonies or plantations in AMERICA, shall, after the said
“ 24th day of June 1750, be imported as herein before mentioned, without such
“ certificate signed and delivered as herein before required, and oath made as
“ before directed, by the master, commander, or other person taking charge of
“ the ship or vessel in which the same is imported; all such raw silks shall be li-
“ able to the payment of the respective duties, as if this act had never been
“ made; any thing herein before contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

“ And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person or
“ persons shall, from and after the said 24th day of June 1750, make, or cause
“ to be made, an entry or entries of any foreign raw silk under the name or
“ description of raw silk of the growth or culture of any of the BRITISH colo-
“ nies or plantations in AMERICA, or shall mix, or cause to be mixed, any fo-
“ reign raw silk with raw silk of the growth or culture of the BRITISH co-
“ lonies or plantations in AMERICA, with intent to evade the payment of the
“ duties payable on foreign raw silk, every person or persons so making, or
“ causing to be made, such entry or entries, or mixing, or causing such mix-
“ ture or mixtures to be made, shall forfeit and lose the sum of fifty pounds
“ for every such offence, and all such foreign raw silk; and in case of any mix-
“ ture, the quantity so mixed, both of foreign and BRITISH plantation culture
“ or growth, or the value thereof, together with the bales or other packages
“ containing the same, shall be forfeited, and shall and may be seized and prose-
“ cuted, or the value thereof be sued for by any officer or officers of his majes-
“ ty’s customs; one moiety of which penalties and forfeitures shall be to the use
“ of

“ of his majesty, his heirs, and successors, and the other moiety to him or them
 “ that shall seize, prosecute, or sue for the same, in any of his majesty’s courts
 “ of record at WESTMINSTER.

“ Provided always, that if any doubt or dispute shall arise, whether the said
 “ raw silk, or any part thereof, so to be imported as aforesaid, is of the growth
 “ or culture of the BRITISH colonies or plantations in AMERICA, or of foreign
 “ growth or culture, the onus probandi shall lie on the owner or claimer thereof,
 “ and not on the informer or prosecutor; any law, custom, or usage to the con-
 “ trary notwithstanding.

“ And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any action or
 “ suit shall be commenced against any person or persons for any thing done in
 “ pursuance of this act, the defendant or defendants, in such action or suit, may
 “ plead the general issue, and give this act and the special matter in evidence at
 “ any trial to be had thereupon, and that the same was done in pursuance and by
 “ authority of this act: and if it shall appear so to have been done, then the ju-
 “ ry shall find for the defendant or defendants; and if the plaintiff shall be non-
 “ suited, or discontinue his action, after the defendant or defendants shall have
 “ appeared, or if judgement shall be given upon any verdict or demurrer against
 “ the plaintiff, the defendant or defendants shall and may recover treble costs,
 “ and have the like remedy for the same, as defendants have in other cases by
 “ law.”

Such was the encouragement given by the legislature, to the culture of raw silk in our AMERICAN colonies. An ample supply of this commodity however can be brought only from ASIA, unless we make some very extraordinary improvements. EUROPE during the last war did not produce the usual quantity, nor has the price of some particular kinds declined since that time: for I apprehend the consumption of this article rather encreases than diminishes. The EAST INDIA company therefore having, I presume, previously taken their measures, applied to parliament for an alteration of the duty of CHINA silk, the obtaining of which affords an encouragement to the importation of it*; and no doubt we shall have a sufficient quantity. The act in favour of it in 1750 is as follows.

* In 1752 we find accordingly a large supply of CHINA raw silk arrived.

“ An act for repealing the duties payable upon CHINA raw silk, and for
 “ granting other duties in lieu thereof.

“ **W**HEREAS the duties now payable upon raw silk imported from CHINA
 “ are a great discouragement to the importation thereof: and whereas a
 “ a constant and plentiful supply of that valuable commodity to be manufactured
 “ in this kingdom, will be a publick benefit, and greatly contribute to the in-
 “ crease and improvement of the silk manufactures: therefore we, your majesty’s
 “ most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of GREAT BRITAIN, being desirous
 “ to promote and encourage the manufactures of this kingdom, do most humbly
 “ beseech your majesty, that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the king’s
 “ most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritu-
 “ al and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by
 “ the authority of the same, that from and after the 24th of June 1750, the
 “ several rates, duties, subsidies, and impositions, now payable upon the impor-
 “ tation of raw silk of the growth or produce of CHINA, by virtue of several acts
 “ of parliament now in force, shall cease, determine, and be no longer paid.

“ And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the
 “ said 24th of June, all raw silk imported from CHINA into this kingdom by the
 “ united company of merchants of ENGLAND trading to the EAST INDIES, or by
 “ any licence from the said company, shall, in lieu of the said rates, duties, sub-
 “ sidies, and impositions, by this act repealed, as aforesaid, be charged with, and
 “ pay the same rates, duties, subsidies, and impositions, as are now charged up-
 “ on, and payable for, raw silk of the growth or produce of ITALY; which said
 “ rates, duties, subsidies, and impositions, by this act granted, shall be paid by
 “ the said united EAST INDIA company, at the same times, and in the same man-
 “ ner, as the several rates, duties, subsidies, and impositions, by this act repeal-
 “ ed, as aforesaid, have been paid.

“ And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the several rates,
 “ duties, subsidies, and impositions, by this act granted, shall be raised, levied,
 “ collected, paid and applied, in such manner, and for the same purposes, as the
 “ said several rates, duties, subsidies, and impositions, by this act repealed, as
 “ aforesaid, are now respectively raised, levied, collected, paid, and applied; and
 “ all the provisions of or in any act or law now in force for raising, levying, col-
 “ lecting, paying, and applying the rates, duties, subsidies, and impositions here-
 “ by

“ by repealed, as aforesaid, shall be in full force, and shall be put in execution
 “ for raising, levying, collecting, paying, and applying the rates, duties, sub-
 “ dies, and impositions, by this act granted, as fully and effectually, to all in-
 “ tents and purposes, as if the said provisions were particularly repeated and re-
 “ enacted in the body of this present act.

“ And be it further enacted and declared by the authority aforesaid, that all raw
 “ silk of the growth or produce of CHINA, imported after the said 24th of June,
 “ shall, upon the exportation thereof from this kingdom, be intitled to and re-
 “ ceive the same drawbacks and allowances only, as are now by law directed to
 “ be paid upon the exportation of raw silk of the growth or produce of ITALY;
 “ any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.”

C H A P. XXI.

*Petition of the RUSSIA company to the parliament concerning PERSIAN silk to
 be purchased in RUSSIA. Act obtained in consequence of this petition.
 •Remarks on this act. Reflections on industry and labour, and the pernicious
 consequences of idleness. The fatal catastrophe of JOHN ELTON,
 which finishes the history of the CASPIAN trade.*

THE RUSSIA company finding themselves thus excluded a branch
 of trade, from which they had expected many private as well as
 national benefits, applied their thoughts how best to repair this injury:
 the most natural expedient was to obtain a liberty to buy the same com-
 modity in RUSSIA, which they could not any longer provide in the north
 of PERSIA, at least not to transport it through RUSSIA: they might in-
 deed purchase silk in RUSSIA to transport to other countries, but an act
 of parliament was necessary for the importation of it into ENGLAND.
 Hitherto I have considered that part of the RUSSIA company which tra-
 ded to GHILAN, under the name of CASPIAN traders; little now re-
 mains of that commerce but a name: I will not however presume to al-
 ter the title which these merchants gave themselves in the petition which
 they now made to the parliament, for the purpose abovementioned.

“ The petition of the merchants of LONDON trading through RUSSIA
“ into PERSIA.

“ Sheweth,

“ **T**HAT your petitioners did in the year 1741 obtain an act of
“ parliament, to enable them to import PERSIAN raw silk by the
“ way of RUSSIA from PERSIA, if purchased there with the produce of
“ BRITISH woollens, and other manufactures. Your petitioners having,
“ in consequence of the said act, sent into PERSIA about 200,000 l. value
“ in BRITISH manufactures, and received part of their returns in PERSIAN
“ raw silk, are now prevented by the many revolutions and fatalities which
“ have happened in PERSIA since the commencement of this trade. O-
“ ther accidents also have intervened to obstruct the design as at first
“ proposed, his majesty not having any minister at the court of PERSIA,
“ to protect our factors, his majesty's subjects, and our effects in that
“ country, which gives the RUSSIANS and ARMENIANS very great advan-
“ tage over us your petitioners.

“ And as the RUSSIANS and ARMENIANS do bring large quantities of
“ PERSIAN raw silk yearly into RUSSIA, which cannot be purchased by
“ your petitioners to be sent into GREAT BRITAIN, the present act re-
“ straining all imports of PERSIAN commodities but such as are in re-
“ turn of goods actually sold in PERSIA; the raw silk in question is there-
“ fore carried to HOLLAND by the ARMENIANS, and woollen goods taken
“ of the UNITED PROVINCES in return.

“ Your petitioners therefore humbly pray, that in order not to lose so
“ valuable a branch of trade, as that of importing raw silk, a commo-
“ dity at this time so much wanted, that a clause may be annexed to the
“ bill now depending, relating to the importation of CHINA raw silk,
“ to permit your petitioners to import PERSIAN raw silk from RUSSIA,
“ subject to the same restrictions as they have done from PERSIA by the
“ way of RUSSIA.

“ And your petitioners, &c.”

In consequence of this application the following separate act⁷ was obtained, from which some happy effects may be felt as soon as the PERSIANS are in any capacity to send a supply of silk into RUSSIA: and this will probably be the case whenever PERSIA shall be restored to a state of tranquility.

“ An act for permitting raw silk of the growth of PERSIA, purchased in
 “ RUSSIA, to be imported into this kingdom from any port or place
 “ belonging to RUSSIA.

“ **W**HEREAS by an act made in the fourteenth year of his present majesty's reign (intituled, an act for opening a trade to and from PERSIA through RUSSIA) it is (amongst other things) enacted, that from and after the 24th day of June 1741, it shall and may be lawful to and for any person or persons, free, or to be free, of the fellowship of ENGLISH merchants for discovery of new trades, commonly called the RUSSIA company, exclusive of all others, to bring and import into this kingdom, in BRITISH built shipping, navigated according to law, from any port or place of or belonging to the czar or emperor of RUSSIA, raw silk, or any other goods or commodities of the growth, produce or manufacture of PERSIA (provided such manufacture be made of the growth or produce of PERSIA) being purchased by barter with woollen, or other manufactures, goods or commodities, exported from GREAT BRITAIN to RUSSIA, and from thence carried into PERSIA (gold and silver in coin or bullion excepted) or with the produce arising from the sales of such manufactures, goods, or commodities, so exported to RUSSIA, and carried into PERSIA, as aforesaid, and not otherwise: and it is by the said act also further enacted, that no silk, or other produce, commodities, or manufactures of PERSIA, shall be imported into GREAT BRITAIN through RUSSIA, by virtue of the said act, unless the importer or importers thereof do take an oath, or (being of the people called QUAKERS) a solemn affirmation, before the collector, customer, or controller of his majesty's customs (who are by the said act impowered to administer the same) at the port or place of importation, that, to the best of his or their knowledge and belief, the silk, and other the produce, commodities, or manufactures of PERSIA, contained in his or their entry or entries, was or were really and truly purchased by barter with woollen, or other manufactures, goods, or commodities, exported from GREAT BRITAIN to RUSSIA, and from thence car-

⁷ In 1750, 23d year of his majesty's reign.

" ried into PERSIA (not being gold or silver in coin or bullion) or with the produce
 " arising from the sales of such woollen, or other manufactures, goods, or com-
 " modities, so exported as aforesaid, and not otherwise; and that in default of tak-
 " ing such oath or affirmation, all such silk, or other the produce, commodities,
 " or manufactures of PERSIA, so imported from RUSSIA, shall be liable to be seiz-
 " ed and forfeited, in like manner, as if the same had been imported contrary to
 " the act made in the twelfth year of the reign of king CHARLES the second, inti-
 " tuled, an act for encouraging and encreasing of shipping and navigation: and
 " whereas, soon after the commencement of the said act made in the fourteenth
 " year of his present majesty's reign, a very beneficial trade between GREAT BRI-
 " TAIN and PERSIA, through RUSSIA, was opened, by means whereof great quan-
 " tities of raw silk, and other the goods and commodities, of the growth, pro-
 " duce, or manufacture of PERSIA, were imported into this kingdom, in return
 " for the woollen and other manufactures, goods, and commodities of GREAT
 " BRITAIN, upon much easier and more advantageous terms than such silk, and
 " other goods and commodities of the growth, produce, or manufacture of PER-
 " SIA could have been otherwise procured: but whereas the said trade between
 " GREAT BRITAIN and PERSIA, through RUSSIA, hath been, for some time past,
 " interrupted, the subjects of GREAT BRITAIN not having been of late permitted
 " to transport BRITISH manufactures, goods, and commodities into PERSIA,
 " through the dominions or territories of or belonging to the empire of RUSSIA,
 " in consequence whereof the importation of raw silk, and other commodities of
 " the growth, produce, or manufacture of PERSIA, from RUSSIA, hath been dis-
 " continued: and whereas it would be of great advantage to the trade of this
 " kingdom in general, as well as contribute to the increase and improvement of
 " the silk manufactures in particular, if raw silk of the growth or produce of
 " PERSIA, purchased in RUSSIA, were permitted to be imported from any of the
 " countries, dominions, or territories of the empire of RUSSIA, in return for
 " woollen and other manufactures exported from GREAT BRITAIN to RUSSIA, al-
 " though the same be not carried from thence into PERSIA; may it therefore please
 " your majesty that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the king's most ex-
 " cellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and
 " temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the au-
 " thority of the same, that from and after the 24th day of December 1750, it
 " shall and may be lawful to and for any person or persons, free or to be free, of
 " the said fellowship of ENGLISH merchants for discovery of new trades, common-
 " ly called, the RUSSIA company, exclusive of all others, to bring and import in-

“ to this kingdom, in BRITISH built shipping, navigated according to law, from
 “ any port or place within the countries, territories, or dominions of or belong-
 “ ing to the empire of RUSSIA, raw silk of the growth or produce of PERSIA,
 “ which shall be purchased by barter with woollen or other manufactures, goods,
 “ or commodities exported from GREAT BRITAIN TO RUSSIA, although the same
 “ be not carried from thence into PERSIA, (gold and silver in coin or bullion ex-
 “ cepted) or with the produce arising from the sale of such manufactures, goods,
 “ or commodities, exported from GREAT BRITAIN TO RUSSIA as aforesaid, and not
 “ otherwise, upon paying, or securing to be paid, the customs and other duties
 “ now payable for the same, by any law now in force, according to such rules,
 “ methods, and directions, and in the same manner and form, and with such al-
 “ lowances, abatements, discounts, and drawbacks, and under such penalties,
 “ forfeitures, and disabilities, as are by law prescribed and practised, on the im-
 “ portation of raw silk of the growth or produce of PERSIA, imported into this
 “ kingdom from any port or place in the LEVANT seas, by any person or persons
 “ free of the LEVANT or TURKEY company; any thing in the said act made in the
 “ fourteenth year of his present majesty’s reign, or in the said act made in the
 “ twelfth year of the reign of king CHARLES the second, intituled, an act for en-
 “ couraging and increasng of shipping and navigation, to the contrary notwith-
 “ standing.

“ Provided always, and be it further enacted, that no silk, of the growth or
 “ produce of PERSIA, shall be imported into GREAT BRITAIN, from any of the
 “ countries, dominions, or territories of or belonging to the empire of RUSSIA,
 “ by virtue of this act, unless the importer or importers thereof do make oath,
 “ before the collector, customer, or comptroller of his majesty’s customs, (who are
 “ hereby empowered and required to administer such oath) at the port or place of
 “ importation, that to the best of his or their knowledge and belief, the silk con-
 “ tained in his or their entry or entries was really and truly purchased by barter
 “ with woollen or other manufactures, goods, or commodities, exported from
 “ GREAT BRITAIN TO RUSSIA, (not being gold or silver in coin or bullion) or with
 “ the produce arising from the sale of such woollen, or other manufactures, goods,
 “ or commodities, so exported as aforesaid, and not otherwise; and in default of
 “ making such oath, all such silk so imported from any of the countries, domi-
 “ nions, or territories of or belonging to the empire of RUSSIA, shall be liable to
 “ be seized and forfeited, in like manner as if the same had been imported con-
 “ trary to the said act, made in the twelfth year of the reign of king CHARLES
 “ the

“ the second, intituled, an act for encouraging and increasing of shipping and navigation.

“ Provided also, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to deprive the corporation of the united company of merchants of ENGLAND trading to the EAST INDIES, of any of the powers, privileges, franchises, and benefits which do or shall belong to them, or which they could or might have had and enjoyed in any manner whatsoever, if this act had not been made; any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

“ And be it further enacted, that this act shall be deemed a publick act, and shall be judicially taken notice of as such by all judges, justices, and other persons whatsoever, without specially pleading the same.”

I presume it is meant by this act to restrain all purchases of silk in RUSSIA to the produce of PERSIA only, for the words of the act allow no more: but silk of the growth of GREECE is sometimes brought through VALACHIA into the UKRAINE, and from thence transported to St. PETERSBURG, but the quality does not answer. It may be necessary to observe that this act has been explained to mean silk purchased with the produce of BRITISH manufactures at large; for in barter, or with the identical money received for such goods, it is hardly possible. This act will very much favour the ARMENIANS, for besides the encouragement they had to bring silk from PERSIA into RUSSIA, either to transport into HOLLAND for their own account, or to sell it in RUSSIA: they may now dispose of it also in ENGLAND, and by being naturalized, may also import such silk into this kingdom for their own account, as one of them has already done. The advantages this bill is calculated to produce are many, for whoever receives the profit of the first sale, the more there is brought to market the cheaper it must be to us.

The benefits of the silk manufactory must ever appear considerable even upon the most superficial view, when it is considered that a pound of 16 ounces of the plainest manufactured silk is commonly worth 35 or 40 shillings, and that rich silks increase in proportion to the greater labour which is bestowed on them. The great pound of 24 ounces, costing 21 shillings; the small pound is 14 shillings: let us now see what profit

profit arises from it, and how much it increases in value, as it passes through the hands of the several workmen; and here the charge only of throwing the small pound is 5 s, dying, grain colours included, on a medium is 2 s, and winding, weaving, &c. 10 s. so that allowing 1 s. for the dying materials, the nation gains 16 s, at least on every pound of silk manufactured here and exported abroad, and in some articles much more. To instance only in one particular, a pair of silk gauze stockings weighs about 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of silk, which computed as above, is 2 s. 2 d. and 20 per cent. breakage, and other contingencies on the silk is less than 3 s. and yet the stockings sell for 9, 10, or 12 s. Thus this beneficial branch of commerce gives a subsistence to the industrious artificer, and enriches the nation.

Labour is the parent of wealth, and the nurse of happiness: not only our riches, but our safety, our liberty, and all our domestic joys are founded on this basis; it gives strength and vigour to the individual, and renders the state firm, prosperous and flourishing. The most necessary productions of the earth are not spontaneous; our very mines of lead, tin and coal, demand the assistance of the laborious hand. Happy were it for us if we had more of the diligent and laborious, and fewer of the idle, especially in the lower class, who are still greater prodigies in nature than those, who because they are born to the enjoyment of wealth, give themselves up to a state of indolence and dull inactivity. If a life spent in generous and beneficent actions is the glory and honour of human nature, the community of which we are a part, certainly ought to partake of that generosity and beneficence. Where is the boasted superiority of a large fortune if this great end is neglected? and how can this end be so effectually answered, as by employing the poor? This may sometimes be difficult in regard to things of real use, but such as are calculated merely for employment can never be wanting: thus no one object will be distressed, nor human nature disgraced by the pernicious consequences of idleness.

Before I finish this account of the CASPIAN commerce, I must pay my tribute to the memory of him who was a chief instrument in giving it a birth, and consequently afforded, during the course of fourteen years,

an occasion of those various scenes which the judicious reader may figure to himself, even beyond those which these papers represent. In the course of this narrative I take it for granted that I have given several indications of the common weakness of mankind; I mean a resentment of injuries: ELTON had many faults, but we ought to remember, that as no character is without vice, there is none without a mixture of virtue also; that this virtue might often be called forth to action, and eradicate its mixture of evil qualities, if instead of corroding we endeavoured to heal the wounds in our neighbour's good name. Human virtue stands on a tottering foundation, and subject to be blown down by every gust of passion; and it is an established maxim that those are in most danger of falling, who triumph most in their strength. When we come to sum up the amount of all the various contests among men, we must allow this to be an admonition of the soundest philosophy and most divine religion; "Remember thy end, and let enmity cease." To court that which is ungrateful to us, or to fly from what we love, are hard lessons; but in many cases they are essential to our happiness: and this we are sure of, that the forgiveness of injuries is the condition of divine mercy.

The desire of a good name after death is a great incentive to virtuous actions, and the fear of infamy must necessarily be a restraint upon us in our commerce with the world. As the dead cannot vindicate their own cause, men of sentiments will therefore be tender of exhibiting the dark side of the character of those persons who are now no more; yet, for the reason I have just given, I think there is more humanity than sound reason in the maxim, "that we should NEVER speak ill of the dead."

Mr. ELTON is dead, and I hope his sufferings will atone for the errors of his life. The curious reader will now be inquisitive if in a country rent with civil wars, where the son is tearing out the entrails of his father, a man of ELTON's enterprizing genius could make his exit in a natural way? After the destruction of NADIR, and his successors ADIL SHAH, IBRAHIM MYRZA, and other pretenders to the diadem, ELTON still supported himself. The PERSIANS at length having no king whom the people thought proper to obey, the elders of GHILAN took the people under their care, in form of an aristocracy: it fell to the lot of HAHDGEE SEFFIE, the same

same man who was NADIR's agent in RUSSIA for commercial affairs, and HAHDGEE GEMAL, to be ruling lords. This province was not considerable enough to support itself long; however they levied forces, and determined to oppose the invader MAHOMMED HASSAN² KHAN. Mr. ELTON, who it is presumed had a correspondence with this KHAN, refused submission to the two elders, of whose good-will towards him he had reason to be distrustful; finding also that MAHOMMED HASSAN was coming to his relief, he determined, after the example of CHARLES XII. of SWEDEN, at BENDER, to garrison his house and stand a siege: he had indeed a better situation for defence, and a weaker enemy than the king, but not strength sufficient to hold out long; he therefore capitulated with HAHDGEE GEMAL for the safety of his person and effects, but the HAHDGEE, like a genuine PERSIAN, regardless of his word, seized ELTON's effects; and to compleat the villany, condemned him to be hanged. They were leading him to execution when news arrived that SAUN BEG, one of the chief captains of the elder's army, was gone over with all the forces under him, to MAHOMMED HASSAN KHAN; this brought every thing into confusion on the part of the elders, who were themselves obliged to fly; but they carried ELTON along with them to FOMIN. It was thought that this change of affairs would create some commiseration in the breast of the elders, but they who had been such villains as to commit a breach of faith in the capitulation, were now fired with resentment, which it is probable was increased by those who dreaded ELTON's genius and capacity; at least 'tis certain he became a sacrifice, and in April 1751 was shot to death. Both the HAHDGEEs fell afterwards into the hands of the conqueror MAHOMMED HASSAN KHAN, who resented ELTON's death so highly, as to threaten them with the same fate.

Thus fell the man whose life had been a continued scene of adventures, but in nothing so important as the share^o he had in renewing, I might say opening this trade, so remarkable in all its parts, and attended with such a variety of incidents.

² This is the same name as that of the chief of the rebellion of ASTRABAD in 1744, and I believe is the same person.

P A R T II.

A

S U C C I N C T V I E W

O F T H E

BRITISH TRADE AND FACTORY, ALSO
OF THE RUSSIAN COURT AT ST.
PETERSBURG.

C H A P. XXII.

Remarks on the profession of a merchant in general. A succinct view of the BRITISH factory and trade of St. PETERSBURG, with reflections on the want of industry. Of the coins, weights and measures in RUSSIA.

THOUGH it is common for mankind to look on the commercial intercourse of the world, in no other light than as an employment calculated for the support of life, or a means of amassing wealth; yet if we extend our thoughts a little farther, and take in the numerous connections and dependencies arising from that intercourse, either at home or abroad, we may easily discover that it deserves a high degree of respect, since it tends to promote all the pleasures of humanity: and probably from hence it was, that merchants were called **THE HONOURABLE OF THE EARTH**, when nations were much more ignorant of each other than they are at present.

It is true every day's experience proves how dangerous an object money is, because we see it so often employed more as the instrument of vice and immorality than of virtue and true pleasure; when instead of having a rational esteem for it, as the means of good, we suffer it to creep
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into the heart and spoil the morals. But without entering into the evils arising from an inordinate love of money, the merchant whose mind is strong enough to pursue gain without indulging any anxious fears, and without forgetting the more essential duties of life, is in a happy employment, was it only for this reason, that there are but few callings so free and independent. "Guilt indeed sticks very close to buying and selling, as close as the nail which is driven between two stones;" so it was thought by a very wise man about two thousand years ago, and I am afraid the case is not altered for the better. I have heard that the GREEK states of old were sensible of this, and excluded merchants from all public employments^a, upon a supposition that their profession was not consistent with that dignity and inflexible integrity which they thought essential to the character of a magistrate. Perhaps the general corruption of manners in after-ages, might have at length determined those states to admit of merchants in common with men of other professions. Every condition of life is exposed to temptations peculiar to it, and I think it is more easy for a merchant religiously to observe the laws of justice, than for a soldier, whose duty bids him spill another man's blood, to pursue without anger or revenge, and to kill without cruelty; or for a lawyer to forsake the glittering fee, and procure a dispatch of the cause of his client at the hazard of his own support.

It is a common observation that people are to be known only by social intercourse, and indeed it ought in all reason to be presumed that this is the best means of arriving to a real knowledge of characters, and of learning how far persons may be mentioned with honour, without deviating from truth: but on the other hand it is perhaps one of the most difficult tasks to be intirely impartial with respect to those with whom we have supported a good correspondence for a course of years. Prejudices will naturally arise in the mind, and some of these are rather amiable than odious. These general remarks may serve as a preface to the mention I am going to make concerning some of my particular friends. The BRITISH factors in St. PETERSBURG are generally well esteemed by

^a Aristot. polit.

the natives of RUSSIA, and acquire fortunes which some of them of late years have been wise enough to preserve. They inhabit the best houses on the banks of the NEVA, and are hospitable, not to say magnificent in their way of life, keeping pace with the luxury of men of superior fortunes at home; but the reader who has not been abroad, must observe that the BRITISH factories in general make a better figure than those of any other nation, which may be considered as a sort of compensation for the voluntary banishment which they suffer from the best of countries in the world. This indeed may sometimes be a means of prolonging that banishment, and of creating a fondness to a foreign country, in prejudice of the love which they ought to have for their own; however this generous way of life gives them an influence and ascendancy in the countries where they reside, and helps to support the national interest and honour.

The BRITISH factors in St. PETERSBURG, as may be observed in all small societies, contribute much to each other's amusement, and are now become sober and virtuous, as well as more elegant in manners than in times past, when they were debauched and low in their pleasures; and though calumny and detraction seem to be the more peculiar growth of such societies, it does not reign amongst them in any remarkable degree: the clashing of interests, and the corruption of manners, which the pecuniary affairs of the world generally create, is very apt to exclude the pleasures of friendship, pleasures which cannot be bought with gold. I thank providence it was my fortune in RUSSIA to enjoy these also, in my much honoured friend Mr. GEORGE PETERS, one of the most considerable factors in that city.

I shall now make a few general remarks in regard to the commercial interest of RUSSIA. The productions of the earth, and foreign trade are acknowledged to be the great sources from whence the riches of every nation proceed: RUSSIA has made great strides in the improvement of her commerce for several years past, enjoying some advantages beyond any other nation: the number and greatness of her rivers open a communication almost to every part of the globe, but particularly within her own extended dominions.

nions. As to timber, hemp, and iron, which are the instrumental causes of trade; no country in the world produces a greater quantity, which is a natural consequence of the cheapness of land and labour: the former of these GREAT BRITAIN enjoys in her AMERICAN dominions, though not the latter; but if we have occasion for the commodities of RUSSIA, that empire has the great source of her revenues in the trade which this island carries on with her subjects.

Hemp, which 20 years since was hardly worth five rubles the BERQUEVITZ^a, of late years has been about twice that value; the increase of silver makes money every year less valuable: as they can afford this article in St. PETERSBURG at 6 or 7 rubles, they will certainly bring enough of it to market so long as they can obtain 8 or 9. Iron is also a very improveable article; they have both wood, hands and oar in SIBERIA sufficient to make a quantity, which would depreciate the value of the SWEDISH iron, raise their rivalry and competition with the SWEDES^b in this important article of the revenues of that nation, and at the same time greatly augment those of the RUSSIAN empire. But by a certain fatality which prevails in every country in some instance or other, the RUSSIAN government for a course of years has preferred a profit of about 15,000 l. on 5000 tuns, to near twice that advantage which they might have had to all appearance, though the price should have been reduced, had the quantity been more than doubly augmented. The great difficulty was, in whose hands to lodge an increase of power in that distant country, SIBERIA. It is not 40 years since the RUSSIANS began to open iron mines, and yet in the year 1750 they exported 20,000 tuns: the ordinary annual export may now be called 12 or 15,000 tuns, which is so much more in favour of the RUSSIANS, as the SWEDISH forges, for these few years past, have not produced so much by one third as formerly.

The encouragement given to our AMERICAN colonies in regard to iron, has produced some good effects, the quantity of pig iron imported from thence being increased; and as there is no want in that country of oar or

^a Or 6 l. per tun first cost in St. PETERSBURG. ^b The question is, whether with regard to the balance of power in the north, the SWEDES are not poor enough in all conscience.

wood to work it up, it ought to be presumed that we might make a considerable progress towards equalling our EUROPEAN neighbours. In ENGLAND it is true the quantity made does not fall short of 10,000 tuns, which is a vast object considering the scarcity of wood. What a field for fresh employment would not this island open, if all the waste lands were planted with whatever kind of wood might be most welcome to the soil; and if our rivers were in general made more navigable for the transportation of such wood, would not this enlarge the scene of commerce, and afford advantages in almost every shape? In AMERICA we want people: there are then two countries, and a branch of commerce of great extent, with numerous appendages to employ the poor, to banish idleness the root of all evil, and to increase the riches of the nation. By this means the heavy tax for the poor's rates also might be alleviated; for of those who are supported by charity, numbers certainly are capable of work. We do not seem to want knowledge, but industry is not known to many thousands, as the streets and the gallows give daily proof. In cases of this nature mercy is cruelty, for he who can work and will not, but lives on the industry of others, is next to him who deprives the industrious of the fruits of their labour by violence. If less indulgence was shown the poor, who upon examination are found capable of labour, and methods for their employment at the same time proposed to them, the evils we now suffer must gradually decrease. We are liberal in subscriptions of every kind of charity: supposing a subscription was on foot for cultivating certain lands, to be obtained by purchase or grant under certain conditions, planting of others, making certain rivers navigable, and the like: supposing also men of great fortunes were to appropriate a certain share of their large revenues to such works within their own property, further employment might be yet found in this island, small as it is, for a great number of people.

The ordinary computation of the RUSSIAN general export from St. PETERSBURG is three millions ^d, of which the BRITISH subjects in RUS-

^c The same complaint is made at home; why then does not the government discountenance the use of spirituous liquors, and give some encouragement to matrimony among the working poor?

^d In 1750, the exports were four millions of rubles, or 880,000 l. value.

SIA take off two, consisting chiefly in hemp, flax, iron, hog's bristles, hare skins, hempen and flaxen manufactures, RUSSIA leather, and other articles. The ordinary imports of the RUSSIANS were two millions, consisting in indigo, cochineal, lead, pewter, tin, wrought silks, gold and silver lace, toys, cotton and linnen manufactures, woollens and wines. The RUSSIANS receive the ballance in their favour in silver and gold, of which part is a sum of about 500,000 silver rixdollars, of the coin of the UNITED PROVINCES; these do not however pass current in RUSSIA, but the duties on goods must be paid in them at a certain rate, according to weight. The consumption of the RUSSIANS is so far increased with their acquisitions by commerce, that they import now more than usual, but the ENGLISH have still above a million ballance against them.

It seems to be a maxim established in all countries where commerce has made any progress, that the value of exports must exceed that of the imports, for otherwise the ballance must necessarily be paid in money: against this the RUSSIANS have taken the precaution of making it death to export their coin; nor is any plate or bullion exportable without express permission. I have already observed that in countries possessed of silver or gold mines, money may be considered as a commodity; but even in these countries we do not find such great wealth as where the only resource is in the industry of numbers of working people, and in those productions of the earth, which being essential to the support of mankind, are really more intrinsically worth than silver, gold, or precious stones.

When a people are desirous of foreign productions, and especially articles of luxury, if they do not exert themselves to pay for such commodities by their labour, and the produce of their own lands, they must be impoverished, and in danger of ruin. The augmentation of the revenues of RUSSIA, which I shall have occasion to mention, ought to be imputed in a great measure to the increase of her trade for some years past; and the increase of her national wealth to the great annual ballance in her favour, of one million of rubles^d. Under arbitrary governments there wants nothing but the consent of the sovereign to establish a sum-

^d 220,000 l.

tuary law; and even in limited monarchies, the example of a king can work surprising things: in countries where people begin to show a great passion for a vain and luxurious life, the more early such a law takes place, the more easy they will find the restraint,

The interior trade of RUSSIA is certainly very much augmented, and the commerce they carry on with the TARTARS and other frontier nations, is a considerable object; as RUSSIA sometimes receives a large quantity of foreign silver and gold from those nations, in exchange either for her own or foreign productions. I will not undertake from an impulse of my good wishes, to determine what articles RUSSIA should be cautious of importing; but those of the produce of GREAT BRITAIN are either essentially necessary to her, or such as she can never suffer by: I speak not of the major part of them, for I think not one article, EVEN OUR ALE, but tends to the good of the RUSSIANS; not to mention the great advantages to RUSSIA of the RIGA and NARVA trade with GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND. As our RUSSIAN trade is well conducted, I shall pass it over, observing only that in whatever light it is considered, it ought to be a means of establishing a perpetual friendship between this nation and the RUSSIAN empire. I shall now conclude this chapter with a succinct account of the RUSSIAN coins, weights, and measures.

It is remarkable that when the RUSSIAN trade began to flourish, and for some time after, their ruble, which was intrinsically worth no more than 39 current stivers of HOLLAND, was estimated on exchange at 70 current stivers, and the price of their commodities regulated accordingly in the merchants calculation of them: at length it was reduced to 50, and from 45 to 50 it has stood for many years. The RUSSIAN ruble has too considerable an alloy to encourage the exportation, but it is not so base as to induce any piratical traders to bring false coin into the country: I speak of the silver money. But by an error in politics in a late reign, the want of money induced the government to make a copper coin of 5 copecks value, which was not intrinsically worth 2; the consequence of which was, that some millions of this coin was run in upon them

them, particularly by the JEWS of POLAND; so that at length, in the year 1744, 45 and 46, the government wisely reduced the value each year a copeek, and it now stands at 2 copeeks. They keep accounts in rubles and copeeks, 100 copeeks to a ruble^e, and their old way of reckoning yet in the greatest use, as it is in some parts of GERMANY, is with beads on wires, which they work without pen and ink.

The ruble, which is the principal coin, is also divided into halves, quarters, and tenths, which last they call greevens: they had formerly silver copeek pieces, but these were too intrinsically good to continue long in the country, and were at length called in. They have a gold coin of 2 rubles value, but not in abundance; also ducats of the present EMPRESS's coin which vary in price, but are never under $2\frac{1}{4}$ rubles. In copper they have, besides the 2 copeeks already mentioned, denishkas, or half a copeek, and polushkas, or quarters.

THEIR DRY MEASURE IS

4 Wocemik	—	—	—	1 chetwerit = $\frac{1}{4}$ of an ENGLISH pack.
8 Chetwerits	—	—	—	1 chetworth ordinarily, computed = to
23 to 24 pecks, or 6 bushels ENGLISH.				

LIQUID MEASURE.

8 Krushquas	—	—	—	1 wedro—13 ENGLISH quarts.
1½ Wedros	—	—	—	1 stakan ^f .
2 Stakans	—	—	—	1 anchor.
6 Anchors	—	—	—	1 hogshcad.

WEIGHTS.

1 Zalotnick	—	—	—	= 2 dwts. 17 grains $\frac{1}{4}$ ENGLISH.
3 Dittos	—	—	—	1 lote.
32 Lotes	—	—	—	1 pound.

^e Which I have already mentioned to be worth about 4s. 3d:
of the word signifies a glass.

^f Stakan in the common use

40 Poods	—	—	—	—	1 pood, 36 lbs. ditto.
10 Poods	—	—	—	—	1 berquewitz.
63 Poods	—	—	—	—	1 tun ditto.

But the ENGLISH hundred generally comes net to 123 $\frac{1}{2}$ RUSSIAN pounds.

C H A P. XXIII.

The heads of several remarkable events in RUSSIA. A short account of the city and court of St. PETERSBURG in general, also of some of the great personages who compose it. Modern taste of building in RUSSIA.

NOTHING is more common than to be ignorant of that which we have had a good opportunity of learning, but particularly in the instance of an accurate inquiry into things relating to a place which a man considers as his home. I was five years in RUSSIA, and yet except in mercantile affairs, which I do not think necessary to mention further, I am not qualified to relate half so much as I have said of PERSIA, nor did it fall so much into my taste. When we are confined to a spot, curiosity naturally flags; or if we are undistinguished in the croud, there is seldom that ambition which impels our desires after knowledge: besides the pleasures and business of life engrossed such a share of my time, as admitted not any deep inquiries, and as I was not on a journey, I kept no journal.

With regard to RUSSIA at large, the several modern histories and accounts of it would also render my labour of little use. The most remarkable events which happened there, from the time of my arrival till I left it, was the peace with SWEDEN; the marriage of the great duke; the defeat of FRENCH intrigues; the alliance with GREAT BRITAIN, the empress of GERMANY, and the states of the UNITED PROVINCES; the march of the RUSSIAN forces to the assistance of the allies; and lastly, the downfall of count LESTOCK; of which events I should not chuse to give a secret history, if I knew more than what the gazettes relate. The court

of St. PERERSBURG has long enjoyed the reputation of being one of the most brilliant in EUROPE, but I cannot say whether it be now exactly true. In the reign of the late empress ANN, the countenance which foreigners received, added much to the splendid appearance of the court, and no doubt something to the politeness of it. Rich cloaths are still the passion of the RUSSIANS, and though sumptuary laws have been often talked of, and said to be essential to the good of the state, and have even been at certain times carried into execution; yet some incident or other still made a pompous appearance necessary, or agreeable to the sovereign.

There are some courts in EUROPE which seem to adopt this as a principle, that the more money courtiers spend, the less will be their riches, and consequently the greater their dependance^s. In ENGLAND we think the richer the subjects, the more able, and consequently it may be presumed, the more willing they are to serve the state. Of all the pompous shows in RUSSIA, the appearance made upon the great duke's marriage, in cloaths and equipage, was the most magnificent, and answered the highest idea that can well be formed of the splendor of any court^h. A man may travel over the world during a long life, without seeing any thing comparable to it: it was in general very grand, and elegantly conducted, but part of it was demonstrative of a very whimsical turn in one of the grandees, monsieur NARISKIN, whom I have mentioned as minister at the BRITISH court in 1743, and now under-marshal to the EMPRESS; he had a coach in a grotesque taste, the back and front as well as the sides of which were of looking-glass. But it is not in external embellishments only for which the RUSSIANS begin to distinguish themselves: two poets have lately started up as it were from a state of darkness, and wrote tragedies according to the modern dramatic rules: they have also translated lord ANSON's voyage, TELEMACHUS, and several other books into the RUSSIAN language, and bid fair to shine as bright as so northern a hemisphere can be yet supposed to admit.

^s See remark in vol. I. p. 254.

^h For a particular description of this ceremony, I refer the reader to the periodical memoirs of those times.



Anticosti della

Ant. W. Walker sculpit.

The Empress of Russia 1769.

With regard to the great personages in RUSSIA, the empress ELIZABETH PETROWNA, daughter of PETER the GREAT, by his empress CATHERINE, was born the 29th of December 1709, and began her reign the 6th of December 1741, being restored to the throne on which her father sat, by a revolution in many instances amazing, and of which the historians of our age have doubtless preserved the memory. This is one of the most accomplished ladies of her rank, nor was her person less amiable: time, which wears off the charms of youth, has rendered her corpulent, but she is yet very active, dances, hunts, and rides on horseback: on certain days she appears in men's cloaths, particularly on the day of her accession to the throne, when she treats her life-company of grenadiers at supper in the grand saloon of the palace, and sits at table with her officers, in regimentals as their colonel, in which she makes an agreeable figure. This company, for stature, comeliness, and the elegance of their dress, is hardly exceeded by any troops in EUROPE. The EMPRESS is in every instance gracious to an extreme: the great tenderness of her heart, or some other cause, has even forbid the execution of malefactors of whatever denomination, so that it is said there have been in different parts of the empire near 30,000 criminals in prison at one and the same time; but this, among many good actions, is a species of mercy which neither her subjects nor foreigners pretend to understand.

Close to the admiralty, where ships of war are built, is a magnificent palace, situated near the center of the city on the south bank of the NEVA; and in the eastern part is the summer palace and garden, abounding in choice statues and delicious walks; yet being a dead flat, it can produce but little variety. The theatre which was a very large edifice of wood, was lately burnt down, and another smaller near the summer palace is built: here ITALIAN operas and FRENCH comedies are acted at the expence of the EMPRESS, into which foreigners who make any appearance, are admitted: the operas were revised and sometimes composed by signior BONETTI, the poet laureat, a man whose politeness and goodness of heart render him very amiable, and to whom I am much obliged: *maique-*

¹ He is now a counsellor of state in FLORENCE.

rides, balls and concerts are also frequent at court; but the EMPRESS seems to delight chiefly in select companies at the houses of those persons who are most in her favour.

This lady wears the order of St. ANDREW, which is a blue ribbon: the number of knights of this order are reckoned 24, but it is not always full: some of the persons who now enjoy it are, the great duke of RUSSIA, COUNT ROSAMOFFSKY the grand veneur, COUNT * BESTUCHEFF RUMIN the great chancellor, SHEPELOFF the head marshal of the court, general AFRAXIN, who is at the head of military affairs, baron MUNICH a brother of the exile, the attorney general TRUBETSKOI; besides these are the kings of DENMARK, PRUSSIA and POLAND, prince AUGUSTUS of HOLSTEIN, baron BRETLACH the emperor's ambassador, and baron CEDREN-CRUTZ the SWEDISH minister; feldt-marshal KEITH has also this ribbon.

There is an order in RUSSIA inferior to this, called St. ALEXANDER, the number of which is 36 knights, who wear a red ribbon; there is also an order of St. ANN of HOLSTEIN, which is red striped with yellow; and another of St. CATHERINE's, which is red with a silver edge, intended only for women. The great dutchess of RUSSIA is the chief of this order, and it is worn by several great ladies in GERMANY. The first subject in this empire is PETER FEODOROWITZ the great duke of RUSSIA, appointed by the EMPRESS the heir of the RUSSIAN dominions, from the 18th of November 1743; his father CHARLES FREDERICK duke of HOLSTEIN, was married to ANNA PETROWNA, the eldest sister of the present empress of RUSSIA; the great duke was born the 22d of February 1728, and has reigned as duke of HOLSTEIN GOTTORP since 1739. In consequence of his grandmother on his father's side, being sister to CHARLES XII. of SWEDEN, he was the presumptive heir of that crown; but he declined it, and making profession of the GREEK religion, accepted the succession of the RUSSIAN empire. He was married the 1st of September 1745, to CATHERINE ALEXIEWNA, born the 2d of May 1729, daughter of CHRISTIAN AUGUSTUS prince of ANHALT-ZERNST. This

* They use the GERMAN title GRAFF, but in ENGLISH we call them counts.



H. C. Grooth Pinx.

And. W. Kneller sculp.

The Great Duke of Russia 1719.

marriage has not yet produced those happy effects which were naturally expected from it. His imperial highness is reputed a young man of spirit and vivacity, with a taste for polite study, and endowed with sweet accomplishments.

The stature and gentle deportment of the great dutchess increase the charms of her person, in which nature has been liberal, and nothing renders the character of the duke and his dutchess more lovely than the harmony and mutual affection which subsists between them.

The next subject in dignity is the count ROZAMOWSKY, the grand veneur, who enjoys all the sweets without the fatigues of grandeur or the odium often annexed to the most important offices in a state. The behaviour of this nobleman has rendered him acceptable to most kinds of people. His brother the young count GRIGORII KIRILITZ ROZAMOWSKI, who was president of the royal academy, is now hetman of the COSSACKS in the UKRAINE, of which both himself and the grand veneur are natives. This is a kind of vice-royalty, and is incomparably the most lucrative of any employment in the empire: it is not however always the most secure, especially when the assistance of those troops is required in case of war.

Among the ladies of the court there are none so distinguished as ANNA CAROLOWNA the countess of VORONZOFF, who travelled with her husband the count, a few years since, to several courts, as PARIS, NAPLES, ROME, VIENNA and BERLIN, where her polite carriage and accomplishments, as well as her personal beauty were very much admired. Women in general are not so amiable in RUSSIA as in many other countries: indeed they daub themselves so much with artificial charms, as to conceal those graces which it may be presumed nature has bestowed on them, though they are rendered invisible. In general they profess that if nature gives them sufficient plumpness, they can procure beauty themselves: and to this purpose we may observe from the very idiom of their language, that CRASNA DEVITZA, which literally signifies a red virgin, is the term for a pretty girl. Although it has been observed,
that

that very cold climates produce the same disposition to amour as very hot ones, yet this does not appear to be intirely the case in RUSSIA. Chastity as a virtue, is not indeed more in repute in this country than in the southern parts of EUROPE; but it seems as if the same causes in nature, which restrain them from a fierce resentment of the illegal commerce of the sexes, check, in some measure, their eager desire of such gratifications. As the RUSSIANS are not so refined in their manners, as to have a very delicate sense of honour; so we find that the chastisement of female infidelity is seldom carried beyond a beating, whilst the adulterer generally may compromise for his offence by a pecuniary mulct. Among the common people, the ecclesiastical laws oblige a man to marry a woman whom he has debauched. The common-place notion which prevails among the libertine part of mankind, "that women in all countries are the same¹," upon a comparison of different people, seems just as absurd as if we were to say, that men of all nations are the same. Perhaps upon enquiry it may be found, that there are more women of principles in some countries, than there are men of principles in others.

The RUSSIANS are for the most part of a middle stature, though many of them are tall and comely. The common people incline to their antient customs; and though the majory submit to modern improvements, many chuse to suffer great inconveniencies and additional taxes rather than forsake their beards, and some idle distinctions with regard to religion.

The great chancellor count BESTUCHEFF, in conjunction with the vice chancellor count VORONZOFF, have the charge of the foreign affairs, and are both esteemed men of great worth and probity: the college of foreign affairs is under their inspection, and these with the senate, which is composed of twelve senators, are the chief managers in the government of this vast empire; the colleges of war, commerce, mines, &c. being subordinate.

¹ The contemptuous opinion in which MAHOMMEDANS hold women, has induced them to adopt this notion. See vol. I. p. 268. But among CHRISTIANS those who seriously advance this doctrine may also maintain that "priests of all religions are the same;" and the next step is, that virtue and vice are the same.

Ecclesiastical affairs are governed by the synod, which has now more authority and weight than in some former reigns: the EMPRESS, whose power is absolute, having given great demonstrations of her disposition to devotion. The GREEK faith is known to be the established religion in this country, which differs from the ROMISH in many essentials, such as denying the authority of the pope, permitting priests to marry^m, giving the sacrament in both kinds, and believing in consubstantiation: they use images, and pay divine honours to the virgin MARY and to saints; but the majority of the courtiers, and men of education, here as in most other places, have certain religious tenets of their own, and seem to think for themselves.

St. PETERSBURG, which was founded by PETER the GREAT in the beginning of this century, may at present be considered as the modern and polite metropolis, and the chief residence of the RUSSIAN empire; and though so lately a morass, it is now an elegant and superb city, very healthful, and abounding in all the necessaries, and many of the pleasures of life. It was formerly built of wood, but now the use of this material is permitted only in the suburbs.

This city is ranged on both sides of the NEVA, extending from east to west near two ENGLISH miles; at the upper end of the north side is the citadel, which is more famous for the number of lives it cost in building than for either its strength or great importance, though it has several uses. It contains a stately church, in which the remains of its founder PETER the GREAT, and his empress CATHERINE, are deposited. It also serves to beautify the town, and as a prison for offenders against the state. This city has neither gates nor walls, but the marshy land near it, both in INGRIA to the south, and FINLAND and CARELIA to the north, and the gulph of FINLAND to the east, render the access to it extremely difficult for an army. It is divided by several canals, PETER the GREAT intending to take AMSTERDAM as his model in building it; but from the reluctance with which it was originally begun by his subjects, who

^m But they are permitted to marry but once, so that the wives of priests are generally well treated.

were compelled to build, and likewise from errors in the plan, some part of the city remains intirely unexecuted, and in others the houses are too near the canals. This does not hinder, but there are some regular, broad, and well built streets, and several very noble structures, particularly the great chancellor's, the vice chancellor's, the marshal SHEPELOFF's, the senator SHEVALLOFF's, COUNT CHEREMOTEFF's, COUNT GALLOWIN's, and some others of less note.

The encouragement which the EMPRESS has given to building, for which she seems to have a passion, contributes to the beauty of the city. Besides the two royal palaces already mentioned, this lady has built a noble palace, said to be intended for the great duke, in case he had been so happy as to have children. There is also a nunnery lately built; and about fifteen ENGLISH miles distant from the city at CZAR-SKO ZELO, is a royal palace. These edifices are for the most part of brick, and plaistered over so as to make an elegant appearance; but the work is generally done in a hurry, and the materials not very durable. An ITALIAN architect having been some years since established in RUSSIA, the taste of ITALY is adopted in almost all their houses; and though the severity of the climate is so great, they abound in windows much beyond our houses in ENGLAND. As a further additional beauty to this city, the EMPRESS has caused a large equestrian statue of PETER the GREAT in metal, to be made under the care of the ingenious and much esteemed COUNT ROSTRELLI, intending to erect it on a pedestal in the area before the palace, in pious memory of her father.

C H A P. XXIV.

A view of the revenues, number of inhabitants, taxes, military force and genius of the soldiery in RUSSIA. A succinct account of the nature of the climate, also of the clothes and kind of dress used in that country.

THE revenues of the RUSSIAN empire, which were formerly of five millions only, are now encreased to 15 millions of rubles^a,

^a Three millions sterling.

and are yet improvable without distressing the subject. These may be computed to arise from the pole tax of 75 copeeks a head, on 8,750,000 male subjects. The boyar, or lord, receives of his boors about 120 copeeks ^a each head male, according to the goodness of the estate: some bring in yet more considerably, and others cannot support themselves. The lord has also a certain number of them to work for him, but he pays the tax due to the crown on all his vassals, and after a revision is made, the same tax continues whatever mortality may succeed till a further revision takes place. The CIRCASSIANS who inhabit the UKRAINE pay but $\frac{1}{2}$ ruble a head. The customs in St. PETERSBURG, RIGA, NARVA and ARCHANGEL, produce above a million of rubles; and the monopoly of salt, pot-ash, rhubarb, spirituous liquors, with the produce of the government's iron mines in SIBERIA, the CHINA trade, and inland duties constitute the remainder. This sum of 3 millions sterling, which we have learnt in GREAT BRITAIN the art of swallowing in three or four months campaign, answers the exigencies of the RUSSIAN state, and makes them courted by their friends, and dreaded by their enemies: nor is it strange if one considers that the pay of a major-general in RUSSIA is not above 3,600 rubles a year ^b, a commandant or brigadier 1,800, a colonel 800, a major 400, a captain 180, a lieutenant 120, and a common foldier 6. They are said to have at least 250,000 regulars, including garrisons of 70,000; and supposing a third part of them clothed annually, and giving them their allowance of salt, croop^c, and bread, their pay will hardly exceed 30 rubles ^d a man, officers included; and consequently this formidable force costs only 7,500,000 rubles ^e, which does not take up half the national income. The collection of the revenues, which is so vast an expence in ENGLAND, is a very inconsiderable charge to the RUSSIAN government, their collectors being mostly paid by the perquisites annexed to their employments; from hence it is easy to reconcile how indispensably necessary presents are in RUSSIA in transacting business with any of the public departments, though I must own my opinion, that perquisites tend to the ruin of empires.

^a 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ruble, or 5 s. 1 d. ^b 750 l. ^c A species of meal. ^d 6 l. 10 s. ^e 1,575,000 l.

The number of souls in St. PETERSBURG are generally computed at 250,000, including the garrison, which is numerous; but in reckoning the subjects throughout the whole empire, they lay it down as a rule, that the hundred and seventy fifth male raises an army of near 50,000 men, and consequently supposing an equal number of females, the whole may be reckoned 17,500,000 souls: the tributary TARTARS, the RUSSIAN UKRAIN [†], and the conquered provinces [‡], are not included in this account; if we consider the vast extent of that empire, though many parts are not inhabited, it is probable this number is near the truth. As to the UKRAIN, I have been assured that one estate in that country [¶] contained 16,000 acres of arable, and 9000 of pasture land.

Besides the ordinary computation of 250,000 regulars, the RUSSIANS can collect a body of 40,000, or more, of KHALMUCKS, COSSACKS, and other TARTARS. In the last TURKISH war I have been assured that RUSSIA had above 300,000 troops in pay; so that with their own money at home, or in foreign pay when abroad in foreign service ^{*}, so long as these people train up a number of good officers, they must have great weight in the political scale in EUROPE, as well as in ASIA. They bear the extremities of cold and heat, hunger and thirst; and when well conducted to the charge, have generally shewn great intrepidity. Being provoked by long resistance, they are apt to be cruel when conquerors, of which I have heard several stories from those who served in the last TURKISH war.

With regard to the climate of RUSSIA, it is easy to conceive how extremely it differs, even in the several parts of it included in EUROPE, and still more in their ASIATIC dominions. In St. PETERSBURG we find that February generally brings a bright sun and clear sky, and the frost being yet very sharp, every object seems to glitter with gems; the nerves thus become braced by the cold; and though the reflexion of the sun from the snow is very strong, yet the eyes are seldom hurt by it. There is no small amusement in riding in sledges, to those who by the length of the

[†] This word signifies frontier.

[‡] LIVONIA, ESTONIA, INGRIA, and part of FINLAND.

[¶] Count GALLOWINS.

^{*} Which happened in the year 1747.

winter have in some measure forgot the much superior pleasure which nature presents when she is cloathed in green.

March is often attended with showers, and these with the heat of the sun penetrate the body of the ice, which is generally three quarters of a yard thick on the NEVA^y; being at length rotten, and appearing as a honey-comb, about the end of that month it ordinarily breaks up, and its motion seems to attract the north-east wind, for the wind generally blows very cold from that quarter. The gulph of FINLAND at the entrance of CRONSTADT is seldom free of ice before the end of April, so that the most early ships do not often arrive before the first week in May. This month is frequently very warm, the days being so much lengthened; thus nature seems to be reversed, and summer to precede the spring, for it is sometimes the first of June before any considerable verdure appears. The nitre contained in the snow invigorates the earth to that degree, and the intense heat of the sun brings on the verdure so fast, that the eye can discover its progress from day to day. Till the middle of July it seems to be one continued day, the sun not intirely disappearing above 2 hours in the 24: but the delight which this season naturally affords, is considerably abated by the uneasiness created by the heat; however a week seldom passes but they are refreshed by southerly and westerly winds, which often bring gentle showers, particularly from the south. I once experienced a delightful autumn till the end of September, but this happens very rarely: August generally closes the scene, so that we can hardly say there are above three months of summer.

September, in the ordinary computation, brings rain and frost. October increases the severity of both, and November always closes up the NEVA. Then comes on the season for the speedy and easy conveyance on the snow, which brings fresh provisions to market a thousand ENGLISH miles by land, as those can witness who have often eat in St. PETERSBURG the beef of ARCHANGEL. In December and January the cold is often very

^y In some great rivers to the north east the ice is said to be much thicker.

intense, and the poor, who are sometimes overtaken by liquor, or exposed in plains or other open places, particularly on the river between the city and CRONSTADT, not unfrequently perish with cold.

RUSSIA is by no means a proper country for those who delight in rural pleasures, or think a walk in a fine day one of the most elevated joys the heart can receive. It is easy however to resolve the DIFFICULTY some make concerning the possibility of living at all, or LIVING in any sense above a bare existence. The abundance of birch and elder with which the RUSSIANS are supplied, and the commodiousness of the stoves, enables them to introduce any degree of warmth into their houses; and where proper care is taken to burn the wood intirely, to an ash before the heat is confined, it is far from being disagreeable: but if the tube or chimney by which the smoke is carried out, is stopt too soon, the air contained in the room becomes corrupted, and where no relief is given by letting in fresh air, the effect is as mortal as that of charcoal.

The common people in this country are cloathed with long coats made of drest sheep skins, with the wool towards their bodies. These are admirably adapted to the climate, and cost only two rubles²; they also use a coarse cloth, in which they swaddle their legs and feet: this is secured by a cord of reeds, their sandals being also of the same material. Their caps are lined with fur, and cover the ears and neck as well as their heads: they wear sashes round their waste, and double gloves, one of woollen and the other of leather, which take in the hand without any distinction except the thumb; and these are also an essential part of their cloathing.

People of any distinction for the most part dress as we do in ENGLAND, and are under no other necessity than that of wearing a full great coat lined with fur³, such as wolf's, fox's, or linx's, with a deep quilted or fur lined cap when they go abroad. The women of the lower class, besides their petticoats, wear sheep skins as the men: those who move

² Nine shillings.

³ The RUSSIANS call it a SHOORE.



Amicant pinx.

M. J. G. Sculp.

Peter the Great.

in a higher sphere, wear flowered silk cloaks^b lined with furs, of which the most common sort is of white hare's. Ladies of the first distinction are seldom without these cloaks lined with rich furs, and by the advantage of coaches or sledges and domestic conveniences, perhaps suffer less by cold than the people in the south of FRANCE: although upon the whole I can by no means think it a climate conducive to the prolongation of life, especially to aged persons, or valetudinarians.

C H A P. XXV.

Several stories and private circumstances relating to PETER the GREAT.

BUT what is truly deserving admiration in RUSSIA, are the labours of the immortal PETER, who still lives not only in every part of the government, but in every work of art and design. We can hardly say too much of this prince; his character is admired by the world in general, but particularly by the part of it that he governed, and which must ever revere his memory, so long as they retain any traces of his vast genius and indefatigable labours. If in the revolutions of ages they should again decline into their antient barbarity of manners, they never will give a stronger proof of that barbarity, than by ceasing to venerate his name. The most early part of this prince's life gave such proof of a mind formed for great actions, that he seemed to be a man from his infancy, and with his manhood the hero grew up to that prodigious height, of which he gave the world so many proofs. The intimations he had received from foreigners of the government, arts, and improvements of other countries, made him weep over the ignorance and barbarity of his own; but his sorrow gave way to his hopes; and fired with the noble ardour of true greatness, he resolved to pursue it by the only path which, from the light of his own genius, he discovered to lead to it. He had too good a judgment to attempt the thing by any means but those which alone were practicable. How amazing was his resolution, who was born to empire, and had an absolute power over so many millions of people, to humble himself

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^b There are two kinds, some with and some without arms.

to the low offices and laborious drudgery of life! But he saw that example, assisted by his boundless authority, could alone inspire his people with just sentiments, or compel them to a due obedience; and that the opulency and power of nations must arise from useful arts and mechanic employments: he sought that power and opulency at their very fountain-head, and determined in his own person to act as much like a GOD as a man could do, diffusing his influence by actions, the due effect of which, humanly speaking, it was impossible for any man, except himself, to produce. Thus he submitted as if he had been born only to a mean and low fortune; and determined to do that which should deserve a crown; and when he had obtained it, to take on him the true glory of a king, in wearing it gracefully, and according to the order of that providence which watches over the good of mankind. His actions demonstrate that he thought it more glorious to excel as an artificer or mechanic, than to sway a scepter upon no other title than his birth.

It is hard to say what the world has lost in the journal which he kept himself, probably it contained what no historian can pretend to relate of him. I shall mention a few particulars which I do not find recorded of him in any historical accounts, being what I learnt of persons with whom he frequently conversed. In AMSTERDAM he entered in a dock yard as a common carpenter, in the name of PETER MICHAÏLO, but he was known only to the master of the yard. It happened one day that PETER, by mistake, took the tools of another person instead of his own; the owner discovering his tools in the hands of his companion, and these not being readily restored to him, words ensued, and the man gave PETER a blow; the master of the yard being informed of the matter, sent for the supposed offender, and in the presence of this prince reproved him severely, and threatened him with punishment. PETER now put on the emperor, not in the insolence of power, and with the externals of a king, but in pleading for the injured. "The man, says he, is in the right, and I am in fault;" and immediately made up the quarrel by giving him money. Thus did this great monarch learn the true

true art of life and government, and through this voluntary arduous discipline, teach himself how to rule the spirits of an ignorant and uncivilized people.

It has been imputed to this prince, that he was cruel. The exact rule of mercy and justice cannot always be observed by any mortal man; and least of all by princes, who cannot search to the bottom of every thing. A man of his strength of resolution, cannot be supposed to have a heart of the melting sort; and the ingratitude and insensibility of his subjects, their repugnance to accept the terms of their own felicity by the means he sought it for them, means so obviously productive of the end, and yet so obstinately resisted, could not but fire him with some resentment, and might also persuade him they could be ruled only by a rod of iron. Thus he might commit some acts of severity, but that he put men to death with his own hand, I am persuaded is not true.

An amorous disposition, and a cruel one, are compatible in the same person, as experience often evinces; but cruelty and greatness of mind, such as this prince demonstrated, are not compatible. His great foible was the love of women; he was not however profuse, nor even generous in his amours, if one may believe the reports of miss CROSS, who was distinguished, in her way, by the emperor's favour in ENGLAND. In HOLLAND he was seen with a girl in his arms at a common drinking house, of which representation there is now an excellent picture in the palace at PETERHOFF. A gardiner once threw a hough at him for his amorous advances to a girl who was working in a garden. In short, for a king he was as little elegant as expensive in his amours: as in things of the highest moment, so in this he acted according to his inclinations, without any regard to forms. It is true, in this instance he was no hero, but as servilely submissive to an imperious appetite as a common man: and it seemed in him but mere appetite, at least we do not find that the pleasure or torment arising from a passionate indulgence, or a reasonable government of this weakness, ever drew him into inconveniencies, or protracted the progress

* In the case of the rebellion suppressed by general GORDON, historians mention his being angry that the executions were not performed before his arrival at MOSCO.

of that active and extensive glory for which he was so much distinguished: and for this vice, we must say with Sir WALTER RALEIGH, as well as I remember, "If ADAM in his state of innocence; DAVID God's chosen servant; and SOLOMON, a man of the greatest wisdom, swerved from their duty to the living God, through the love they bore to woman, it is not so wonderful as lamentable that men in all succeeding ages have, &c." This great prince, who understood so well what regarded the good of the society, could hardly exclude the religion he professed from the system of his politics; and we may charitably presume that he, like DAVID, made his peace with heaven.

He was often seen to weep when he ordered executions. Miss HAMBLETON^a, a maid of honour to the empress CATHERINE, had an amour which at different times produced three children: she had always pleaded sickness, but PETER being suspicious, ordered his physician to attend her, who soon made the discovery: it also appeared that a sense of shame had triumphed over her humanity, and that the children had been put to death as soon as born. PETER enquired if the father of them was privy to the murder; the lady insisted that he was innocent, for she had always deceived him, by pretending they were sent to nurse. Justice now called on the emperor to punish the offence. The lady was much beloved by the EMPRESS, who pleaded for her: the amour was pardonable, but not the murder. PETER sent her to the castle, and went himself to visit her; and the fact being confessed, he pronounced her sentence with tears, telling her that his duty as a prince, and God's viceroy, called on him for that justice which her crime had rendered indispensably necessary, and therefore she must prepare for death. He attended her also on the scaffold, where he embraced her with the utmost tenderness mixed with sorrow: and some say, that when her head was struck off, he took it up by the ear whilst the lips were yet trembling, and kissed them; a circumstance of an extraordinary nature, and yet not incredible, considering the peculiarities of his character.

^a Some call this lady MACKENZY.

How generous was his conduct to the SWEDISH prisoners after the battle of POLTOWA! He struck one of his own officers for speaking disrespectfully of the king of SWEDEN^d, and said to him, "Am I not a king, and " might not my fortune have been the same as that prince's?" but what a profusion of sound politics was displayed in his taking his sword from his own side, and presenting it as a token of his favour to the SWEDISH general RENCHILD, upon the occasion of that general's saying, that though the king his master had acted contrary to his opinion, yet he thought himself bound, as a faithful subject, to obey his commands.

As it is the custom with us to interrupt conversation by drinking healths at table, in RUSSIA they add also another impertinence, by their servants offering wine whether you ask for it or not. PETER was in warm discourse with admiral APRAXIN, when the vice-admiral SENA VIN presented him with a salver of wine; the emperor impatiently threw back his arm, which necessarily overset the salver, and struck the admiral, and then pursued his discourse as if nothing had happened; afterwards recollecting himself, he asked the admiral APRAXIN if he had not struck somebody; "yes, says he, your majesty has struck the vice-admiral SENA VIN; " 'tis true, he was in the wrong for interrupting your majesty, but he is " a very honest man and a brave officer." PETER then reproached himself for striking an officer of that rank, sent for him immediately, begged his pardon, kissed him, and the next day sent him a present.

VALENSKY, who had a command in the PERSIAN expedition, had been once beaten by PETER's orders, mistaking him for another. "Well, says " PETER, I am sorry for it, but you will deserve it one day or other, and " then remind me that you are in arrears with me;" which accordingly happened upon that very expedition, and he was excused.

Thus did this great prince temper the natural impetuosity of his disposition with the utmost tenderness and regard to those who deserved well of him. It is known that he himself submitted to enter his name as a private man in the army he raised, that his greatest subjects might have

^d To this purpose we may remember the story of the PERSIAN soldier, who was told, "Sir, you " are paid to fight against ALEXANDER, not to rail at him.

no expectations of any other advancement than what should be due to their merit. He had most experience as a general, but his favourite passion seemed to incline to the marine; and he more than once appeared INCOG as a common pilot, and received an ENGLISH crown and a cheefe for bringing a ship from the bar to CRONSTADT.

This prince had to contend not only with the perverseness of the vulgar; he found it necessary to teach the highest orders of his people to submit to the wholesome restraints of good laws without respect of persons. GAGARIN, a senator, had been for some time governor of SIBERIA, where he had accumulated more than a just ministerial fortune by indirect practices, particularly by oppressing the caravans passing to and from CHINA: at length he was brought to St. PETERSBURG, condemned and hanged on a gallows erected opposite the senate house. After a few days the senators begged that his majesty would order the body to be removed, intimating that it was a scandal to their rank as senators. "Yes, says the emperor, let him be taken down then, and hung up at "the common gallows," which was accordingly performed.

The story of his supposed intrigue with baron GORTZ to invade ENGLAND, is mentioned by some historians; however that affair might be, he always denied it, but found matter of complaint against his vice-chancellor SCHAPIROFF, upon the examination of whose papers it appeared*, that during his ministry at the HAGUE, he had accepted a sum of 10,000 l. for the discovery of a secret; so that after SCHAPIROFF had been brought to the block, and his sentence changed into banishment; PETER having received this evidence of his minister's guilt, would have recalled him to execution. OSTERMAN, afterwards vice-chancellor, represented to the emperor that as he had pardoned SCHAPIROFF, who had not been since guilty of any fresh crime, such an action would fully hit his honour; to which advice, offended as he was, this prince submitted.

WESTPHALEN, the DANISH minister at the RUSSIAN court, had sent a remarkable piece of news to COPENHAGEN; PETER, by means of his minister in that city, procured WESTPHALEN's own letter, and then

* As some confidently assert.

challenged him upon the subject; WESTPHALEN flatly denied that he had given any such intelligence, till PETER produced his letter, upon which he very coolly replied, "I see princes have long arms; your majesty knows very well the duty I owe to my own prince and country, was I in your majesty's service I should consult your interest with the same fidelity." PETER, though extremely disgusted, acquiesced in this defence.

We must not be surprized that this prince, while he was only a pupil in the school of true greatness, condescended to menial offices or low mechanic employments, when only personal labour and personal knowledge could answer the end he had in view. In the height of his glory, and after the completion of his conquest, he had so entire a contempt of those external circumstances which sometimes constitute the whole of a king, except the power annexed to royalty, that he seemed ambitious only of a sovereignty in soul, and to act rather than appear the king. He had an extreme dislike to rich cloaths, and was never so well satisfied as in his regimentals^f: he never wore but one suit of embroidery, and that for a single day only. In the summer time it was his usual custom to drive about the streets of St. PETERSBURG in a chair with one horse, sometimes with and sometimes without a page. In winter he has been several times seen in a common hackney sledge^g. It would sometimes happen that he had not the value of three pence in his pocket to pay the fare; and he has more than once asked the loan of this money of any person whom he knew, and accidentally met; yet notwithstanding these seeming improprieties, the superiority of his genius supported the dignity of a great monarch; and it was by laying aside pomp and splendor, which were unessential to his glory, that he appeared so much like a deity, in every place, almost at one and the same time. He was generally at his tribu-

^f A green cloth with a narrow gold lace, which is the richest cloathing in the army, and the RUSSIANS as well as the PRUSSIANs are not permitted to wear any other cloaths than their regimentals. The EMPRESS however has made her sea officers very fine, their cloaths being white cloth, and the captains have gold lace enough upon it to consume a good part of their pay. ^g These are in value about 4 s. they are drawn by small mean horses, and driven by the commonest boors.

nals and public offices in the winter season by five in the morning; and thus his personal attendance, and knowledge of business, taught his subjects their respective duties, confined them to those duties, and made the state flourish. He was not contented without going to the bottom of things, and therefore instead of making his people wait on him, he watched them, so that he was seldom to be found in the palace. Prince MENZIKOFF had the charge of public feasts for foreign ministers, so that PETER spent no time in vain ceremonies; and as to his own diet it was rather coarse than elegant.

It is morally impossible that such a country as RUSSIA was, could be more speedily reduced to a regular and consistent plan of government: but the extremity of arbitrary power which had long subsisted, and the unpolished manners which had for so many ages prevailed, seemed to have established a rule of ASIATIC policy, which PETER was not able or not willing intirely to destroy: this consisted in a sort of connivance in the prince, in seeing the grandes pillage the lower classes of the people, according as their offices might afford them an occasion; but when they had thus accumulated wealth, and rendered themselves obnoxious to the laws, their sovereign came in for the plunder, either by degrading the offender, or suffering him to ransom one part by delivering up the other.

But it is amazing that this great prince did not enter seriously into the consideration of the bad administration of the laws, with regard to property and justice, till the very close of his life, and in his last sickness. The resolution he then took, confined the determination of common causes to the term of eleven days, but it was no more than a flash of light which involves the traveller in greater darkness. Laws which are so obviously intended to support the society, are now in most parts of EUROPE so perversely wrested to the purposes of lawyers, to the eternal reproach of CHRISTENDOM, as to become the plague and distress of the virtuous; and the instrument of the most detestable conduct of the base and corrupt part of mankind: nor is there, I believe, a single country
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in all EUROPE, except PRUSSIA, either in limited or arbitrary monarchies, where this is not complained of as a most crying abuse. Had this great prince lived a few years longer to sway the RUSSIAN scepter, it is more than probable he would have long time since shewn the king of PRUSSIA that example, which this prince, who really deserves to be called great, had he no other virtue, has given to all the other sovereigns and nations of EUROPE.

After what I have observed of the condescensions familiar to PETER the GREAT, the reader will not be surprized that he conversed with all sorts of people of whom he could learn any thing useful, among whom some of the ENGLISH and other foreign merchants were frequently his companions. He eat and drank with them, and was often godfather to their children; if his godchild died, he has even more than once attended their funerals. He was very inquisitive about trade, yet he confessed it was what he least understood: but his establishment of the commerce in St. PETERSBURG, and bringing the greatest part of it from ARCHANGEL; the premiums he offered to those who should find out new branches of trade; his setting up and encouraging new manufactories of linnen and hemp in his own country; the great countenance he gave to foreign merchants, and many other such like circumstances, are certain indications that he understood, in many instances, the means of advancing commerce as well as the great end of it.

This prince made even his pleasures and amusements subservient to the important ends of his government. He had more than once received very melancholy proofs of the impatience of his subjects under the reformation which he had planned, and was now accomplishing: this rendered him extremely suspicious of them. As men's hearts are generally most open in their cups, he often drank with them liberally, sometimes at court, and oftner at their own houses. His manners seemed to be rude, in requiring even the ladies, upon certain occasions, to swallow goblets of wine, or other strong liquors, but in this he had his views: drinking is still the vice of RUSSIA, but in a more elegant manner than in past times.

He had frequent convulsive distortions of his head and countenance, contracted by a fright in his youth, upon an occasion when his life was in danger; but in such cases it was always the rule of the company he was in, to look down, or a different way, and pursue their discourse without seeming to regard him.

To prevent a surprize or any attempt on his life, he would never lie alone: when he was not with the EMPRESS or other companion, he ordered one of his chamberlains^b to sleep with him, which was an uncomfortable situation to them, as he was very angry if they awaked him; and in his sleep he often grasped them very hard.

What complicated his character as a master of exquisite art and acute judgment, he diverted his people into a contempt of that sordid ignorance, which for so many ages had reigned in this country, and which he now made it his task to banish. This could not be done more effectually than by ridiculing a superstitious reverence of the customs of their forefathers. With this view he ordered a great number of dresses of the several officers of the crown and court as worn in past ages; and in these himself and his whole court appeared in masquerade: thus exhibiting themselves to the people under several comic figures, they diverted them into a persuasion that they were at least as wise in their age, and in their appearances, as their fathers had been before them.

This truly great prince was born the 11th of June 1672, and was the son of the CZAR ALEXIS MICHAELOWITZ, by his second wife NATALIA CARILOWNA NARISKIN; and after being the wonder of the age in which he lived, he took his leave of this world the 28th of January 1725, leaving a character which will command the admiration of all succeeding generations.

^b Whom the RUSSIANS call DENSHICKS.

C H A P. XXVI.

The first establishment of the ENGLISH factory in RUSSIA. The complaints of the merchants of GREAT BRITAIN, particularly the RUSSIA traders, with respect to foreigners obtaining acts of naturalization, without any intention of continuing in this kingdom.

BEFORE I take my leave of RUSSIA, I ought perhaps to mention a circumstance of some moment to my friends in that country, if not to this nation. The ENGLISH factory in RUSSIA, as I have already had occasion to mention, was first established in ARCHANGEL, in virtue of a charter granted by king PHILIP and queen MARY, at the same time that the CZAR IVAN WASSILOWITZ swayed the RUSSIAN scepter.

This charter is of too extensive a nature, either in regard to the crown, the RUSSIA company, or the BRITISH subjects at large, to be fully complied with, and is consequently become in certain respects obsolete: it reserves however in full force such necessary authority as excludes all foreigners, except RUSSIANS, from a participation of the RUSSIA trade to GREAT BRITAIN; and in virtue of the by-laws to which the traders acquiesce, the good government of the company is supported; a small tax is levied for extraordinary occasions, and for the charitable purpose of relieving poor seamen, and the widows of deceased mariners.

The factors employed abroad in the name of the RUSSIA company, removed from ARCHANGEL to St. PETERSBURG, soon after PETER the GREAT founded that city, which he made the seat of the RUSSIAN commerce. Among other particulars it is remarkable, that this factory has been for some time blended with foreigners, who in consequence of their naturalization, have enjoyed a participation of the privileges and immunities of the company. The BRITISH factors saw this with impatience, and at length sent their remonstrances to their principals in LONDON, in consequence of which an opposition was made to a bill¹ then depending before the parliament in behalf of a foreigner. This is a cir-

cumstance in every respect interesting, and about which there are a great variety of opinions: some particulars relating to the case of the merchants of GREAT BRITAIN residing at home, or in the BRITISH factories in foreign countries, with respect to persons obtaining acts of naturalization, without any purpose of continuing in these kingdoms, were printed, and of which I have preserved such extracts as serve as an introduction to the subject, viz.

“ **T**HE granting to strangers all the privileges and immunities which
 “ the constitution derives to those born under its protection, and
 “ who have a mutual tie of duty and affection, has been ever regarded
 “ in all civilized nations, as a point of the highest importance to the
 “ public; as it plainly is in GREAT BRITAIN, where such a participa-
 “ tion, in the birthrights of its subject, cannot be bestowed but by the
 “ legislature, that is, in effect, by the consent of the whole kingdom.”

“ Whenever therefore this high and great favour is conferred, it must
 “ be presumed to flow from just and weighty reasons; such as eminent
 “ services actually performed by those who seek it, or which may be ra-
 “ tionally expected from them; and in this light, acts of naturalization
 “ are highly reasonable, as they are apparently calculated for the public
 “ benefit; and arguments of this kind have been usually suggested, when
 “ favours of this sort have been rendered more general, with a view to
 “ invite into this country foreign protestants of easy fortunes, skilful in
 “ commerce, capable of introducing or improving manufactures, or, in
 “ a word, fit to become useful members of the community; into which
 “ they are received in the most solemn manner, and become intitled to all
 “ that is dear and valuable to ENGLISHMEN.

“ These motives, arising from reciprocal advantages, have been esteem-
 “ ed so wise and equitable, that acts of naturalization so founded, have
 “ been ever considered as tending highly to the advantage of this nation,
 “ and more especially to the mercantile interest; which has certainly
 “ reaped very signal and indisputable advantages from them; as is parti-
 “ cularly manifest from numbers of opulent families now subsisting in
 “ these

“ these kingdoms, that were originally invited, fixed or established here,
 “ in virtue of such wise and salutary laws.

“ But this being the case, it is not easy to see how the same benefits,
 “ or any other adequate to them, can arise from particular or general acts
 “ of naturalization, where the privileges granted to strangers are not in
 “ some measure restrained to their residence within the BRITISH domini-
 “ ons; and this, from the last bill for such a general naturalization, seem-
 “ ed to have been the sense of the legislature from a clause evidently
 “ founded upon this reasoning.

“ The naturalizing foreigners, and thereby giving them a title to all
 “ the privileges of BRITISH subjects, without requiring from them the
 “ plain and natural equivalent of residing here, puts it in their power to
 “ settle in foreign countries, with all the advantages due to the subjects
 “ of GREAT BRITAIN; and thereby affords them an opportunity of
 “ serving their own countrymen, and indeed foreigners of all nations, at
 “ the expence of GREAT BRITAIN, without any the least advantage ac-
 “ cruing to this nation.

“ With respect to foreigners thus naturalized, and established as factors
 “ abroad, we are not led, either from reason or experience, to conceive,
 “ that they can have any particular attachment to the interests, or any
 “ real zeal or rooted affection for the welfare of GREAT BRITAIN; but
 “ must be chiefly governed by that principle of self-interest, which origi-
 “ nally led them to seek such privileges, of which they might avail them-
 “ selves, in consequence of those treaties and alliances concluded with the
 “ crown of GREAT BRITAIN, and by which many valuable immunities
 “ and indulgences are secured to her subjects; equivalents for which are
 “ and will be always expected from the BRITISH nation. These may
 “ frequently occasion a public expence, and that expence must be raised
 “ by taxes on the natives of this island; but these naturalized foreigners
 “ residing abroad, do not in the least contribute to them. Foreigners un-
 “ der these circumstances are then more favoured than the natives.

“ The arguments in favour of unrestrained acts of naturalization to factors abroad ought to be extremely clear and convincing ; for in RUSSIA, and perhaps in other countries, it is difficult, if not impracticable, to make the natives understand how the people of any other country, can become ENGLISHMEN, or BRITISH subjects, and, by that means, entitled to the privileges that by treaties are stipulated to us. Thus such treaties may be rendered very precarious, the dignity of the nation weakened, and the conduct of such foreigners subject us to disputes and inconveniencies, which otherwise might never have arisen.

“ The act of navigation, that wise and salutary law, which has been the bulwark of the BRITISH commerce, breathes a spirit that would incline us to think the same regard ought to be had to BRITISH subjects, as to BRITISH bottoms ; and that all imaginable precaution should be taken to secure the advantages arising by a commission on the sale of the commodities and manufactures of this island, to their natural proprietors and native subjects ; more especially at a juncture, when there is nothing more evident, than that all the nations in EUROPE have opened their eyes to the advantages of commerce.

“ The question then is, if upon this principle we ought to be very circumspect in bestowing the privileges of subjects on those who were yesterday our rivals, without any security that they will not become the same to-morrow ? To this we may also add, that as there was a time when the whole of our traffic was engrossed by LOMBARDS, merchants of the STEEL-YARD, members of the HANSE TOWNS, and other foreigners, if we ought in common prudence to avoid every thing that may bring us into a like state again ?”

The connexion which the nation has with foreigners, and the advantages confessedly derived from them, has made a deep impression on the minds of some of the greatest men in this kingdom ; but general views of things do not always give the mind that light and satisfaction as a particular object which it can more easily grasp, and from thence with the greater facility enlarge itself, and take in others of a similar nature. Let us then examine the particular case which gave occasion to these remarks.

“ The

“ The amount of the reasons against any restrictive clause in the acts of naturalization of foreigners as factors in RUSSIA^k,” was this, that the treaty of commerce between the crowns of GREAT BRITAIN and RUSSIA, is really a matter of no great moment, and that the figure which the ENGLISH make in RUSSIA, is owing to their association with foreigners in that country. A further argument was, “ That foreigners situated in RUSSIA are under peculiar disadvantages to all other foreigners, or even what they themselves would be if situated in any other country ; not by any particular law of the legislature, but from a partial regulation of the RUSSIA company, by which each member is restrained by virtue of the oath taken upon his admission to his freedom, from giving any commissions to any person not free of the company ; and that freedom is never granted but to BRITISH born and naturalized subjects ;” from whence it is deduced that the trade is a monopoly.

Thus because the RUSSIA company do not give up to foreigners the benefits of the RUSSIAN trade with GREAT BRITAIN, therefore their charter is hurtful to GREAT BRITAIN. Now it is evident that there cannot be a trade where a greater liberty is open to the natives of a country than this in question. The RUSSIAN markets are always well supplied, each trader pursuing his own inclination to import, and his own opinion concerning the rise and fall of markets, and the opportunities of sale : I have known BRITISH houses in St. PETERSBURG that for several successive years have had from 40 to 100 bales of cloth remaining over the annual demand. The credit given the RUSSIANS is never less than 12 months, unless in small articles, and it is often extended to 15 and 18 months, and the prices of goods are as low as possible for the merchant to receive a living profit.

There are no monopolies or exclusive privileges assumed by the RUSSIA company, nor any rule of conduct established, which has the least appearance of being injurious to this nation ; for any natural born protestant subject may, for 5 l. take his freedom of the company, go

^k A paper published in 1752.

into RUSSIA, and establish a house of business, under the protection of the BRITISH crown. The ENGLISH merchant may also consign goods to any person who is a native of RUSSIA, or a subject of GREAT BRITAIN, remembering that the advantage in favour of the BRITISH subjects in RUSSIA, according to the 27th article of the treaty of commerce is about one third part in the customs of soldiers cloths ^l, YORKSHIRES ^m and flannels. Nor is there any restraint with regard to the markets of these kingdoms, for any RUSSIAN as well as freeman of the company, may send RUSSIAN goods into ENGLAND; he is only to pay the aliens duty, as established by law ⁿ. The law of nations, the right of reciprocal protection, and the last article of the treaty do, I apprehend, make the RUSSIANS entirely free to trade to this country. Some RUSSIAN merchants have actually been here, but finding they could not dispose of their goods in a satisfactory manner, nor live near so cheap as at home, they returned to their own country.

Besides this favour in the customs, the BRITISH factors in St. PETERSBURG esteem it a valuable privilege, that in all cases where they are defendants, particularly that of bankruptcy, their affairs are cognizable by the college of trade, and their books sacred to the inspection of four reputable merchants, appointed by that college. In many cases also, where they are plaintiffs, they apply to the college of trade; but their common suits and demands for money of the RUSSIAN merchants, have been for some years transferred to the magistracy ^o.

With regard to the quartering of soldiers in RUSSIA, the BRITISH subjects are indulged in a peculiar manner, and no doubt it ought to be deemed a favour, under a military government to be exempt from it. This privilege however was more sacred and more considerable formerly than of late years. I have myself opposed attempts made by the officers of the police to oblige me as a tenant to find quarters. I do not know that these attempts have yet succeeded against tenant or landlord, but if

^l Coarse cloths so called. ^m A thick coarse cloth. ⁿ This duty amounts to 3 s. 4 d. on a tun of hemp, or about $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the present value of hemp, at 23 l. per tun, which in general terms is provided for in the treaty of commerce. ^o This was a most ignorant and corrupt tribunal, and a shame to the RUSSIAN nation in my time; but if it should continue the same, it is in the power of the factors to represent this grievance.

the landlord is compelled to find quarters, and the rent is raised on this account, the tenant ought to complain; for we consider it not only as the spirit of the treaty, that BRITISH subjects shall enjoy an entire exemption from quarters, that is, that the landlord not being chargeable with it, the tenant shall have his rent so much the cheaper. This must be the sense of the 16th article, or it means nothing; for who can imagine it should be deemed a favour to a BRITISH government, that common soldiers may not sit in the counting-house of a BRITISH merchant in RUSSIA?

How cautious the RUSSIANS are of being lavish of any essential part of the treaty appears by this; that in order to ascertain the legality of property, when a BRITISH subject first appears in the custom-house of St. PETERSBURG, the officers demand a certificate of his majesty's consul, that the person is really what he pretends to be, and without it they will not clear his goods.

In what manner this treaty of commerce is considered by the RUSSIANS may be deduced from the embassy of monsieur DE DIEU, at the RUSSIAN COURT in 1745. It was generally reported, and I believe it is true, that his chief business was to negotiate a treaty of commerce on the behalf of his masters, the states of the UNITED PROVINCES, on the plan of that of GREAT BRITAIN; but certain it is, that he did not accomplish any such treaty: and if so able and so favoured a minister could not procure this privilege for his countrymen, the RUSSIANS certainly meant not that the advantages they grant to BRITISH subjects should become general; so that naturalizations granted to foreigners in RUSSIA tend to enervate the treaty of commerce, and may at length render it contemptible.

The RUSSIANS know very well, that the ENGLISH were the first that discovered ARCHANGEL; that they had an exclusive privilege of trade to RUSSIA in the reign of queen ELIZABETH; that PETER the GREAT, whose maxims of government are justly dear to them, always shewed a distinguished regard to the ENGLISH merchants, and even at the time that the politics of the two nations did not intirely coincide^p, he gave them his royal word,

^p Some difference with his late majesty, as elector of HANOVER.

that at all events they might consider themselves as under his peculiar care and protection: this I have been assured by one who was familiar with his imperial majesty. The RUSSIANS are also sensible of the political as well as of the commercial interest of the two nations, and consider this country, and I hope will always consider it, as their hereditary friend¹. As our extensive commerce has reached every corner of the earth, the greater our support is at home, the greater must our reputation be abroad. Reputation is certainly no imaginary thing, but must be in some degree productive of good to our commercial interest, with relation to the spirit of commerce in our factors abroad.

The BRITISH houses in St. PETERSBURG have not only a trade to GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, but to HOLLAND, PRUSSIA, SWEDEN, HOLSTEIN, and several parts of GERMANY; also to PORTUGAL, SPAIN and ITALY; this has arisen from the connexions of their extensive commerce, intirely independant of naturalized subjects in RUSSIA. On the other hand, this is not the case with naturalized subjects². There long has been, and I hope ever will be, an honourable distinction abroad, between us and other foreigners, both as BRITONS and as merchants, not in the esteem of the RUSSIANS only, but of all other nations. Whether it is worthy of national observation or not, can be determined only from the nature of the subject; but it is apparent that the naturalization of foreigners to reside in RUSSIA, creates ill blood in the breast of his majesty's natural born subjects who are in that country: it would have created much more, but that there are but few of the naturalized factors who have not

¹ I remember the compliment made to this nation by the governour of ASTRACHAN, a very ingenious man, whom I have mentioned in the course of these papers, speaking to his friends in my presence, "You are to consider, says he, the ENGLISH merchants in a different light from those of any other nation trading to this country; they are skilful, generous, humane, upright; they extend their commerce over the whole earth; and every country where they come is enriched by them. The commodities they deal in are necessary, substantial, and of the greatest use to the community; and they take off more of the RUSSIAN commodities than all the other nations united."

² I have heard the RUSSIAN merchants occasionally treat us with ridicule, by using a droll expression, which signifies, "Are you a white-washed ENGLISHMAN?" and a naturalized factor being in some distress, pleaded his being an ENGLISH subject, to VALENSKY, a minister of the empress ANN: "You an ENGLISH subject, says this minister, why, you was born in CASAN, in the dominion of the EMPRESS."

failed ; had they conducted their trade with moderation and prudence, it is probable the BRITISH commerce might have been intirely in their hands, and this nation nothing the better for the commission on the sale of BRITISH commodities, or on the purchase of those of RUSSIA. Besides, is it not highly reasonable to think that such naturalized subjects would be less tender than the BRITISH factors, in regard to the prices this nation might pay for naval stores ?

I passed some years of my life at LISBON, where I observed that the FRENCH protestants in that place live in mutual harmony with the native subjects of this island ; and from the experience we have that their riches always center here, they are considered upon the same footing with other BRITISH subjects. The trading world is often suspected of acting upon narrow principles ; yet our factors abroad are not only for the most part loyal, but upon the comparison of the several governments under which they live, with the excellent constitution of these kingdoms, they contract a patriot and disinterested spirit : but when from the strongest evidence, they apprehend the intention of the legislature is defeated, and their own interest hurt at the same time, they are alarmed, and think it their duty to appeal to their country. The BRITISH factors in PORTUGAL are jealous of those foreigners, who having obtained of the BRITISH crown a participation of the BRITISH birthrights, carry ALL THEIR wealth to any country except this island, where indeed their paternal connexions do not center. Many of the PORTUGAL traders signed the petition already mentioned, the meaning of which is intelligible beyond dispute, and seems to speak the general sense of the merchants of this metropolis, though SOME may be inclined, upon DIFFERENT PRINCIPLES, to DIFFERENT SENTIMENTS.

The BRITISH factors in HAMBURG, have not one naturalized subject amongst them. The convention of the BRITISH HAMBURG company, with the regency of that city, will not admit any naturalized subject to a participation of the valuable immunities of that company, and

MR. RAINLEIGH, a great PORTUGAL trader, who has given estates to many HAMBURGERS in LISBON, can tell if any of them ever brought a shilling of it into this country.

which

which for a series of years they have enjoyed with a most unblemished reputation. And what could this nation gain by an admission of naturalized subjects into that factory? It would be easy to prove, that whatever we play into their hands, is a losing game to this country; for I do not comprehend what they could give us in exchange. My reason for thinking it is a losing game is this; with regard to the RUSSIA factors, I know at this time eight or ten BRITISH subjects, I suppose there are more, who laid the foundation of their fortunes as factors in that country; and some of them are yet interested in houses there. There is not one of those persons but has brought riches, more or less, and some of them, I believe, to a considerable amount, to the national stock of this country, and are, I have great reason to think, good members of the community. On the other hand, I have seen a list of 24 foreigners, many of whom I know personally, who within these 25 years have been naturalized; and of all this number, in all this time, only one ever came into this kingdom, and he had particular connexions with a BRITISH subject. It must be observed, that it was only 25 years since any naturalization reached RUSSIA, the trade then was not so considerable as it is now, nor had our people established themselves there under the sanction of such a treaty as the present.

We are jealous of weakening ourselves by the want of foreign aids; but to think ourselves dependant in cases where our interest in one light is apparently wounded, is it not to weaken ourselves for fear of being weakened? Not to confound things of a different nature under one name, it must be observed that the circumstances of naturalized subjects at home, under this government, and entitled to enjoy all the good, and subject to share in all the evils which befall the state, are very different from those of persons who participate of the advantages which this nation enjoys abroad. The intention of naturalization no doubt is the benefit of this island; and if there are cases in which naturalizations are not attended with any benefit, but on the contrary prostitute the honour of the nation, enervate its influence, and counteract its native subjects; it ought to be presumed that such cases have not been set in a proper light. The FRENCH protestants have indeed strong connexions with this island, their

their parentage, their interest, or the protection they receive, induce them to consider this as their proper home, and consequently they are entitled to all the regard which we can shew them.

If experience is the best guide of life, it is that which must teach us whom to receive into our breasts as friends, and whom to reject in the commercial light we now consider the subject, as no friends to this country. By what rule can we judge better than by observing those people who return our kindness with gratitude; and those who forget the benefits they receive?

If our FIRST concern ought to be for our own children; it ought then to be considered how many sons of tradesmen, merchants, gentlemen, and even noblemen, are lost to their parents, their country, and their God, for want of employment! Merchants are no where more HONOURABLY esteemed than in this country; but they often lay the foundation of that knowledge for which they are esteemed, in distant climes; and shall we encourage foreigners to take their place? There cannot be more trade carried on than a country will bear: it will usually employ so much money; so many hands, and no more. Do we want money in this nation to carry on our trade? by no means. It is true, the national interest is already very low, perhaps it will be lower still, and what will be the consequence but that we must throw more money into trade, and extend our settlements and commercial interest over the earth, as much as possible? Why should we encourage foreigners to do any thing for us abroad, which we can do better ourselves? What circumstances should we be in, if all our factors abroad were foreigners? What tie, or what security could we have of their integrity in the sale of our commodities, much less in the promotion of national manufactures in opposition to those of other countries, or zeal in the purchase of the commodities of the countries where they reside, if they left us no pledge of their fidelity, nor spent any part of their lives in this island?

On the other hand, what riches do not our factors bring home! How many considerable men have not we in this metropolis from LISBON!

Who can be ignorant of the wealth that has been brought here by EAST INDIA factors? Are not these great national objects? ITALY, SPAIN, and other countries, are ever sending us new recruits to our commercial strength, arising from factorage. But there is yet a further reason which occurs: let the warmest advocates for general naturalizations, without any distinction of persons, professions, or residence, consider how destructive such naturalizations are to OUR GENERAL SYSTEM OF NATURALIZATION AND NATIONAL PROFIT. If we give to foreign protestants abroad that which should invite them hither, we may even prevent their coming to us. By being lavish of our beneficence we seem to be sufficiently paid by their acceptance of it, without any regard to the return which they are to make us. For what foreigner, seeing us so prodigal of our bounty in a case of this nature, which he knows to be injurious to the natural born subjects of this island, can, in proportion as it is beneficial to himself, entertain any other opinion than that we do not pretend to pursue our own interest?

The original intention of naturalization being confessedly the benefit of this nation, where there is the least ground of suspicion that the party going abroad means not to add any thing to the national advantage, ought he not in such a case to declare on what principles he pretends to the favour in question; and if it should appear that he deceived the legislature, would not such a resentment be due as at least to refuse a compliance?

If a reciprocal regard to the interest of this nation, is the sole motive of the invitation given to foreigners who reside here; and if by their residence they do in fact give us the earnest of a grateful return; is there no security to be asked of those who do not so much as pretend to live amongst us, nor give us any kind of equivalent? The very expectation of advantage from them is distant, remote, confused, and perhaps utterly unintelligible. The injury is obvious to demonstration, and is actually complained of by those who feel it, whose interest is common with that of the whole nation.

The reader to whom the subject is new, must now be informed that the merchants and RUSSIA factors at length obtained the thing they asked, by fixing the time of absence to the naturalized foreigner already mentioned, to three years, and then to reside three years alternately in this country, or to become an alien: but this was a temporizing accommodation of the matter, and does not seem to answer the full intent of the legislature. Upon the principle that this restrictive clause will produce the end proposed, it might become a rule of conduct to the nation in similar cases of naturalized factors. As a trading nation we might be yet more indulgent to those, whose connexions are nearly equal with the common ties of the natural born subjects; but let us consider dispassionately, how dangerous it is in politics to enter very deep into refinements of this sort, either immediately to advance the interest of a nation, or to prevent an injury which may be more remote.

The object most dear to an honest man is the real happiness of his country. This principle being laid down, let us consider what means are most effectual to obtain this end in a direct view. We see one of the wisest princes in EUROPE using his utmost endeavours to bring people into his country; as we desire to engage foreigners who can bring riches, arts, or industry, to come to this island. He gives them lands and great immunities; he has brought 20,000 into his capital in a few years: but he is far from extending those privileges to persons out of his dominions. With regard to ourselves, the same reasons that induce us to give encouragement to people to come to this island, may be a sufficient motive not to give it out of these dominions, and under foreign jurisdiction. If we carry our views so far as to give foreigners abroad, a power of taking a share in what our own people possess, without any security of the least return from such foreigners, nay, where all appearances make against any return, do we not counteract our own principle?

If it is urged, that a nation cannot be said to confer a favour, which by restrictions is rendered less valuable; I do not apprehend, without being QUIXOTS in politics, what it is we mean by these words, for I suppose interest is the object in pursuit. As to weakening the influence of naturalization, by which commerce is intended to be promoted; this also seems

to prove nothing more than that we should run all hazards, rather than lose any possibility of getting a subject who is a foreigner, though at the expence of a subject who is a native. It is said that naturalization without limitation, has, after an indefinite absence, brought foreigners into this country who might not otherwise have come. It would be well worth examining if this is true, and who such persons are, and what were their inducements to settle here, before this argument can be answered : for when they do in fact come, we receive them with open arms ; and we ought to countenance and encourage those who MAY settle here, if we do not pay too much for it. But I do not comprehend that here are any settlements of such weight as to establish a rule of conduct in opposition to our commercial interest, as it appears in a direct view. The case before us is foreign to the countenancing of strangers, who set out upon a principle of DESIGNING to settle in this island. I say FOREIGN TO SUCH PRINCIPLE ; for though many FRENCH protestants have come here, after being as long abroad under the protection of the crown of GREAT BRITAIN, as they pleased, yet still the matter will rest on this issue. Are we so fond of naturalization as to give a power to foreigners WITHOUT DISTINCTION, to supplant our own people, where experience teaches us we have no just grounds to expect any suitable returns ?

It cannot be too often repeated, that we ought to be cautious of curbing in any degree the inclinations of the natural born subjects in regard to commerce ; or of damping that spirit and application to trade, on which is founded the opulence of this nation, and its strength and influence as a maritime power. And whilst interest is the great incentive to human actions, and particularly actions of this kind, I think it is apparent that the more we interpose to countenance foreigners in commercial designs, in cases not demonstrably beneficial to this country ; the more we depress the spirits of our own merchants, who confessedly do advance the interest of the nation : and this discouragement may extend not only in regard to their being deprived of those profits which immediately accrue from the share such naturalized foreigners have in their trade, but also to a jealousy of being intirely supplanted in the course of time.

May it not be questioned what prejudices would this nation receive, if no naturalized subject till he has resided here seven years, nor the children born abroad of persons already naturalized, their parents not having lived in his majesty's dominions for the same number of years, were received abroad as factors or merchants in common with native born subjects? If it can be demonstrated that such prejudice will be greater than any that can be proved on the other side the question, there is no room for a debate; but if it can be made appear that it is only equal, the scale, we may expect, will turn in favour of the native subject; much more if the prejudice is against the latter; for this plain reason that the national and mercantile interest are but two words for the same thing. The impartial reader will consider the argument, not the writer, if I am suspected of interest where I have no other view than national benefit; yet the real truth can receive no diminution. I hope that will be done which is most for the interest of my country, be it what it will.

P A R T III.

T H E

A U T H O R's R E T U R N

T H R O U G H

G E R M A N Y A N D H O L L A N D T O

E N G L A N D.

C H A P. XXVII.

The author leaves St. PETERSBURG in July 1750. A succinct view of the EMPRESS's palace at PETERHOFF, and the road to it. A particular account of CRONSTADT and the RUSSIAN navy. A description of REVEL and its trade, with reflections on the interment of human bodies in churches. The author purjues his voyage to DANTZIG.

THE frequent disappointments which had for some time prevented my returning to my native country, increased my wishes for the happy hour which at length arrived. I had already travelled through LIVONIA, and the reports concerning COURLAND not inspiring me with the curiosity of seeing it, I therefore resolved to embark in a small ship for DANTZIG.

July the 9th, I left St. PETERSBURG, and travelling near the banks of the NEVA, for the most part in a sandy road, I passed by the palace of STRELNA MUSA, which is about 20 wersts from St. PETERSBURG. It stands on an eminence, and commands an extensive view of the gulph of FINLAND, near the mouth of the NEVA. This was intended to be a more grand and elegant building than PETERHOFF; the gardens also were laid

laid out in a magnificent taste, but the death of PETER the GREAT, together with the badness of the foundation of this edifice, put a stop to the prosecution of the design: from thence to PETERHOFF is 15 wersts. The present EMPRESS has caused many of her courtiers to build country houses on the south side of the road, which render the face of the country more agreeable. Among these the house and gardens of baron WOLFF are most distinguished for extent, beauty, and convenience. These country houses are for the most part built of wood, and very little expence is bestowed on the gardens; the soil also in general is sandy, so that the whole makes but a faint impression on travellers.

PETERHOFF, as left by PETER the GREAT, was but a mean building; the present EMPRESS has enlarged and beautified it very much. I have heard the waterworks compared to those of VERSAILLES, with this distinction, that the waters of PETERHOFF are sweet. This palace being situated on an eminence on the south side of the gulph of FINLAND, commands an extensive prospect of the water; it also takes in the island of CRONSTADT, about six miles to the north west. The forest of masts, which appear from the basons in that island, during the summer season, enlivens the prospect, and gives the idea of a flourishing commerce. There is a great variety of scenes in PETERHOFF; but as they are mostly on a dead flat, and the walks made of sand; this garden of so great a potentate is incomparably short of a STUDLEY or a BRAMHAM^a, and many others of equal beauty in ENGLAND. From hence to ORENJENBAUN is about 5 wersts: here the celebrated prince MENZIKOFF inhabited the palace which is lately fitted up for the great duke. Several of my friends having obliged me with their company thus far, I took my leave of them, and passing the gulph where it is about five miles broad, I arrived at CRONSTADT.

Here I was detained for several days by foul winds and tempestuous weather, not common at this season, so that I had an opportunity of examining one of the greatest curiosities in the world of its kind, which is the dry dock, contrived by PETER the GREAT. This work, by the

^a Seats in YORKSHIRE.

length of time it has been in hand, and the alterations made by the different directors of it, must have created a large expence. It reaches about 700 fathoms, is 60 feet broad at the bottom, 80 feet at the top, and 40 feet deep, having flood-gates in different parts: it is intended to receive fourteen ships of the line of battle, to build or repair them dry, and afterwards float them off. There is a grand reservoir, which was then almost dug 18 feet lower than the docks, and consequently is near 60 feet deep; and yet, to my great surprize, there were no springs which incommoded the workmen. It is about 600 feet long, and 300 broad, and will contain about 16,000 cubical fathoms of water, each fathom of 340 cubical feet, which at $6\frac{1}{2}$ gallons each, make 140,317 tuns. The stone which was employed in forming this dock being found exceeding perishable, they now use a kind of flint, which has been lately discovered on the island, than which nothing can be more durable to all appearance.

The RUSSIAN naval power, which was carried to a great height so early as the reign of PETER the GREAT, appears to be sufficient for all the purposes of that empire, and capable of supporting their new conquests on the BALTICK, should the SWEDES ever attempt to retake them by a naval power; though I believe the friendship of the BRITISH nation, as a maritime power, is no unpleasing circumstance to RUSSIA upon this very account. Their fleet consists of 25 ships of the line, and 15 bombketches, fireships and frigates, of about 30 guns each, of which the greatest part are kept in repair; and one, two, or three capital ships are built and launched every year at St. PETERSBURG: but what gives a great weight to their naval strength, is the numbers of their gallies, which carry from 100 to 300 men, of which only 6 or 8 are sailors. These are proper for the BALTICK in the summer; and as they draw but little water, they are formidable objects on an enemy's coast, as the SWEDES experienced in their war with PETER the GREAT. The RUSSIANS are computed to have near 10,000 seamen, of which above half generally live at CRONSTADT, and when employed as carpenters, or about ship affairs, are allowed provisions, and ten copeeks a day. The
harbour

harbour or wet dock, intended for the crown ships, will contain 80 men of war, and in that for the trade 250 merchant ships can be moored; but the latter having the deepest water, is oftentimes preserved for the large ships of war.

The island of CRONSTADT is near 15 miles in circumference, but very barren; the town is computed to have near 25,000 inhabitants, including soldiers and sailors: besides this there are only two or three small villages for fishermen. Here is a palace built by PETER the GREAT, and about 25 large brick houses, but the support of them being expensive, they are left uninhabited. In this place PETER the GREAT had formed a plan of fixing the trade, and designed to cut a canal near 20 miles long on the south side of the gulph, which would have passed through the garden of STRELNA MUSA. The intent of this was to provide a safe passage for barks loaded with the commodities of this country. However this project was hardly practicable, for it would be dangerous for large and heavy laden barks to cross from ORENJENBAUN to CRONSTADT; but the common reason assigned for this great prince's declining this scheme is, that it would have prevented his breeding up the seamen, who are now constantly employed during the summer season in navigating deck'd vessels laden with merchandize from St. PETERSBURG to CRONSTADT.

The 15th, the wind becoming fair, I embarked on the MARIA CONSTANTIA, a small yacht belonging to DANTZIG, and after the ordinary ceremonies of searching the ship, and calling over the passports, we were suffered to depart. The next day we advanced the height of HOGLAND, observing the several islands and rocks on the FINLAND shore. Being almost calm, we had a view of the island the whole day: there are but few parts of it capable of cultivation; however it has a small number of inhabitants on the east coast, as also on the west, who are all miserably poor. The RUSSIAN fleet being then at sea, a sloop belonging to the crown came out with us to examine if all the buoys and flags in the low water soundings, were in proper order.

The LUTHERAN seamen, as well as others of that religion, are great advocates for psalm-singing. I observed they modulate their voices to a

tone consistent with pious thoughts, without that extravagant vociferation practised in some churches among protestants, and very contrary to the burlesque devotion of those who make a discordant babbling without singing at all. This seems to be a reproach to wealthy parishioners, in whose breast it is to rectify this abuse, by giving money to teach young persons to sing. In the several voyages I had made, this was the first in which I discovered any marks of piety among seamen: the strongest profession they generally make of the being of a God, is that of swearing by his name.

The uneasiness I suffered by the sea sickness, made me rejoice at the sight of REVEL, the capital of ESTONIA, where the master was engaged to touch. The 18th in the morning we went on shore, and were conducted to vice-admiral BAUSE, commander of the port, of whom, according to custom, it was necessary to ask permission to enter the town. This place, which is 50 leagues distance from St. PETERSBURG, submitted to PETER the GREAT, by capitulation in October 1710. The plague had then raged with such fury, that of 50,000 inhabitants, not 4000 remained to receive their conquerors. The RUSSIANS did not immediately enter the city, thousands of dead bodies being yet unburied. This place having thus submitted by capitulation, is taxed only with the support of a garrison of 5000 soldiers with quarters, and 3000 seamen, with quarters, fire and candle, which may be reckoned an expence of four rubles a man^b. Within the walls are about 600 houses, containing near 8000 souls: the people seem to be formal and reserved, but live in such great ease and security, that they might sleep with their doors open. Industry prevails so much here, that I was in more than one private family where they spun, dyed, and manufactured both in cotton and wool. Besides the number of inhabitants already mentioned, there is a large suburb indifferently well peopled.

This was formerly a free town, and one of the greatest ports on the BALTIC, NARVA being its only competitor. The RUSSIANS then brought the produce of their own country, as well as that of PERSIA to this mar-

^b Amounts to 68000

ket. The houses, which are of the most durable materials, seem all prepared for the reception of merchandize, the first apartment into which one enters, appearing to be a large warehouse. The trade of this town at present is but small. The country abounds in corn, of which they have generally great magazines. They have formerly exported 14,000 lasts, or 28,000 tuns ENGLISH, of all sorts of grain, which, at a moderate computation, is worth 20 rubles a last. The SWEDES used to take off great quantities, but since the last war, and the jealousy which subsisted between the two crowns, during the space of three years, they had made no sale for exportation, except for the use of the RUSSIAN army. They have also exported 2 or 3000 schippounds* of hemp and flax. The flax coming from about DORPT is equal to that of MARIENBURG.

The imports of this town consist in about 300,000 rubles value in piece-goods and other necessaries for the consumption of the town and province. Also about 2000 lasts, or 6000 tuns of salt, which is consumed in the province for curing meat and fish, and eaten with bread, according to the custom of the poorer sort of people. The price of salt varies in proportion to the quality and quantity, from 33 to 44 dollars, of 80 copecks^d per last of 18 barrels, and in these dollars they keep their accounts. The salt of IVICA^e is so much superior in colour as well as in strength, as to be 15 per cent. heavier in weight than the salt of SETUVAL^f, and the grain so large, and produces so strong a brine, as to be 30 per cent. better in price. They have also salt from the island of MAYO^g, and from CAGLIARI^h; the last in strength is equal to that of LISBON or SETUVAL, but otherwise much inferior.

Great part of this city stands upon an eminence, and commands an extensive prospect, particularly towards the sea. The streets are neither broad nor regular: the houses are lofty, having steep roofs to carry off

* This weight is about 7 per cent. better than the RUSSIAN BERQUEVITZ. and sixpence.

^e An island in the MEDITERRANEAN, near MAJORCA.

PORTUGAL, vulgarly wrote St. UBS.

^g One of the cape DE VERD islands.

^d Three shillings

^f A town in

^h Capital

of SARDINIA.

the snow. The city is defended by outworks, a mote, and a wall about 6 feet thick, and 40 high, with turrets every 60 or 80 yards; the walls seem to be very antient. This town is governed by the LAND RATH, composed of the governor of the town, and twelve gentlemen or noblemen, who are a kind of senate. These take cognizance of all matters relating to the province and to the nobility, and determine all suits by a majority of voices; but there is a liberty of appeal to the college of justice in St. PETERSBURG.

The affairs of the town are governed by a magistracy composed of four burgo-masters, three secretaries, and fourteen magistrates. The town house is an antient building, but contains nothing remarkable except some paintings which are in great esteem, as the judgment of SOLOMON, St. JOHN the baptist beheaded, the trial of SUSANNA, and our saviour's sentence of the adulterers. The city music, consisting of six hands, entertains the populace from the windows of this building every sunday and thursday, from 11 to 12 at noon.

Here are four LUTHERAN churches for the citizens, and one for the peasants of the adjacent country; also two GREEK churches for the use of the RUSSIANS, whose number however is not great. The largest and most superb edifice is the great church of St. OLAV, the antiquity of which I could not learn: the many changes this province has undergone have destroyed their records. The only ornaments of it are a few monuments and ensigns of honour of several noblemen and gentlemen of the province who had been interred in the church. This is also the common burial place for a great part of the town, of which I had a very sensible proof, in the offensive stench that arose from the pavement. The stones over the vaulted sepulchres were of a prodigious size, so that they were mostly broken. The citizens of REVEL are extremely tenacious of their respective properties in the vaults, and entertain a superstitious reverence for the church, as a repository of the dead. I could not help expostulating with my friend who conducted me, on the gross absurdity of injuring the living for the sake of the dead, or rather that the living injure themselves, from a foolish pride, or mere senseless superstition. It

is however too common to see men slaves of custom, violating the freedom of their own minds in a fond presumption of enjoying distinctions above the vulgar, even after death. The antients had their sacred groves for the interment of the dead, which is a custom yet observed in the east, as I have had occasion to mention. Mr. THOMAS CLAYHILLS, a considerable person in this place, and the only ENGLISH merchant, entertained me with great hospitality and politeness, during my short abode in this city, which was only one day.

The 19th, we re embarked, with a gentle gale at north east, and advancing about four leagues, we passed by ROGOVIKOFF, which has an open entrance and deep water, proper for ships of war; these are advantages REVEL does not enjoy, for which reason the RUSSIANS talk of making their chief harbour in this place, but it will require a considerable expence of timber. The 20th we reached the height of GOTLAND: this island is about 70 miles long and 20 broad in the middle part, falling near to a point at both ends. It has 18 towns and villages about four miles distance from each other: it belongs to the SWEDES, and was formerly very rich, but has in time of war been often plundered by their enemies; so that the inhabitants are not in the most flourishing condition. The 22d, we passed by the RUSSIAN fleet in the night. The next day we had hard gales of wind; I was surprized that the master kept no account of his run, but he always guessed right when we should fall in with any particular land. The 24th in the morning, having run near 200 leagues from St. PETERSBURG, we happily arrived in the VISTULA.

C H A P. XXVIII.

A remarkable occurrence at the mouth of the VISTULA. A short account of DANTZIG, particularly the great LUTHERAN church, the arsenal, and fortification. Reflections on the conduct of count MUNICH at DANTZIG.

AT the mouth of the VISTULA we saw a frigate of 20 guns, belonging to the crown of SWEDEN, the captain of which had that morning

morning thought proper to oblige the master of an ENGLISH merchant ship to strike the pendant which he wore. The master thought this an arrogant impertinence of the SWEDE, and acquainted all the other masters of the ENGLISH vessels with what had passed; upon which they all let pendants fly in defiance of the SWEDE. He perhaps was more in the right not to contend with them, than our people to trifle with a distinction which is the prerogative of the nation; I mean the respect paid the royal ships of GREAT BRITAIN, as distinguished by pendants. I could not help reflecting upon what little incidents national animosities often arise, and how critical some conjunctures are, in which a right judgment is required, that authority may neither be despised, nor strained beyond its due limits. After a stormy night and extreme sea sickness, I took my leave of the ship with great satisfaction, in order to pursue my journey by land. The VISTULA has two branches up to DANTZIG, of which the deepest is formed into a canal, and machines are employed to deepen it by removing the mud; but vessels drawing more than 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet must load at the mouth of the river. There is a castle about two ENGLISH miles from the town, which in itself does not appear to be strong, though the shallowness of the water, and the boom which is set every night, answer the purpose of defence for which it was intended. From the castle we went up to the town in a TRECK SCHUYT, which plies at stated hours.

The houses in DANTZIG are for the most part of five stories, which makes the streets appear the narrower, especially as the entrance into the houses is by four or five stone steps, and a balcony, both which make a projection of ten or twelve feet. They are very antient and strong, and preserved clean, after the manner of the HOLLANDERS, though with less nicety; the number and cleanness of their glass-windows, have an elegant effect. Many of the streets are planted with wild chestnut-trees about 30 feet high, which by the spreading of the leaf afford an agreeable shelter. These trees are well known to have a large white flower, which rises pyramidical, and makes a very agreeable appearance: but the inhabitants are more agreeable than the houses. The women are much like

like the ENGLISH in their stature, countenance and air : they have the reputation of being handsome, and indeed they are as much so as any I have seen, except those whom they most resemble. The bad ones make a market of their beauty in the worst manner in the neighbouring countries, where they are remarkably eminent in a profession which is apt to convert beauty into deformity, and health into disease. Women of distinction affect the manner of the POLES, so that the most respectful way of saluting a lady, is to kiss her hand, if one does not chuse to go so low as the hem of her pettycoat, as practised by the common POLES. Thus what is politeness here, is an affront at NAPLES, as the young GERMAN lately experienced, whose wig was ruffled by the fair hand of a lady.

In this place is an ENGLISH factory. I was received with great marks of kindness and hospitality by Mr. GILBERT ROBERTS, and his nephew Mr. WILLIAM ROBERTS, and with no less politeness by Mr. GIBSON, who was lately charged with the affairs of the BRITISH court. They live here much after the manner of ENGLAND, and have regular clubs. I was very agreeably lodged in the BEGINE STRASS, at a house frequented by several persons of the best distinction, where we were often entertained with POLISH music performed by JEWS.

It is easy to observe a republican spirit prevail in this great trading city, and some efforts have been made to establish this form of government; but the protection of the crown of POLAND, under which it now is, and the animosities and intrigues of some of the citizens, rather throw them back than advance them in this point. I found the people here in great discord, occasioned by some arbitrary measures of the magistracy, which had been opposed by the burghers. The referring the affair to the court at WARSAW would infallibly subject both parties to a heavy expence, and weaken that degree of independency which they had long enjoyed. As this city has been more than once in danger of becoming the prey of a conqueror, such feuds are so much more to the dishonour of the inhabitants.

* This affair was at length settled, but not without the expence of some thousands.

This town is above three ENGLISH miles in circumference, and well fortified with lofty works, and a double ditch of water; the part where it is weakest on the west side, can be easily laid under water. These works require 12 or 1500 men to perform the common duty of a guard; but the town at present cannot afford above 700. By the civil behaviour of these soldiers to strangers, one may easily observe a distinction between troops in the immediate pay of citizens, and of those under crowned heads.

Among the curiosities which engaged my attention most, was the great LUTHERAN church, which they reckon to be above 300 years old. The wars of GERMANY which at length established protestantism in this city, have not however much changed the face of this church, for it was agreed by treaties to leave it in the same manner as in the times of popery, as to crucifixes, images, and pictures, &c. They shew a very curious piece of painting on wood, being a representation of the resurrection, done by VAN EYCK, about the year 1400. It is much admired by all connoisseurs, particularly for the hands and faces. They say it is one of the first performances in oil colours: the colouring, by the strength of the varnish, is yet perfect, and so delicate that it will bear the nicest inspection. Our Saviour is here represented in judgment, with the sword of justice, and the laurel of peace. On each side of him are ranged the apostles; and below him, as upon the earth, the archangel MICHAEL in armour, supporting a ballance. On the side which preponderates, is a man with his throat cut, on the other the perpetrator of this act, whom the devils are ready to receive. They are supposed to have been two brothers, who were both painters, and that envy induced one to destroy the other. On the right side of the archangel MICHAEL are the blessed, of whom a great number are entering in procession into the gates of heaven, represented by all the most enlivened embellishments of architecture. The angels are hovering over the architraves of the columns; the serenity of the countenances on one side, and on the other the horror and despair, with the variety of figures of devils in hideous forms, render this piece very entertaining.

The arsenal contains a good collection of arms, but as in most places of the like nature, it has also many which are old and useless. They pretend to be masters of 150 large brass cannon, of which I saw some said to weigh each 15,000 lbs. The arms of this city are two crosses under a ducal crown supported by two lions.

Within the double works which defend the town, is a spacious walk, and a road for coaches; my curiosity carried me to the exterior parts to view the hillock, under which are deposited the bodies of near 5000 RUSSIANS, who in one morning fell by an obstinate attack commanded by count MUNICH. The DANTZIGERS in 1734, having espoused the cause of STANISLAUS in his competition with AUGUSTUS elector of SAXONY, procured a garrison of foreign troops to the number of 10,000 men. General LACY, who commanded the RUSSIAN troops which were sent in behalf of AUGUSTUS, knew the situation of the town, and that the point in view by no means required a great hazard of the RUSSIAN army, as the DANTZIGERS must necessarily submit and abandon STANISLAUS. The count however represented LACY to the RUSSIAN court as timorous and inactive, and desired the command of the army, engaging to take the town immediately; he was accordingly sent thither, and made the attack with as great fury, as he did afterwards in the TURKISH war at OTCHAKOW. In this attack at DANTZIG he was not constrained by any necessity, as in the other case: without the least breach being made, he marched his men over a ditch against a work near 30 feet high, almost perpendicular, and against a numerous and well ordered garrison; so that of a very considerable body only about half a dozen men ever mounted the rampart, and these were driven back immediately, the ditch being filled with dead bodies. This general has performed many feats of arms, and acquired a distinguished reputation; but it is generally thought he wanted one quality which is essential to the character of a great general, as well as a great man, I mean humanity and tenderness for his soldiers. They say that STANISLAUS was so much alarmed at these fierce attacks, that he was apprehensive of falling into the hands of the enemy, and that an

old POLISH lord obtained a pass for himself and his lady of the RUSSIAN general, and then gave it to the king, to whom he committed the care of his wife, by which means STANISLAUS made his escape without interruption.

C H A P. XXIX.

A general view of the trade of DANTZIG. The nature of their imports and exports. An account of the coins, weights and measures in use in that city.

THE most considerable part of the trade of DANTZIG consists in corn, which the POLANDERS bring down the VISTULA in large struzes or barks, which carry in bulk about 50 tuns ENGLISH. These barks generally come down annually in very plentiful years to the number of 1600. They reckon by lasts of 11 ENGLISH quarters; the grain is small, but the red sort often sells for 180 POLISH gilders the last, and rye about half this value. As these cargoes are often exposed to the weather, it is a custom to spread their sails on the banks of the river, and dry their corn on them. They also export bees wax annually to near 1000 schippounds, for which they often get the price of 300 gilders per schippound. Narrow linnens of about 21 inches broad, and sacking of different qualities for bags and imbalage, are also exported to a great amount^k; also pot-ash^l, weed-ash^m, and pearl-ash, this last is calcined, and takes its name from its colour. Pipe-staves are also a considerable article, and oak-plank, of which the greatest part is 4 inches thick, 16 to 20 inches broad, and 50 feet longⁿ. This species of timber will not stand the weather so well as ENGLISH oak, but under the water is esteemed equal.

They import iron from SWEDEN, to the quantity of 1500 or 2000 tuns, but of the woollens and other manufactures of ENGLAND, an inconsiderable quantity^o. The laws of commerce are very strict to pre-

^k Some say near 100,000 l.

^l Sold then at 50 f. per schippound.

^m Sold at 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ f. per

barrel of 360 lbs.

ⁿ Of this near 30,000 l. value.

^o See vol. I. p. 56.

vent one foreigner from selling to another, or to resell to any other burgher than to the person he bought of, which must necessarily cramp the trade very much. PETER the GREAT made a law to the same purpose for St. PETERSBURG, and it is yet unrepealed; but the government knows very well, that to enforce the execution must be extremely prejudicial, and contrary to the maxims of all wise states. Even in DANTZIG in the time of the FAIR, which fell out during my stay, all ranks and degrees of people are admitted free, to sell what, and to whom they please.

POLAND abounds in JEWS, said to be of the tribe of BENJAMIN: whatever tribe they are of, they appear as despicable as any people in the world; yet their acuteness and industry have given them an establishment, in which it is the interest both of the lords and the clergy to support them; for the trade which they carry on enables them to pay an interest of 10 per cent. per annum for large sums.

They keep their accounts here in gilders, grosch and phennigen, a ducat passing for 8 gilders 6 grosch.

THE CURRENT MONEY HERE IS

3	Shillings, or 18 phennigen	— — —	1 grosch.
3	Grosch	— — — — —	1 ditkin.
2	Ditkins	— — — — —	1 fixer.
3	Sixers	— — — — —	1 tymph.
7½	Grosch	— — — — —	1 ach de halber.
4	Ach de halbers	— — — — —	1 gilder.

A current dollar is 3 gilders, and a specie dollar 4 gilders.

Here are also half, whole, 2 gilders, and 4 gilders pieces, of which the last is a FRENCH crown of LEWIS XIV. esteemed the best money current, when they have not been in the hands of the JEWS. POLISH coin sells from 1 to 2 per cent. advance. The exchange is usually 280 to 290 grosch per pound FLEMISH BANCO. KOENIGSBURG draws in current money, 1 per mil, according to custom, being deducted.

WEIGHT IN DANTZIG.

32 Lote — — 1 pound.

24 Pounds — — 1 small stone.

34 Dittos — — 1 large ditto.

120 Dittos — — 1 centner.

320 Dittos — — 1 schippound, or 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ hundreds ENGLISH.

The weight is there 4 per cent. lighter than the ENGLISH. A last of corn is 60 sheffelt, but of malt 90.

LONG MEASURE.

12 Inches — — 1 foot.

2 Feet — — 1 ell.

102 Ells DANTZIG make 50 ells ENGLISH.

6 Dittos — — 5 BRABANT ells.

The whole amount of the trade here is ordinarily computed twelve millions of current dollars, on which the duties are about 7 or 8 per cent. One half is called the revenues of the crown, the other the property of the city. This duty is paid in alberts rix dollars of 4 gilders.

C H A P. XXX.

The author leaves DANTZIG, and travels through POMERANIA to BERLIN.

HAVING passed a week agreeably in DANTZIG and provided a chariot, I took leave of my friends. The territories of this city westward extend between 2 and 3 GERMAN miles^p: I passed by the convent of OLIVA, which is two miles from DANTZIG, and famous for the treaty of 1660, when CHARLES GUSTAVUS^q of SWEDEN had made a conquest of almost all POLAND^r. The country thus far is agree-

^p These computed GERMAN miles are in some places 4, in others 5 miles ENGLISH: the miles which I mention in the prosecution of this work are GERMAN miles. ^q His son CHARLES XI. made the peace just after the death of his father.

able, though the soil seems to be very mean. We passed through a small tract of POLISH PRUSSIA, where the road is exceeding bad, and the inhabitants poor to a degree of misery.

At DUNEMORSE, which is five miles from DANTZIG, we entered PRUSSIAN POMERANIA, where the face of things begins to change much for the better. From thence we travelled on to WUTZEN, five miles farther : from thence we advanced into PRUSSIAN POMERANIA to LUPPOW, and passing through several forests of shrub oaks, we proceeded three miles further to STOLPE. This is a small city, but full of houses, and surrounded with corn and meadow lands, where the inhabitants seem to wear their chains with great cheerfulness and elegance. The common people have a little smattering of the FRENCH language. In this place were quartered three squadrons, each of 100 HUSSARS. In entering, as well as going out of this town, I was questioned from whence I came, my business, and where I was going : this is practised to all travellers in all the towns through the PRUSSIAN dominions ; and as it is performed in a regular manner, it serves, among other good politics, to support a greater sense of watchfulness and military discipline.

From STOLPE to SCHLAVE is three miles, over an open pleasant country of arable lands indifferently well inhabited ; but the soil through all this country is sandy, so that it can produce but slender crops. The peasants however enjoy the advantage of working their lands with less labour. In this place were quartered 100 HUSSARS.

From SCHLAVE to COESLIN is five miles, the road being agreeable in all respects except the sands. This place was not many years since burnt down, and is now rebuilt with elegance and regularity, but with great parsimony, which indeed the circumstances of the people render absolutely necessary. In the market place is a stone statue of the late king. From COESLIN to KOERLIN is three miles, and thence to PINNOW four.

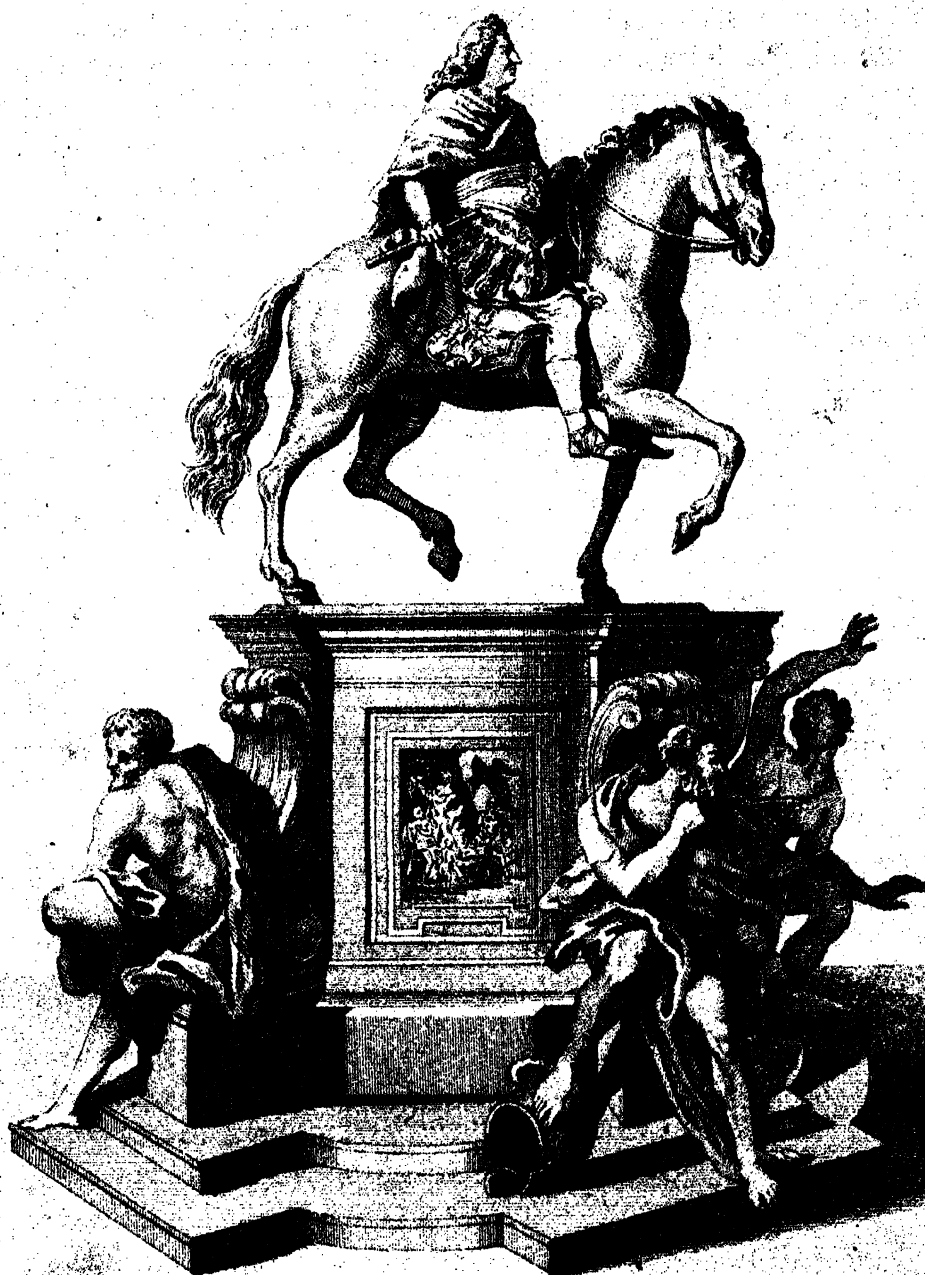
The 2d of August I arrived at NEUGERTEN, 4 miles further ; here I found no HUSSARS as in the other towns, but a company of dragoons. The weather was disagreeably hot, or my inclinations would have carried

me to STETIN, the trade of which is considerably increased since the present king came to the throne. Merchandize is from thence carried up the ODER to BRESLAU and other places. I left it about five miles to the south west, and passing through MASSOU, I travelled four long miles to STARGARD, the metropolis of PRUSSIAN POMERANIA. In this place there is a cathedral church of great antiquity, built of brick: there are also three reformed churches, in one of which the service is performed in FRENCH every sunday. Here all appeals are made by the several districts of the country, not under the immediate jurisdiction of the magistracies of the different towns. In this place was quartered a regiment of infantry, commanded by prince MAURICE D'ANHALT, which made a fine appearance. From thence to PYRITZ is three miles. This town is surrounded by an ancient fortification, and has a very large brick church; here were quartered five companies of the BRUNSWICK regiment.

The 3d, I arrived at KOENINSBURG, a small town on the ODER, it has a very pompous church, embellished by the late king at a considerable expence, with a fine organ, and several images of the apostles and angels. From thence I travelled three miles to ANGERMUND, passing over the ODER on a bridge of timber. On the north bank is a stately palace and garden of the margrave of SCHWEDT, with a very neat town of the same name adjacent. The avenue to the bridge and town is thrown up between meadow lands, paved and planted on each side with willows, as the other side is with wild chesnuts, which intercept the view of corn and tobacco fields. Near this place I passed by the bodies of two malefactors who had been broken on the wheel: I observed near every town a gallows erected on an eminence; but the good government of this country renders executions very rare.

The palace of the margrave makes the more striking figure, as it is the only object which has the appearance of grandeur or taste, in the road quite from DANTZIG; for in this country, men of family and fortune all flock to court, and the great article of agriculture, which is the source of their support, derives no improvement from their personal attendance.

The



The Statue of Frederick the 1.st at Berlin

The 4th, I went from ANGERMUND to NEUST EBERSWALD, three miles : the roads are extremely heavy with sand. From thence to BERNAU three miles : here, as in NEUST EBERSWALD, were five companies of soldiers. This last place has a very large church built with brick, said to be 800 years old. From BERNAU to BERLIN is three miles ; near this capital the face of things improves, but in no eminent degree : here are no inclosures to beautify the prospect, nor soil to exhibit that perpetual verdure which ENGLAND enjoys. From DANTZIG to BERLIN is 57 GERMAN miles, which are ordinarily computed equal to 250 ENGLISH miles.

C H A P. XXXI.

The author arrives at BERLIN. Great preparations for amusement. Several learned men at the PRUSSIAN court. A short account of the palace. The king's library and cabinet of curiosities. ROMISH chapel. Palace of MON BIJOUX, &c.

THE entrance into BERLIN is airy and elegant ; the streets are regular and clean, and the houses uniform. In going towards the palace on the PONT-NEUF, or new bridge of stone which is over the SPREE, is the equestrian statue of FREDERICK WILLIAM the GREAT, which is esteemed a piece of exquisite workmanship ; it was erected by FREDERICK I. king of PRUSSIA, who also built the palace, the magnificence of which strikes very much. A soldier attended me from the gates to my lodging, according to custom, in order to examine my baggage.

Amusement being the idol of mankind, especially in courts and great towns, I was not surprized to find this city full of busy, pleasant countenances. The king was preparing some grand spectacles for the entertainment of FREDERICK margrave of BARNEITH, who is married to his eldest sister, and of FREDERICK WILLIAM, margrave of SCHWEDT, who is married to his fourth sister ; these two princes and their consorts were the king's guests.

There were several persons here whose fame for learning and polite literature has been spread over EUROPE: among these was VOLTAIRE, whose allegiance as a subject, the king of FRANCE has yielded to his PRUSSIAN majesty. The liberal praises he had bestowed on the ENGLISH nation were now suppressed, as not likely to advance his interest at the PRUSSIAN COURT⁹. Baron POLNITZ, author of the memoirs¹ known by his name, was also there; likewise PELLOUTIER, author of the history of the CELTES¹. But no person among the literati is more amiable than doctor LIEBERKYN, with whom I had the honour of being intimately acquainted; he is distinguished for his great skill in physic and natural philosophy, which he learnt mostly in ENGLAND and HOLLAND. He has also studied anatomy with indefatigable industry, and with a large and unpromising hand, has performed the nicest things imaginable in the fine parts of the body, by injecting them with red wax; but his disinterested practice, the humanity and tenderness which he has always shewn his patients, and his great charity to the poor, render him the minion of the people: notwithstanding this they do not reward his merits, even making allowance for the great difference between ENGLAND and PRUSSIA. As a proof of the esteem in which the doctor is at court, though in reality no courtier: the king speaking of him once to the FRENCH minister, used these words, "You may speak ill of me, and possibly be heard favourably, but no body will hear LIEBERKYN's name mentioned with reproach." Among many persons of distinguished abilities, the king has brought from PARIS Mr. SCHMIDT, one of his own subjects, who in the art of engraving has hardly a superior.

With regard to the curiosities of BERLIN, the first object that strikes one is the king's palace¹, one of the sides of the interior square of this building is no ways equal to the rest, being the old apartment once inhabited by the king's grandfather, which has not been yet rebuilt, as was intended, when the plan of this superb structure was formed. The walls of the grand front are

⁹ He has however made honourable mention of the ENGLISH, in his late piece called the age of LEWIS XIV. ¹ These memoirs give a good idea of the persons most distinguished in EUROPEAN courts, 20 years ago. ¹ Antient BRITONS, who transplanted themselves from this island into BRITAINY, and to this day retain much the same language as the WELSH. ¹ They call it the CHATEAU, or castle.

not less than 7 or 8 feet thick, so that the rooms not receiving sufficient light from the windows, are shown to great disadvantage.

'Tis a pleasure to observe the great œconomy of this court, as well that which has prevailed in former times, as in the present reign: the apartments in the palace are adorned with silver in every shape, but so massy that the fashion of it comes to no more than 7 per cent. so that about four millions of dollars might be realized with great ease whenever the exigencies of the state should require. Here is the picture of CHARLES V. and his empress, the frames of which are of silver, each weighing six centners^a: and there is a grand crown lustre of 17 centners. There are also pieces of three, four or five centners, to the number of above 150; likewise a music gallery adorned in a grand taste all of silver; and one end of a large apartment for about 20 feet high and as many broad, is richly furnished with gilded plate. All this is merely or parade; the court has other services of plate for use.

The king's particular apartments, though elegant, have nothing extraordinary, the prevailing taste is white stucco and gilding. The picture of signiora BARBERINI is in several of the chambers, more I believe for the love he bore her as a fine dancer than as a woman; for she no sooner gave herself the airs peculiar to people of her profession, than he convinced her that his heart was possessed by objects of a more important nature, leaving her to pursue her own pleasure. Several of the private apartments have tables, with pens, ink, and loose papers, which indicate the dispatch of business, more than the regularity and elegance one naturally expects to find in a royal palace. The hall has several good paintings, and the grand salloon is adorned with four pieces of tapestry, representing our saviour driving out the money-changers, his washing of feet, the draught of fish, and his last supper. The throne in the audience chamber is of velvet, embroidered with gold, in a grand taste, but not loaded with ornaments. There is nothing extraordinary in any of the apartments of the old quarter of the palace, except a bed of crimson velvet, which has above two hundred cyphers with electoral crowns, all

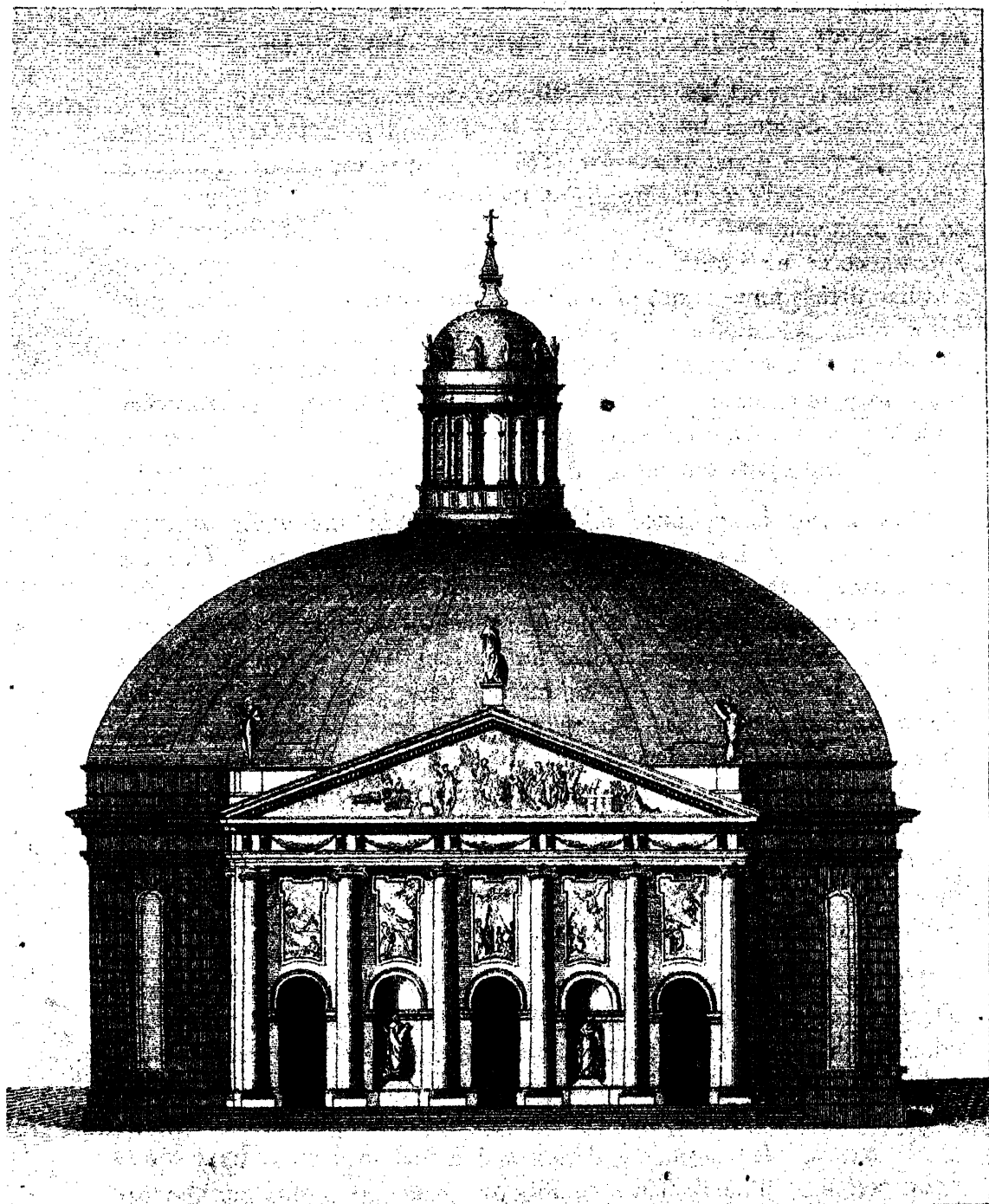
^a A centner is 110 pounds.

set with pearls; the chairs in the room are in the same taste. In this bed it is usual to lodge persons of the royal blood on their marriage night. The arsenal forms one side of the palace, and is an elegant structure, but it has rather too great a profusion of ornaments: it is said to be well furnished, however as great part of the arms were sent into SILESIA, and I must have gone through some troublesome ceremonies, I declined visiting it.

From the palace I went to the library, which would be deemed a mean apartment for a common school. Those who make the appearance of gentlemen have the liberty to read there from ten in the morning till two in the afternoon. Here is a collection of bibles, to the number of 500 of different languages and editions. SAURENS paraphrase of the bible in FRENCH is also here in five volumes folio, completed by BEAUSOBRE in the UNITED PROVINCES; it has fine copper plates, and is a work much esteemed. The first volume has the arms of ENGLAND, having been presented by king GEORGE I. to his late PRUSSIAN majesty. Among many others they show the identical bible which CHARLES I. used when he was beheaded; it was given as a kind of relic by doctor JUXTON to the elector of BRANDENBURG. There is also the first bible ever printed in AMERICA, and one of 1450, the first printed in the GERMAN language. They also show the khoran in manuscript in a small octagon, the character so minute, and the paper so thin as to form only the bulk of one inch and a half; besides several folio manuscripts on religion, morals, politics, &c. said to have been composed by cardinal MAZARIN.

The cabinet of curiosities contains very few distinguished rarities; the most remarkable, as they appeared to me, are the following: a marble cupid much admired: two cannon balls, which meeting in the air, the warmth of the iron^a, and the violence of their motion, united them together: an oak with stag's horns; the stag having been hunted with great violence, ran his horns into a young tree, and there expired; and the tree growing, the horns at length appeared as a natural production.

^a Perhaps they were made hot, as is sometimes practised, if it is really fact that they met and joined.



The Romish Chapel at Berlin

As there is no art but the king affects some knowledge of it, the new chapel was designed by himself: it is neat and commodious, but too low to be either grand or elegant. The pulpit is in the modern grotesque taste, and too lofty for the height of the building. The roof is supported by a double row of pillars, which dividing the chapel increase the appearance of its length. This place is intended as a royal sepulchre, and has already some tombs of the king's predecessors. The ROMISH chapel so much talked of in all protestant countries, was not near compleated, the fund being almost exhausted. As we make our hospitals more grand than our palaces, the ROMANISTS generally make their churches built by charity, the most magnificent of any other. This structure is not large, but richly ornamented.

MON EIJOU is appointed for the residence of the queen mother, who is a sister of his majesty the king of GREAT BRITAIN. This is a little palace on the SPREE, the apartments of which are small, but elegantly furnished. There is a pretty gallery of blue and white CHINA porcelain, and an apartment called the kitchen, with several rich pieces of SAXON porcelain. The queen mother being now in her 64th year, spends a great part of her time in her study, and has a good collection of books. The object that strikes the eye most in this little palace, is the picture of a lady, called LA BELLE PARISSIENE; her adventures may be best known by the novel under the same name. It is certain her charms captivated the heart of a great prince, whose memory is revered by the BRITISH nation. The gardens of this palace are small, but proportioned to the size of the building.

The most elegant modern edifice is the opera house; the scenes are splendid, and of an exquisite taste, but the want of a painted cieling and other standing ornaments, render the interior part less pompous than the exterior. The pillars which support the roof, and are calculated to throw the whole into a grand salloon, are apt to obstruct the movements of the scenes. It has three galleries, and is reckoned to contain above 2000 persons. The orchestra consists of about 50 musicians, the pay of which is moderate. The king is more liberal to the ITALIAN singers.

ers, of whom he had nine or ten; ASTRUA and SALEMBENE were the most distinguished; but neither of them will amass a ministerial estate, as some of their profession have done in OTHER COUNTRIES, which however are now grown wiser. This amusement is entirely supported at the king's expence, and in some degree rendered subservient to the ends of his government. Among other good politics, he has learnt the art of rendering himself acceptable more by a polite address than a profusion of expence. When ASTRUA first sang before him, he asked what her salary was, she told him 3,500 dollars, "Indeed, said he, madam, such singing as yours well deserves 4000," and accordingly he ordered this appointment.

The extreme delight which the king takes in music, and the great personal knowledge he has of that science, have carried this entertainment to a great perfection. The dresses, the scenes, and the machinery in the opera of PHAETON, were indeed most elegant and magnificent. In the upper galleries on each side of the stage six trumpeters are seated, who salute the queen consort and the queen mother when they enter the house or retire, with this martial music, which heightens the pomp and cheerfulness of the entertainment; but the king himself who acts in a sphere superior to the rules of pompous ceremony, excuses this salutation to his own person.

I have already observed, that this season was devoted to amusement, which lasted about ten days; in this time several operas, concerts, and masquerades were exhibited; but the most distinguished was the CARROUSEL^w, the expence of which amounted to 70,000 crowns. This splendid show fell in with the taste of several young persons of distinction then at court, and did not much affect the king's pocket. The institution of tilts and tournaments, seems calculated to raise an emulation to excel in horsemanship, and in the use of the spear and sword; which is indeed promoting a sense of military glory. This entertainment consisted of quadrilles, or four companies, in the dresses of ROMANS,

^w LEWIS XIV. made a splendid entertainment of this sort in 1662, in the habits of TURKS, INDIANS, ROMANS, PERSIANS and AMERICANS, of which VOLTAIRES makes mention.

CARTHAGINIANS, GRECIANS and PERSIANS, all mounted on horses richly caparisoned in the same manner, each party being composed of six combatants; the first was conducted by AUGUSTUS WILLIAM, the prince of PRUSSIA, the other three by his two brothers*, and the margrave the king's cousin. They had also the arms of the several nations, and were followed each by a band of music proper to the respective countries, and habited and attended after the same manner. The procession of the whole made a splendid figure; though in my judgment it was only of the theatrical kind, for I saw but little of the pride and beauty of horses, or horsemanship; nor was the area allotted for this entertainment half big enough. What rendered the first trial ridiculous, was its being exhibited by the light of lamps, the greatest part of which were blown out by the wind: however this inconvenience was remedied in the repetition which was shown in broad day, and the prizes allotted to those who were judged to perform best, without any other bloodshed, than that of prince LOBKOWITZ cutting his toe with his own sword.

A mock battle was afterwards fought, which was incomparably a more grand entertainment. Four thousand men having marched out in the morning early about a GERMAN mile from the city, near the village BRITZ, were followed by another detachment of the same number: the HUSSARS and CUIRASSIERS had several skirmishes on the way. Both armies plied their field artillery warmly; at length a rivulet was passed, a wood was attacked, and the enemy driven from it to a village, which was carried sword in hand. After this they went through all the various evolutions and exercises of both cavalry and infantry, as might be supposed in a real engagement, changing their positions on a tract of about two ENGLISH miles, during the space of three hours. At this show almost the whole city of BERLIN was present.

* FREDERICK HENRY LEWIS, and AUGUSTUS FERDINAND, and FREDERICK WILLIAM margrave of BRANDENBURG SCHWEDT.

C H A P. XXXII.

Reflections on courting the acquaintance of the great. Remarks on the conduct of ENGLISH travellers abroad. Some account of field marshal KEITH. A short description of the city of BERLIN. The number, industry, and temper of the inhabitants. Their coins, exchange, &c.

THE conduct of princes as well as of private men, is subject to be directed by personal prejudices: of this we have an instance in the disagreement between the courts of LONDON and BERLIN. It was observed that lord MALTON^b, who arrived in BERLIN at this time, did not receive that distinguished civility which was due to his quality and merit; if we measure it by that familiar conversation, which is usual at the PRUSSIAN court from the king himself. The queen mother was indeed extremely courteous to his lordship, as well as to Mr. WATSON, and not less to their companion, the agreeable and humane colonel FORRESTER.

This young nobleman being remarkably sober, and his character in all respects very amiable, I thought it my duty, especially as he was in the same inn, to pay him and his companions my respects, and they were so polite as to return my visit. I cannot say however that I approve of the conduct of those who are forward in courting great acquaintances, of whom they stand in no need; on the contrary this incident afforded me an occasion of reflecting what strangers some men are to their own happiness and dignity, who are contented to be little among the great, in hopes of being great among the little, especially such as launch into a dangerous expence on this account. Men of high birth and large fortunes, who are also distinguished for politeness of manners and improved understandings, become indeed a kind of oracles; but the enjoyment of their company by persons in another sphere, should be considered as a feast not sought for, but to which we might occasionally accept an invitation. Gentle passions and moderate enjoyments in the track of religion and common sense, are things always within our reach, and certainly productive of the end we aim at. What a folly is it then to run hazards

^b Now marquis of ROCKINGHAM.

in search of the mere shadow of felicity? The generality of those who figure in the highest ranks of life, by an almost necessary consequence have their titles and estates ingrafted into their thoughts; nor can they with more consistency converse with those who are neither dignified with titles, nor equal to them in fortune, than the learned can be supposed fond of the conversation of the illiterate; though there are doubtless many exceptions. Men who know the world and themselves, should consider how far the admonition^y of a very wise man on this subject is as true now as it was 2000 years ago. Under absolute monarchs, the nobles, though slaves, partake of a despotic authority, and are often disposed to insolence; when the proudest noble in a free country can be better held within bounds. In such a nation one common freedom creates a certain equality, which ought to be deemed more valuable than the distinctions of fortune or title. Though the admonition I have just referred to, seems to teach a lesson for the ordinary oeconomy of human life, yet it ought by no means to create any general prejudices; because persons of the highest distinction differ from others of the same rank, in probity, politeness, and humanity, as men of lower conditions do from persons of their level. The essential quality of characters depends not on titles or great estates; these indeed, like a rich jewel set with art and elegance, give virtue a lustre, which in the eyes of common mortals, would not appear so well through any other medium; therefore they are useful to the society in this respect, as well as from the due subordination arising from them. I remember an advertisement for the sale of a house, which the proprietor thought to recommend by its neighbourhood to a lord; whilst another published his, as entitled to a preference, because it was twenty miles distant from the habitation of any nobleman. Perhaps they were both equally mistaken if they intended to give any instruction.

With regard to ENGLISH travellers, it has been generally remarked, that few people in the world are more deficient in politeness and mutual regards as countrymen, when they accidentally meet abroad; whilst the scots shew a particular affection to each other, sometimes even to excite a jealousy a little injurious to the common interest of both nations.

^y Thirteenth chapter of Ecclesiasticus.

We are indeed but one and the same people : I am not able to separate the idea by any other reflection than that which I have just mentioned. Their conduct naturally arises from their circumstances, as being the lesser nation of the two, and not so affluent in point of wealth. It ought to be presumed also, that when the distinction shall be more lost, their conduct at large will be as generous as it has been political. We may hope that industry and arts will be encouraged amongst them so as to render them in no respects inferior to the inhabitants of the other parts of the island. It is plain they excel in a national affection for each other : nor do their colder regions disqualify them for friendship, as I know by experience.

As to the indifference of the ENGLISH, it may arise from a national pride, from a reserve peculiar to us, or perhaps from that general commerce we have in all parts of the world, which makes us always at home, or in fine from a jealousy of making acquaintance abroad which we do not chuse to continue at home. Whatever the cause or effect may be, it seems a duty upon the principle of national policy, to take every favourable opportunity of shewing a proper respect abroad to those who are most distinguished at home ; for this plain reason, that foreigners must conceive a mean opinion of our union and national love, from whence our importance is supposed to be in some measure derived, when they observe that we show no sort of regard for one another.

I had more than once the mortification of hearing stories to the disadvantage of some of our countrymen of fortune who travel for improvement. I knew an instance of one who was recommended to a certain merchant of very great consequence : this youth came to him late at night, and, with a certain fierceness peculiar to young men who have more money than politeness, demanded the adjustment of his accounts. The merchant very courteously desired him to wait till the morning, “ no, “ says the young man, I must go instantly out of this damn’d country “ of HOLLAND, for I hate the DUTCH most damnably.” The merchant, who was himself a DUTCHMAN, said to him, “ Pray, Sir, why “ do you hate the DUTCH, have you any particular reason ?” “ No, re-
plied

“plied the young gentleman, but I hate them damnably; I believe the “hatred was born with me.” But in opposition to this instance, we must do ourselves the justice to observe, that no nation produces such a contrast of characters as ENGLAND; for many of our travellers are distinguished abroad as men of learning and humanity, possessed of true politeness and generosity of spirit, above the people of any country in the world.

The custom of BERLIN, joined to the motive of a small acquaintance in RUSSIA, induced me to wait on field marshal KEITH, the governor of that city, who received me with that politeness for which he has been always distinguished. This nobleman’s leaving the RUSSIAN service, and going into that of PRUSSIA made some noise in the political world. To enter into the reasons of his conduct is not my business; but it seems very easy to reconcile, if we consider his genius and principles, and the previous assurances which it is probable he received, of that kind reception which he has experienced in BRANDENBURG. It is presumed that he is not so happy as to entertain the same sentiments in every respect of the lawful sovereign of this country², as every unprejudiced person must adopt, whether at home or abroad; yet from his own natural good sense and discernment, he treated the rebellion, even at its height, as immeasurably rash and extravagant, and those unhappy men who embarked in it, as plunging themselves into a gulph of misery: a truth which they very soon felt, the least wretched of them seeing themselves, as they ever will see themselves, the dupes of their foreign pretended friends.

I have already mentioned the conduct of count MUNICH: his desperate enterprize at OTCHAKOW was warmly opposed by field marshal KEITH, who then served in the RUSSIAN army under that general, and was ordered upon the attack: a lucky ball on the first onset taking his knee, he was lamed on this occasion, and carried off that scene of slaughter. This general enters deeply and faithfully into the service of his master the king, in commercial as well as military affairs; and the

king knows how to acknowledge his services. Whether he was a secret spring of the EMBDEN scheme, as some say, I know not; but it is certain he is a great encourager of manufactories. During this visit I had an opportunity of seeing a specimen of PRUSSIAN military discipline: a common soldier, without any notice, came into the field marshal's presence, and presenting his arms in form, delivered a paper. The field marshal bid me take notice of the exactness of their discipline, which he himself confirmed by his instant obedience of the summons.

Several incidents having given mutual offence to the courts of St. PETERSBURG and BERLIN, many in both countries frightened themselves with a notion that these two powers would engage in a war, especially if the SWEDES should fall into the same ideas as the PRUSSIANS; but this seemed to be but mere talk. The RUSSIANS would hardly make any offensive war against and the king of PRUSSIA; and this prince is too wise to engage in a war, where he has no prospect of advantage. Besides there is a moral certainty that such a step would bring the house of AUSTRIA on his back, whilst the RUSSIANS might in the issue be too hard for him, by the superiority of their numbers, even though they should lose a battle or two. The PRUSSIAN dominions are open and unguarded, and might easily be laid waste by the TARTARS and COSSACKS in the RUSSIAN service: for this and other like reasons it may be, that his PRUSSIAN majesty supports so numerous a body of HUSSARS.

The city of BERLIN has a regular fortification, though not very formidable. The frequent wars which happen in GERMANY seem to render it an essential article to fortify the capitals of sovereign princes, not only as the residence of their courts, but as the place in which a very great portion of their wealth centers.

Strangers remark, that BERLIN is a little PARIS; the FRENCH language being almost as well understood as the GERMAN. This city abounds in elegant structures and regular streets, and is computed near one third as big as LONDON, yet it has not above one eighth part of the inhabitants; from

from whence it may be easily accounted why graft is found growing in many of their capital streets. The inhabitants were formerly computed at 80,000; now they are reckoned 110,000, including the garrison of 10,000: all the PRUSSIAN dominions, SILESIA excepted, hardly contain two millions of people.

This acquisition of 20,000 inhabitants and subjects is imputed to the good conduct of the king, in granting privileges and lands, sufficient to induce many to establish themselves in this capital; and considering this country is so extremely despotic, and military, without any foreign trade, and surrounded by neighbours who want little or nothing of them, manufactories here may be said to flourish. They make woollen cloth sufficient for the army and great part of their home consumption; and SILESIA is well known to produce a great supply of linnens, which are sent all over EUROPE and also to AMERICA. Their export of woollen cloth to RUSSIA, was once considerable, but at present is very small. So many thousands of FRENCH manufacturers having found protection in this country, gold and silver lace, and wrought silks are hardly to be bought in any place so cheap: they talk of prohibiting those of FRANCE.

Humanly speaking, nothing is superior to industry. We often find that things which appear contrary to nature, are brought to perfection by perseverance and labour. Indeed I was surprized to learn, that the ENVIRONS of BERLIN produced 400 lbs. weight of raw silk; and some of the courtiers who espoused commercial schemes most, flattered themselves that the climate would admit of a large production of this kind; to me it appears next to impossible: and though the king has taken the manufactories of silk into his own hands; still this does not promise that success which they expect. Some of the people most interested this way, endeavoured to persuade me, that whilst we were debating in ENGLAND about the reduction of duties on CHINA raw silk, the FRENCH had taken their measures to monopolize this commodity in that empire^b; and it was

* The event seems to prove that they were very much mistaken.

not difficult to discern from hence how much they incline to the FRENCH interest, whilst the FRENCH secretly wish to see the wings of the PRUSSIAN eagle clipt.

The exchange in BERLIN is ordinarily about 134 of their dollars for 100 rix dollars in AMSTERDAM. They keep their accounts in dollars, goede groschin, and phenigen.

18 Phenigen — — — — — 1 goede groschin.

24 Goede groschin — — — — — 1 dollar.

They reckon 5 dollars to a louis d'or, and 6 dollars 1 ENGLISH guinea; 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ dollars 1 ducat full weight.

The people here were extremely distressed with variety of coins, some of which were very base; but the king has found means to run off a great part of it, and establish the currency of his own coin only, in order to have a large supply for the benefit of trade, and the security of his subjects property.

C H A P. XXXIII.

Reflections on the characters of princes. Early genius of the king of PRUSSIA. A general view of his disposition. A description of his person and manner of life. Some familiar stories relating to him. His great taste and delight in music.

IT is a task delicate, if not daring, to attempt, during the lives of princes, to draw even the outlines of their characters. Men are never without blemishes, which, to correct in themselves and others, is the important business of life: but the dastardly fears, or vicious self-love of the guardians and teachers of princes, have often prevented the growth of those virtues in men born to empire, which might truly constitute them the vicegerents of the Almighty, and make the world happy. The enormous power vested in some princes, which they often direct as thunderbolts at the heads of their own subjects; or, what is as bad, at the heads of other nations, would certainly be employed in another manner; if their minds were more improved, and their hearts better directed

to

to objects worthy their rank as men, as well as kings. But instead of inspiring princes from their infancy, with those godlike sentiments of mercy and benevolence, which ought to be inseparable from power and command; how often are their propensities to evil nourished till they take root too deep to be extirpated! Thus it happens, that kings considered simply as men, are sometimes great objects of compassion.

In countries where men have EXCLUDED THEMSELVES from the common bounty of providence, and groan under an arbitrary power, though the prince had as many vices as drew down fire on SODOM, it is not uncommon to amuse him with flattering appellations, as if he had virtues enough to translate him to heaven: though at the same time nothing can be more obvious than this, that true greatness of mind would add to their glory more than all the external accidents of royalty.

In the happy island of GREAT BRITAIN we think like men; we know how to value the virtues of a prince, but we dare also to speak of their vices, whenever they become hurtful to the state. This privilege does indeed deceive some into a behaviour inconsistent with sound politics and true religion: forgetting the respect that is due to the supreme magistrate, they convert the blessing into a curse. As in friendship between man and man, we can with no consistency allow ourselves to speak of the failings of others without great tenderness; so with regard to princes, though we keep within the letter of the law, a wanton indulgence of our tongues must weaken that love and respect, which is the most solid foundation of subordination. Nor ought this to be deemed too nice a distinction or comparison, much less productive of that blind homage which prepares men's minds for slavery. In private life friendship can subsist no longer than men are kept within certain bounds; it ceases as soon as they arrive to a certain degree of viciousness; so I imagine will the love of subjects towards princes, for human nature being still the same, virtue will for ever be the object which we love and revere. The virtues or vices of princes, as of private men, must ever render them amicable or ungrateful to their subjects; but if we look into the history of mankind, and
the

see how nations have been afflicted by the very governments which they established for their support, and how depraved human nature is; that country has great cause to be thankful, whose sovereign, whether his power is limited or despotic, has but few vices injurious to the community; and whose conduct in general is calculated for the support and happiness of his people.

Thus far in excuse of what I shall say of the king of PRUSSIA. This prince is said to be no friend to GREAT BRITAIN, according to the present system of politics, nor may his conduct be in every respect justifiable, yet I think he deserves great encomiums. There is a pleasure in praising the worthy whether they happen to be our friends or not. FREDERICK II, king of PRUSSIA and elector of BRANDENBURG, was born the 24th of January 1712^c, and began his reign the 31st of May 1740; so that he was 28 years of age when his father died. He had an early taste of literature and polite arts, and shewed a particular passion for FRENCH breeding and delicacy of manners, in opposition to the inelegant customs which prevailed at his father's court. It is well known that the late king was a lover of drinking, a vice which in few countries is more familiar than in GERMANY. The prince abominated this vice, and particularly the custom of swallowing large draughts of malt liquor. This and other correspondent circumstances at length determined him to leave his father in a secret manner, and go, as it was said he intended, to the BRITISH court; but the attempt was frustrated, and cost an unhappy gentleman his head.

It is a doctrine which princes do not subscribe to in theory, that strength and power are the best rights of the sovereignties of countries; but I believe it will be found upon experience, that more kings are kept in awe by the combinations which are formed to restrain each other's passions, and support an independency; than by a sense of moral duties arising from the

^c Son of FREDERICK WILLIAM, by SOPHIA DOROTHEA, the present queen dowager, who is sister of his majesty king GEORGE II. As this prince has hardly ever sat for his picture, it is rare to see a good likeness of him; the plate annexed gives a tolerable idea of his person, dress, and air, though he is made too young.



Ant. Walker Sculp.

The King of Prussia.

common rights of mankind, as founded in their original constitution. Whenever a nation is involved in any deep calamity, we may generally observe, that more states are disposed to distress it farther, than to relieve it. If princes reap advantages from the misfortunes in which they see their neighbours involved, when there is no other reason for their conduct but the greater hopes of success; may they not be compared to those who find the best opportunity to steal when an house is in flames? It will not follow from any thing I have said, that the king of PRUSSIA had no right to his conquest of SILESIA: that he has conquered it is most certain, and we must leave to historians and casuists to determine whether the action was just or not.

When princes are really god's viceregents, religion must be the basis of their government and politics: what notions the prince in question has adopted, I know not; he is reputed by many a free-thinker in the worst sense of the word; but the rule of his government, and his superiority to the vanities and mean gratifications of life, does not favour so harsh a judgment. So far from adopting MACHIAVELIAN principles, the ANTE-MACHIAVEL is said to have been wrote by him, or his favourite VOLTAIRE, in confutation of those maxims which ridicule a strict adherence to equity, and a disinterested love of mankind. It is a sad truth however, that in general men of great parts, and particularly those in eminent life, affecting to move in a higher sphere than common people, and by the force of their genius to pry into things which the author of nature never intended should be the objects of human reason, do often fall into grosser delusions than the vulgar. Men of this stamp observing the infinite variety of modes of faith and forms of worship in the world, together with a long list of vulgar errors, which in different ages and countries have obtained advocates, are led into a persuasion that many distinctions which are commonly considered as of eternal importance, are of no other consequence than as political engines of government.

One might be tempted to think, that commercial projects in a country so entirely military as PRUSSIA, could hardly be brought to any perfection; yet if we consider the strict discipline of the PRUSSIAN

army, it is the more easy to be reconciled. I was well assured at BERLIN, that of 10,000 soldiers in garrison, not a man had been known for several months to have committed any violence, or disturbed the tranquillity of the citizens. If this project of a trade to the EAST INDIES takes effect, it is thought the HOLLANDERS will feel it more than any other nation; but it is not less the duty of the subjects of GREAT BRITAIN to withhold that assistance which the laws^d forbid us to grant.

There is one circumstance in favour of his PRUSSIAN majesty beyond any other prince in EUROPE, I mean the great economy of his government and personal expence. The allowance of his table is but 30 crowns^e a day, fish and wine excepted, in which he makes no great expence.

POTSDAM is the favourite residence of this prince; here he avoids the empty ceremonies of a court. He sits down to table with twelve persons, and after his own ministers who are most in favour, are invited, and also those of foreign princes who happen to be at POTSDAM, his officers, even to an ensign, fill up the vacant places. Nor is this the only means of recommending himself to the love of his soldiers; the meanest officer knows that he shall be redressed in any case of injustice; that wherever his quarters are, he need but write to the king, and by the return of the post he may expect an answer, oftentimes wrote by his majesty himself. In his letters he sometimes goes so far as to advise where he thinks the party errs in judgment, or is biassed by some false desire; this also renders his service the more valuable. His conversation is free and easy, even to jesting, but he can pass from the gay to the serious in an instant,

^d As to the insurance of foreign INDIA ships at their first setting out; mankind are become very bafe in most countries, and it seems prudent for under-writers to try how a new enterprize of such moment is conducted in point of PROBITY as well as skill, before they throw themselves into the arms of the sea who may be tempted to play tricks, in case their business does not prosper; we may observe further, that if it does not prosper, and no insurance is made, or none which proves responsible, the scheme MIGHT be rendered abortive, which is an argument against insuring: we may also add, that in a NATIONAL LIGHT it is absurd to insure what we do not desire should succeed, and this reason, as far as it may be allowed a good one, is against the insuring the ships of our enemies in time of war. ^e 5 l. 5 s.

he supports his dignity from the fear, as well as the affection of those about him.

He requires delicate foods, but eats moderately, and mixes water with his wine: he takes SPANISH snuff to excess, so that his cloaths can scarce be clear of it; in this instance he resembles the great prince EUGENE. He used to drink liberally of champaign, and eat rich fruits soaked in strong wine. But having been often afflicted with fevers, he is become abstemious.

In his person he appears rather plump than corpulent, his face looks full of blood, his countenance is inclined to the pensive, but is very expressive, indicating in some measure the incessant labour of his mind. Since the late war he is much broken, and stoops, which takes off from his figure. He often appears in boots, and always in his regimentals, which are a blue cloth frock with silver BRANDENBURGS, and he is master only of one change for the winter and another for the summer. I saw his wardrobe, which is indeed very mean or very grand, according to the impression it gives the spectator. In this particular the king is a copy of PETER the GREAT.

His bed, which I particularly observed at CHARLOTTENBURG, was in a small alcove or niche, consisting only of two mattresses under the cover of a down quilt, without the least common ornament or mark of grandeur. He often asks his most familiar acquaintance, if they think the condition of a king above all others the most desirable? and then tells them how easily they may rectify their fond opinion, by observing what great labour and attention the duty of a king requires.

He is so little an observer of useless forms, that he has risen from his chair at his writing table, and caused his engraver to take his place, and write down the orders which he dictated standing. That he has a sense of friendship and gratitude, is, I think, obvious from a singular circumstance of his conduct during my abode in BERLIN, and to a person with whom I had the honour of being well acquainted. This is Mr. KEITH, whom I knew in PORTUGAL, after he had been obliged to leave his

country in the late king's reign, for his devotion to the service of his present majesty. On his return home it was natural for this gentleman to expect a kind reception; but the king having now adopted other principles, was desirous to inculcate the necessity of obedience to the sovereign; however he allowed Mr. KEITH a pension, gave him the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and put him near the queen mother. At length being well apprized of his real worth, he took occasion to remember his faithful servant. In the mock-battle which I have mentioned, this prince ordered a few trees, to a very inconsiderable value, to be cut down in the grounds of madame KNEEPHAUSE, the mother-in-law of Mr. KEITH, with whom also the king did not stand very fair. The king seeing Mr. KEITH at court the day after, called to him, and in very obliging terms asked him in FRENCH, "Will you do me a pleasure? Carry this casket to your mother-in-law with my compliments, and here is the key of it." In it were found 10,000 crowns in gold, and a very polite letter to madame KNEEPHAUSE, recommending Mr. KEITH to her in the strongest and most affectionate terms. This incident gained the king applause, in proportion to the great love and esteem which every one has for Mr. KEITH. This gentleman is of SCOTCH extraction, but his parents for some ages have acknowledged allegiance to the house of BRANDENBURG.

With regard to filial duties, few private men treat their parents with more respect than he does his mother, whom he never approaches covered, nor without the highest expressions of reverence; when he is in BERLIN he visits her every day; nor does he treat his sisters with less politeness. He is civil to his own queen, but nothing more: this is a part of his history which the people do not talk of. I observed in the opera house that he placed the margravine of BAREITH at his right hand; and when he took his leave, retired backwards two or three yards. GERMAN ceremonies are in several instances troublesome, and in some ridiculous.

Besides his great skill in music, he has a taste for poetry; during his campaign, in that part of the war which was unfortunate*, after perform-

* When he retired from before prince CHARLES in BOHEMIA.

ing all the duties, and suffering all the fatigues of a general in the day, he possessed such tranquility as to answer letters of pleasure and politeness, and even to write verses in the evening, as I was assured by one of his chaplains. His memoirs of the house of BRANDENBURG, are a proof of his abilities as an author.

This prince pretends also to some knowledge in physic ; he disputes with his physicians, and, after hearing their opinions, generally prescribes for himself. I do not suppose that this is always the case ; but he once gave occasion to a certain physician to tell him with that frankness with which one may speak to a man of sense, though a king, “ All the world must “ acknowledge your majesty understands how to govern a kingdom ; but “ give me leave to understand my profession also as a physician.”

There is another story current in BERLIN, which I apprehend must have had some foundation, though the circumstances are not very credible. When the disgust between the courts of LONDON and BERLIN ran high, the king upon some jocular occasion, mentioned a certain great prince in terms not the most respectful ; to which his minister, who, as the story says, was then present, made this pertinent and gallant answer ; “ The king my “ master never rode off the field of battle.” This was doing justice at once to the essential merit and well known valour of the prince in question, and reproving the king for the fault which he committed by an over sollicitude for the security of his person at the battle of MOLVITZ, where he made his first appearance as a warrior.

The great secret of life, with regard to the execution of much business of whatever kind, is a proper and religious distribution of the several hours of the day. No man understands this better than his PRUSSIAN majesty : his constitution having suffered by taking too little rest, he now goes to bed early, and sleeps seven or eight hours : by this means he is in a condition to rise early ; and besides the business of the cabinet and the parade, he can enjoy his favourite pleasures of books and music ; in this last he composes as well as performs.

It is amazing to consider a man so devoted to business, and yet so passionately fond of music; how far it may contribute to the VIRTUE of his mind, I know not; it is certainly no vulgar pleasure. "Of all the enjoyments of sense, says an eminent divine, this is the least sensual." Indeed its effects, if rightly improved, terminate not in the bare pleasure of amusement; it seems to be peculiarly adapted to minds susceptible of religious impressions; its charms are calculated to inspire a just idea of him who has formed the heart to a relish of such delights, endowed us with capacities to proclaim his praises, and taught us how to raise the soul to the raptures of angels.

It may be remarked, that very few persons who have not a good genius, arrive at any great proficiency in this science, though it seems to depend more on the imagination than the understanding. It is certain that this enchanting art has made a deep impression on the king of PRUSSIA, who prides himself in nothing so much, except business. He generally spends a short time in playing on the flute every morning before he goes to his cabinet: here he remains till eleven, and then receives foreign ministers, and executes business of a more public nature till noon: he then usually goes abroad, and gratifies himself in seeing military exercise, and performing the duty of a soldier, and keeping up the spirit of that discipline, which is so essential to the support of his state and conquest. Soon after one he dines, and about three one of his secretaries reads to him. In the evening he has a concert; and this is the ordinary manner in which he fills up the day.

The world has talked much of his secret manner of conducting business: it is well known that besides the execution of some important part of it with his own hand; his secretaries have every one their private apartment, and each his particular province assigned; so that if he discovers that any of them are unfaithful, there is no difficulty where to fix it.

Notwithstanding this prince's great abilities, his situation seems to be uneasy. It has been said of him, that he once declared he would give his

his right hand to be sure of possessing SILESIA during his life. It is highly improbable that he ever did make such a declaration, though it might be made for him by the partizans of the house of AUSTRIA.

Immediately after the diversions I have mentioned were concluded, the king went to BRESLAU; it was remarkable that the house in which he was lodged, was in flames without its being known by what means, and his majesty had but just time to preserve his person, narrowly escaping from the flames as his father did about 20 years before at DRESDEN. Now I have mentioned BRESLAU, it may be worth observing that the king maintains a garrison of 10,000 soldiers in that city, whereas the AUSTRIANS never had near that number. Notwithstanding some appearances, the steady hand with which this prince conducts his government, promises a happy reign. The time may come when it will be the mutual interest of this nation, and the house of BRANDENBURG, to reunite again: though religion seems to be out of the question in most political alliances, yet this consideration will ever create an inclination to friendship among states. The established religion of BRANDENBURG is much the same as ours: we have generally been connected with that house, and the present good situation of it, if the UNITED PROVINCES continue in the condition they are in, may again render a union necessary. But whatever changes time may produce in states, ever subject to change, honour, I think, will be due to the present king of PRUSSIA from us, and all mankind. He has established a reputation upon the surest foundation, was it only for that bold generous stroke in politics, in delivering his country from the jaws of lawyers, who before his time, at least in BRANDENBURG, sported with the sufferings of the wretched, and saw unmoved the tears of the widow. In the PRUSSIAN dominions, the decision of causes cannot be protracted to a tormenting and devouring length. How long this will last is hard to say, unless the king has the art of making his subjects virtuous, as well as obedient to his edicts. The suits in BRANDENBURG are now brought to a speedy issue at an easy expence, a regulation which could never be made but by the singular attention of a sovereign prince. Why it is not done in limited

mitted as well as absolute monarchies, I know not; unless in certain instances slavery is preferred to liberty, or the name of liberty to the reality of it. The law is certainly an excellent and a necessary profession; but too many men are bred up to it; consequently in pursuit of a support, they deviate from the original design, by perplexing with injurious refinements that which it is their duty to make plain and intelligible.

After what has been said in praise of the king of PRUSSIA, and of the several marks of his fine taste and penetrating judgment, we may contemplate the superior charms of liberty. A man accustomed to live under a limited monarchy, who has preserved a right sense of his condition, will plainly discover how little desirable those circumstances are, which render it the duty of a father to submit the disposal of his children, as well as his estate, to the arbitrary will of his sovereign; which must sometimes tempt him, even under such a king as his PRUSSIAN majesty, to curse his ancestors, whose folly or cowardice have forfeited the reward of virtue, and the most valuable gift which the author of nature has bestowed on his creatures.

C H A P. XXXIV.

A short description of the palaces of CHARLOTTENBURG and POTSDAM. Of the PRUSSIAN guards, number of the PRUSSIAN troops, their arms, cloathing, exercise and pay; with a view of the PRUSSIAN revenues.

BEFORE I took my final leave of BERLIN, my curiosity carried me to CHARLOTTENBURG, which is about a mile distance from the city, through a road exceeding sandy. The king's grandfather founded this palace, and his present majesty has finished it according to his own taste, which appears to be extremely elegant. There is a range of about ten apartments, few of them large, but well disposed and convenient; they are adorned with white stucco and gilding in a very high manner. The ball room is in an exquisite taste, and worthy of the king who is said to have designed it. It has ten windows on each side, and

and besides the stoco and guilding, which are more rich than in the other apartments, it is also adorned with busts, statues and large pier glasses. The gardens are laid out with taste, and the statues well disposed.

August the 22d, I left BERLIN and went to POTSDAM, which is distant 4 miles; the road is very sandy and disagreeable. This is the favourite residence of the king; it is agreeably situated on a branch of the SPREE, which forms a serpentine figure, and is near 100 fathoms over. The town is of a considerable extent, and the buildings neat and regular, as indeed are those of almost every town in BRANDENBURG; but it seems to be intirely occupied by soldiers. The palace which the king has lately built there, is not large, but elegant, particularly the king's writing-chamber and study, the last is partitioned by ballustrades of silver; the frames of the looking-glasses and embellishments of the tables are also of the same metal. There is a large apartment for the officers who dine in it every day at the king's expence. The throne in the audience chamber is magnificently adorned with a rich embroidery of the arms of the house of BRANDENBURG, supported by two HERCULES's. In one of the apartments are two curious figures in copper, of a CHINESE man sitting, a woman of the same country supporting an umbrello over him; the whole piece is richly gilded and stands in an oval niche laid with marble; these two figures compose a very convenient stove. They were then lining the grand salloon with SILESIA marble, of which the staircase was already finished.

In the garden are many rich statues of a great size, particularly a NEPTUNE and AMPHITRITE erected on a sea car in a large bason, opposite the east front of the palace. The stables are contiguous, and well furnished with good ENGLISH hunters.

In POTSDAM are quartered the king's guards, who are about 2000 men, of great stature and comeliness, well cloathed, and distinguished by silver laced hats and black cockades. His present majesty has declined those oppressive measures which the old king prestised to support this body of men of a prodigious stature; they are yet remarkably tall. A
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certain ENGLISH nobleman being asked by his late majesty, "if his master had any equal number of troops who could beat these tall fellows," answered, "I do not know that the king my master has any regiment who can beat your majesty's guards; but I dare engage he has one of half their number that would fight them."

The army which his present majesty keeps on foot, being an object of astonishment to the curious world, I shall mention such particulars as occurred to me; and though many of them may at first sight appear as too minute for judicious observation, yet they are not, I think, uninteresting.

The number of troops in the pay of the king of PRUSSIA is generally computed at 120,000; his officers insisted they were 140,000. I have seen a list which makes them yet more numerous, but I believe they do not exceed this number, if they reach it.

This prince has a body of 80 squadrons of HUSSARS, each of 130 men. I saw many of them in the towns I passed through, and was surprised by what means they could be collected, so youthful, comely, strong and well shaped: but the king has his emissaries all over EUROPE. Whilst I was in DANTZIG, a young man of whom I had some knowledge, had procured himself a lodging in prison; his debt, which was of about 20 l. was immediately offered to be paid, provided he would enter into the PRUSSIAN service.

The arms of the HUSSARS are a light musket and sabre, both which are kept in admirable order. Their cloathing is of coarse red cloth, made close to their bodies, and strengthened at the elbows by leather in the shape of a heart. Their breeches are of well dressed sheep-skin. Their boots short and light, but the soles of them made durable. Their caps are strengthened in the ordinary way, so as to stand a cut. They are the only denomination of soldiers in the PRUSSIAN service who have no chaplain; indeed their number upon the old establishment was inconsiderable. One of the chaplains who attended the king in the last war, complained to me of the little sense of religion among the HUSSARS; and as an instance, mentioned a remarkable piece of villainy committed by
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one of that body. A young man had just taken charge of a purse of money from a dying PRUSSIAN officer, who had enjoined him to deliver it to his wife and children; a HUSSAR came up to him in this interval and demanded the purse, which the young man refused, alledging for what purpose he had received it; notwithstanding which, this lawless foldier murdered him and took the money ^f.

Besides the HUSSARS, the king has a small body of men whom they call hunters, who are reputed the most faithful couriers in his army, and are oftentimes promoted for their fidelity in hazardous enterprizes. The AUSTRIANS are said to have employed men under this denomination among their ranks with pieces loaded with single balls, to mark out the officers of the enemy, in which they are very dexterous. This, which is confessedly an unwarrantable practice, induced the PRUSSIANS, according to the report of the latter, to take the same method: when these hunters are taken prisoners no quarter is granted on either side.

The PRUSSIAN foldiers in general are remarkable for their very short cloathing, which at first view seems to be frugality to a degree of ridiculousness, but is most plainly calculated for many wise ends. Nothing but a blind superstition for the customs of our forefathers, could have so long kept several nations ignorant of the same management. The PRUSSIAN foldiers also have their elbows armed with leather, as already observed. It saves the reputation of patching an old garment; and one never sees a PRUSSIAN foldier the least in rags; on the contrary they all appear as gentlemen, with regard to the cleanliness of their persons.

The king's guards and some few other regiments are cloathed annually, but in general the army has new regimentals twice in three years only. The late king required the soldiery to wear white spatterdashies winter and summer, but his present majesty observing the inconvenience as well as inelegance of it, gives his men black for the winter; these are made of fustian, or a thick kind of linnen cloth. The foldiers have also breeches

^f Whatever the priest might imagine, I am afraid such accidents are not unusual in war, and that a common foldier sometimes kills a friend as well as an enemy.

of woollen cloth in this season, whereas in summer they are of white dimity or linnen, which are very light and clean. They observe an uniformity about their heads by wearing pigtails, which are easily kept in repair. They are generally powdered, but always so when on duty; and this modern elegance in dress not only serves to preserve the natural hair, or wig, but gives the soldier a respect for his own person; and the rank in which he is taught to consider himself, compensates in some sort for the smallness of his pay.

The soldiers hats, and the caps of the grenadiers are small, but at the same time as they answer all the purposes of a covering and a uniform, their heads by this means are kept the cooler; this must afford a considerable advantage both in march and action, beyond the ridiculous magnitude of modern coverings, which had once prevailed so much in the BRITISH army, that the soldiers affected a reputation for courage in proportion to the dimension of their hats.

The PRUSSIAN soldiers carry their cartouch box much higher than those of any troops I have yet seen: this must also render their march the easier, as the carriage of it is so much the lighter; and custom must make it equally familiar to draw their cartridges: their arms on the other hand are reputed incomparably the largest and most weighty of any in EUROPE, though some of the fuzileers, who are smaller bodied men, have their arms proportioned. As to the cleanness of them, 'tis hard to believe how far this is carried: a soldier can hardly find time to be idle or wicked. Notwithstanding the great weight of their arms, the tactic art is carried here to the highest perfection; and nothing can give more pleasure to those who have any idea of the harmony of this sort of motion, than the exercise of the PRUSSIAN soldiers, which they go through twice a day: when the weather is bad it is performed under cover, for which proper places are appointed. The least motion of the head not according to art, is corrected; so that a soldier in this service must apply diligently to his duty, or he will pass his time very ill. The frequent repetition of exercise seems to render these heavy arms more familiar to them

them, than much lighter are to soldiers kept in idleness. Men thus inured to labour, must necessarily enjoy great advantages in marching; and when they come to action, their heavy arms will bear a greater repetition of discharges, carry further with larger balls, and have a greater weight with the bayonet. The king makes himself acquainted with circumstances the most minute, however disregarded through a blind succession of ages as things indifferent, well knowing how much the fate of empires may depend on causes less the objects of common observation.

These soldiers are not put to any other than military duties; except the natives of BRANDENBURG who in time of peace have liberty by rotation to pursue agriculture and mechanic employments. In respect to labour they are considered as gentlemen: but drunkenness and gaming are punishable in the severest manner.

During the summer they send bodies of cavalry into the field; at the same time that this accustoms them to the duty of a campaign, they serve also as an advanced guard, prevent desertion among the soldiers, and robberies or murders on the roads: for out of these detachments, which are generally composed of about 100 men and upwards, a watch guard of two men are placed in several different parts of the roads near their body. None but the king's guards are ever permitted to go without the walls of BERLIN.

In all countries where great armies are supported, a rigid discipline becomes essential, and this his PRUSSIAN seems to understand. It is thought that many of his soldiers are ripe for desertion, and so it appeared to me from some particular circumstances; but foreigners who have already been in several services, are generally inconstant.

I have already observed, that two thirds of the army, according to their establishment, should be composed of foreigners, and this reason, as well as the small number of inhabitants in the PRUSSIAN dominions, make it obvious how difficult it must be to recruit an army; so that however formidable this prince may appear, if we consider his country as little

plentiful in resources of wealth as of inhabitants, that strength must be deemed artificial in a great measure, which has so great a connection with foreign dependencies : however all the world must allow, that the strength derived from the acquisition of SILESIA, which constitutes a great part of this prince's power, is more natural ; whether it is more stable shall not be my business to enquire.

The pay of a common soldier in this country is eight groschen^a a week, and of this three pence is supposed to go in washing, and materials for cleaning their arms, for which they are so much distinguished ; but they are allowed bread.

Upon this calculation 120,000 men cost but 364,000 l. so that if we reckon thrice this sum, in order to include their ammunition bread, the pay of officers, and cloathing, it does not much exceed a million sterling ; such is the incredible force of discipline and œconomy : but this is a lesson with which we are not well acquainted in GREAT BRITAIN. One remarkable proof of this œconomy is, that the PRUSSIAN army, as well as all the officers of the crown, receive their pay before it is due : SILESIA, according to some calculations, supports near 40,000 men ; from whence we may judge how reluctant the house of AUSTRIA must have been to part with it. The subsidy which the king receives from FRANCE, is said to be no less an object than 300,000 l. value in our money.

The revenues of the house of BRANDENBURG, including the king's late conquest, are computed at eight millions of dollars^b ; but I think this sum exceeds the reality. These revenues arise from a tax of about half the rent of the lands, and near 40 per cent. on the value of all eatables, soap, candles, &c. and yet, what must appear most strange to us in ENGLAND, the advantages arising from the national œconomy, and the regularity which runs through every branch of the government, and particularly in the parcimony of the court, make the people's chains sit easy, and secure their property enough to animate their industry.

^a Fourteen pence.

^b 1,400,000 l.

Happy were it for us did we know but half the misery which other nations feel. It would induce us chearfully to contribute to the support of that government against which we are so apt to complain: the integrity of our manners would then render it unnecessary to good ministers, and dangerous to bad ones, to dare to corrupt the minds of those on whose virtue our liberty must ultimately depend.

C H A P. XXXV.

Description of SANS SOUCI. A short account of the manufactory, academy, and church at WITTENBURG. Distresses in SAXONY, occasioned by the multiplicity of deer. The author arrives at DRESDEN. A short account of that city and its trade. Number of inhabitants, soldiery, established religion, ROMISH chapel, &c. Some particulars concerning the king of PRUSSIA after his victories in SAXONY.

SANS SOUCI being in the neighbourhood of POTSDAM, I indulged my curiosity in seeing it before I took my leave of the electorate of BRANDENBURG; for hardly in any part of GERMANY is there any thing worth seeing, but what immediately belongs to the sovereigns of the country. This building seems to have been intended as a summer-house and library to the palace of POTSDAM, from whence it is about an ENGLISH mile. It stands upon an eminence, and commands an agreeable view of the town, and also of a small branch of the SPREE, which runs by the side of the garden. The apartments are for the most part on the ground floor; they are elegantly finished, and as the king seems to have a liking for the place, it is probable the building will be enlarged. From the house to the lower part of the garden, is a descent of about 120 yards, by six several ranges of stone steps, and as many terraces, the sides of which are all planted with vines and covered with glass casements, and standing full to the south and south-east sun, the fruit is well ripened. The garden below has nothing extraordinary, except several fine pieces of statuary done by NANCIE of PARIS, particularly a VENUS drawing a net, and a DIANA with game; the pedestals of which

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are also rich in relieve. There are several others of less note, both in marble and lead, and also basons of the same material. For some of these curiosities the king is obliged to count BRUHL, whom we shall have occasion to mention. As his majesty professes no love for this minister, he the more easily reconciled carrying off several statues and other such valuables from the count's house and gardens at DRESDEN. The garden is short of half an ENGLISH measured mile, the east end of it is terminated by an EGYPTIAN pyramid, embellished with hieroglyphics. Here is very little turf and no gravel, the sandy walks robbing the garden of half its beauty. This place is treated with an uncommon respect, the gardiner did not permit me to walk with my sword on, alledging that the king himself never wore one in that retreat.

The 23d of August I left POTSDAM, and travelling through woods and sandy plains, where I met with only one small village, and hardly a living creature except some deer in the forest, I arrived at BELITZ, which is two GERMAN miles; from thence to BRITZEN are two very long miles, but the road less sandy: this is the PRUSSIAN frontier. From BRITZEN I entered the electorate of SAXONY. The passport which I had received from the governor of BERLIN was no longer of any use. Here the pleasantness of the verdure and the richness of the soil, intermixed with groves and herds of cattle, give one an idea of plenty, superior to what is found in BRANDENBURG; yet the œconomy and elegance of the PRUSSIANs compensate so greatly for this inequality, that many of the SAXONS have taken refuge in BRANDENBURG, and chuse the sandy soil of that country, with the government of it, preferable to their own. Hence several little towns which the king of PRUSSIA has built on his own frontiers, are almost fully peopled by SAXONS; and some of the SAXONS, I was told, transplant themselves to AMERICA, to avoid the insupportable exactions continually made on them.

Having travelled four GERMAN miles, I arrived at WITTENBURG, famous for the manufactory of coarse cloths: the wool in this country is remarkably good. There are about 500 private manufacturies,
cloths

cloths are also sent hither from all parts to be dyed; the blues and greens, commonly called SAXON, are best dyed in this place.

Here is also an academy, in which about 700 students are taught the arts of dancing, fencing, and other polite accomplishments. They are under the care of twelve professors, who teach LATIN, GREEK and FRENCH. Young persons are sent hither from all parts of GERMANY, particularly from HAMBURG and DANTZIG. Here is the SOKOLOFF church, a building of about 300 years standing, where MARTIN LUTHER first preached the doctrine which occasioned the revolt from the ROMISH church. He is also interred here, but has no other monument than a simple brass plate with an inscription, except his original portrait at length painted on wood, and well preserved since 1510. The people here, as in most places, where the LUTHERAN religion prevails, have a strong tincture of ROMISH superstition; among several instances of which the credulous tell you, that in the library now belonging to the academy, the devil visited MARTIN LUTHER, who received him so unpolitely as to throw his ink-stand at him.

WITTENBURG is a fortified town, situated near the ELBE, and had at this time a garrison of 500 invalids, commanded by prince EUGENE of DESSAU.

Not far from hence we passed over the little river ELSTER, and thro' several woods of oak, from whence the inhabitants have plenty of acorns for their swine, which is their principal food. The peasants were now mowing a second crop of hay, but the extreme fertility of the soil did not seem to diminish the poverty of the inhabitants.

On the 24th I went from WITTENBURG to ANNABURG, which is four GERMAN miles, and from thence to GOSDORF, three GERMAN miles; the greatest part of the latter are very tedious, being through a forest where the road is very bad.

From thence to GROSSEHAGN is three GERMAN miles, through a delightful road and rich soil. This country abounds in large flocks, with
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black tails, and wings tipped with the same colour. I counted ten towns and villages round me, within the circle of little more than an ENGLISH mile, which rather shows what SAXONY has been than what it now is.

On the 25th I passed by MOLSBERG, a hunting palace belonging to the king, situated on an eminence near the village ISINGBERG, about two GERMAN miles from DRESDEN. The avenue which leads to it is very long, well paved, and planted on each side with wild chesnut-trees: it has a good garden, and is surrounded with woods, where the king takes such delight in hunting the wild boar, that he sometimes remains there for three months at a time. At the bottom of it is a great lake which abounds in fish.

Hunting is the ruling passion of the SAXON court, and a fatal passion it is; for the rational inhabitants are more distressed by it than the brutes. In the hard winter of 1740, it is computed that above 30,000 head of deer died in the electorate of SAXONY; and yet in the open lands and forests were now reckoned to remain above that number, of which nobody dares to kill one under penalty of being condemned as a galley-slave: thus the deer become more tame than a sportsman could wish; and these with the wild boars are so great a nuisance to the country, that the SAXONS would gladly compound to support a body of 8000 soldiers extraordinary, on condition that these animals should be reduced to half their present number. In every town of any note there are fifty of the inhabitants who watch, five every night, by rotation, and use bells to frighten the deer, and defend their corn from the incursions of this formidable enemy. Frequent remonstrances have been made to the court on this subject, but to no other purpose than to convince the people of their slavery. This little passion, joined to a foolish respect for the custom of their forefathers, thus induces the electors of SAXONY to violate the property of their subjects; at the same time they depart from the true ends of government, and consequently from their true happiness, which they fondly seek by such gratifications.

The peafants of this country carry provisions to market for a great diftance in wheelbarrows, which are well adapted for the purpose both in their height and other dimenfions; the wheel of it is bound with iron, and is lighter, though much larger, than thofe we ufe in ENGLAND.

DRESDEN, the metropolis of the electorate of SAXONY, ftands on a plain, furrounded about two leagues off by lofty hills; the neareft of them are very fanddy, and are therefore converted into vineyards, which, receiving all the heat of a full fouth fun, fometimes bring the grapes to maturity; but I never heard any great commendations of their wine. As I entered the city I obferved a very different conduct in the guard from what is found in BRANDENBURG; for here no queftions were asked, whereas the PRUSSIANS are as circumfpect as in time of war. Near the entrance of the part called the NEW CITY, is an equeftrian ftatue of the late king AUGUSTUS II. erected on a lofty pedeftal, faid to be made by a common fmith, and as fuch may be admired; but it has many capital defects, particularly in the head of the horfe.

This city is well fortified: it ftands on both fides of the ELBE, which communicate with each other by a ftone bridge 540 feet long, and 36 broad, in which fpace it has 18 arches; the paffage over it is horizontal, and takes off very much from that grand effect which a curve produces in thefe ftructuresⁱ. Great order is obferved in paffing this bridge, one fide being appointed to lead to the NEW CITY, and the other to the OLD; near the latter it is adorned with a crucifix of brafs of curious workmanfhip, about half as big as the life. It is fixed on a ftone pedeftal, on which are the emblems of death and the devil, reprefented by a human fkuil and a ferpent in brafs. Here are feveral fquares and lofty ftone buildings, in which are fix or feven ftories. The rooms, though neat, are not large. The buildings make an elegant appearance, but are inferior in beauty to thofe of BERLIN. DRESDEN being an antient city, many of the ftreets are narrow.

ⁱ The bridge at WESTMINSTER is incomparably more grand.

The trade of this place is very inconsiderable. The most important commodity here is silver, of which the mines near FRIDBURG produce every fifteen days about the value of 20,000 dollars*, which is brought into the city in ingots in a regular carriage appointed for that purpose, and immediately coined and delivered to the proprietors. The mines are under the care of directors, whose business it is to support the value of the stock, but they usually go in a beaten tract, without making any efforts to encrease the quantity, on the contrary it often comes short of the ordinary computation. This silver is immediately coined into florins of 16 grosch, which with respect to the current money of bats, driers, &c. is worth 7 per cent. advance, and is consequently so speedily conveyed into the neighbouring territories to be again melted down, that it is next to impossible to obtain in change in this true silver, money for one single louis d'or in the ordinary commerce of the people: in which instance the SAXONS seem very regardless of their own interest; for though this silver may be considered as a commodity, the currency of such a coin as their bats and driers, must be detrimental in proportion as they are worse than their genuine coin.

The exchange here is regulated as in LEIPSIG. The par is reckoned 125 SAXON dollars for 100 rix dollars current in AMSTERDAM, but the exchange is generally 135 for their small monies: there is an agio of 3 per cent. when payment is made for bills in louis d'ors, and for ducats 4 per cent. is allowed.

They pretend there are 30,000 towns and villages in SAXONY, of which to the number of 60 are seen from some eminences near DRESDEN. They also reckon that the whole electorate has 4 millions of people, which seems to be twice the number one ought to believe, especially as they acknowledge to have only 2600 ecclesiasties; nor were there now in DRESDEN above 110,000 souls, of which 4000 were soldiers.

The king's guard is a regiment consisting of 2000 soldiers, half of them are POLANDERS and half SAXONS: they are tall well-looking men, their regimentals in good order, and their exercise exact; it is modelled after

* 3500l.

the PRUSSIAN manner, but not carried to that perfection. Their arms are lighter than those of the PRUSSIANS, but their cartouch box heavier: except this regiment, which is cloathed in red, all the infantry wear white with different facings. The king's horse guards are cloathed in a high taste, but with a mixture of the grand and ridiculous, their buff coats being richly embroidered in gold, with a sun on their breast and another on their backs. The SAXONS are reckoned very good soldiers. Several PRUSSIAN officers have acknowledged to me, that had the AUSTRIANS behaved so well as the SAXONS, they should have found a more arduous struggle in the late war. The inhabitants here think the king of PRUSSIA did not play fair upon the occasion of the battle of DRESDEN; yet they acknowledge the good order preserved in the PRUSSIAN army by his majesty's presence, as it saved the citizens from those violences which they feared from the ferocity of the prince of ANHAULT DESSAU. When the king of PRUSSIA came to this city with his army, he would not suffer even his brother AUGUSTUS WILLIAM to gratify his curiosity in seeing the rarities which were left in the green vault, for fear of any accident to them. One of my acquaintance in DRESDEN told me that the king asked him what the people thought upon the occasion of the battle, he replied, "We were all in the highest terrors and apprehensions." "So was I also, says the king, and we must all thank your sovereign the elector of SAXONY for it."

Besides the several calamities under which this country labours, the jealousy arising from the article of religion is not the least; the established LUTHERAN clergy are watchful of the reformed church which is much kept under, and obliged to have all their marriages, christenings and burials performed by LUTHERANS; whilst both think themselves extremely injured by the great countenance which is given at court to the ROMAN catholics. They esteem it a gross absurdity for a protestant people to be governed by a ROMISH prince; for the very principles of that religion, instead of promoting the notion of one common interest, declare against it.

According to the established constitution of SAXONY, the ROMAN catholics can no more have a church in DRESDEN, than their elector, with-

out being of the ROMISH church, can be king of POLAND. A chapel however is connived at, by which is understood a private, or at least a modest place of worship; but the ROMISH chapel, as it is so called, is a pompous structure, and so richly adorned with statues and architecture, that art and expence seem to contend for the superiority, however it was not yet entirely compleated. The furniture of it is intended to be of SAXON porcelain, the altar-piece and organ not excepted. I saw some of the organ pipes in different pieces, and I make no doubt of the completion of this design.

The pleasure I had in the acquaintance of young count BUENAU, who was with the POLISH embassador at St. PETERSBURG, gave me an opportunity of carrying a recommendatory letter, directed to the count his father, at NOETHNIZ, which is not far from DRESDEN. This nobleman, who served the late emperor as minister of state, is esteemed one of the most learned men in GERMANY, and has made one of the finest collection of books. I was very politely received by Mr. PETRI and Mr. GERVINUS, both merchants, also by Mr. PETSHOLD, who had been the SAXON minister at the RUSSIAN court, and was now on his departure as minister at the court of VIENNA. Mr. FONCK, who was charged with the SAXON affairs in RUSSIA, obliged me with a particular recommendation to Mr. DE VIETH, master of the ceremonies to the king of POLAND. This gentleman is remarkable for a fine person; he received me very politely, and expressed great concern at the absence of the court, which was at WARSAW, as it deprived him of the means of procuring me many pleasures.

C H A P. XXXVI.

A succinct account of the curiosities in DRESDEN in the eight apartments of the GRUNE GEWOLBE, and the twelve chambers of the KUNTSKAMMAR¹. SOLOMON'S temple. King's gallery of pictures. The CHINESE palace, and the quantity of porcelain contained in it. Of the SAXON porcelain in general.

MR. DE VEITH was so very obliging as to attend me to the GRUNE GEWOLBE^m, which is an apartment of the royal palace, and a repository of great riches as well as curiosities.

I know not whether any traveller has given an account of the profusion of expensive trinkets contained in this building; but it is certain there are many of most exquisite art, collected at a prodigious expence. They are too numerous to attempt a particular catalogue; the minutes which I took down on the spot are as follows:

The first chamber contains 100 small statues curiously wrought, the greatest part in brass, particularly an equestrian statue of AUGUSTUS II. king of POLAND; FREDERICK WILLIAM the GREAT, being a model of the famous statue at BERLINⁿ; LEWIS XIV; centaurs, MERCURY'S, &c.

The second chamber is of ivory, in a great variety of figures; among others there is a fine crucifix; a ship completely rigged, with gold wire to represent ropes; the sails are adorned with the arms of the king and the names of the princes of the royal family; a figure of ABRAHAM offering his son ISAAC, with the angel descending and holding the hand of ABRAHAM as it is raised to give the fatal wound. This figure, which is a copy of what was in the academy of St. PETERSBURG, is one ell and a half high, and of exquisite workmanship.

The third is of silver, curiously wrought in variety of figures, particularly a large fountain and four vases of a great size. The fourth

¹ The chamber of knowledge.

^m Green vault.

ⁿ Of which I have given a plate.
contains

contains vessels of pure gold, and silver gilt; the pannels of the room are of looking-glass. There are several fine enamelled cups, and some pieces of plate of which they boast the antiquity. The fifth is a spacious room with a large quantity of precious stones worked with great art; a cup of LAPIS NEPHRITICUS^o; a statue of CHARLES II. of ENGLAND; a large goblet set round with the most curious and costly antiques; the angel MICHAEL vanquishing the devil; this piece is of wood, and of admirable workmanship performed in ENGLAND, it cost 2500 l. and is only two feet high. There are several fine tables of MOSAIC, particularly one representing flowers, which cost 70,000 scudi of FLORENCE, and was given to the king as a present; a ball of cristal six inches diameter, without blemish; with a great variety of cups, cristals, mother of pearls, &c.

The sixth chamber is of precious stones, with some false ones. There are also great variety of pearls set in a multiplicity of forms; his present majesty of POLAND curiously cut in an onyx; the representation of JONAS thrown into the sea, made of precious stones, which is a very fine piece, and there are several others of the like nature; a sword with a silver blade, so tempered as to bend like steel, the hilt is of gold; this curiosity was sent to the king by his holiness of ROME; the royal crown, sceptres, balls, &c. of the king and queen, which are of false stones, the precious ones are taken out for use, and deposited in the next chambers, viz. the seventh and the eighth: these being of prodigious value, are surrounded with glass cases, and filled with the king's regalia, and a profusion of rich trinkets, as swords, buttons, canes, stars of his order, &c. set with the finest stones, and many of them very large; there are five dozen of coat and three of waistcoat buttons of brilliants, six dozen of buttons and six dozen of button-holes of rose diamonds; a brilliant as big as a moderate sized walnut; a green brilliant above an inch long; an onyx of seven inches, estimated at 70,000 crowns value; a cup representing DIANA in a bath, with combs, brushes, &c. all in gold and precious

^o They say this stone suffers no kind of poison without breaking, and is an antidote against the stone and gravel.

stones; a garniture of saphirs, as buttons, sword, star, watch, snuff-box, &c.

But to pass over this profusion of precious stones, the piece of the greatest curiosity as an exact representation, is the throne of the GREAT MOGHOL, which with extraordinary art and labour is performed in silver figures, enamelled in colours, and adorned with precious stones. There is a view of potentates bringing presents, and falling prostrate at the throne, with elephants, soldiers, servants, and attendants in their different stations. The artificer DINGELENGER is said to have spent many years about this work.

Having thus gratified my curiosity in seeing this expensive collection, I went to take a view of others of a different kind in the KUNTSKAMMER. The first chamber contains a large collection or library of prints, from the very commencement of the art of engraving to this time; so that among many things highly valuable, there must needs be also a great deal of trash; but of this I can say but little, the absence of the librarian having prevented my seeing it.

The second is the mineral gallery; here are the earth and soil of the different countries of the world, and proof has been made of their principles and qualities; also oars of every denomination, of every country where mines are found, particularly of the tin, lead, copper, silver and gold of the mines of SAXONY: and here I had very striking proofs of the production of solid lumps of the finest metal in mines, as the common earth produces stones. But what surprized me more, was the metal vegetables, if so I may call that which grows on the surface of the earth; here were some of gold of above two inches high, and of silver about six inches. The SAXONS esteem themselves superior to any nation in the knowledge of minerals; they have reduced it so much to a science, that many of the students at the university of FRIBURG, apply themselves more immediately to this study, the agreeable pursuit of which must open a new creation to those who have considered only the superficies of the material

rial world. In this chamber were all kinds of stones and marbles of different countries, with whatever of this sort can improve or entertain the curious. Here is also the pearl which is found in the river ELSTER; likewise the mineral ASBESTOS; it is of a white or silver colour, its parts or fibres are divisible; they feel as soft as silk, and it has this extraordinary property, that fire cleanses without consuming it. The more extraordinary thing is a magnet of two foot and a half, which I compute to be not quite an ounce troy that supports near five pounds of iron.

The third chamber consists of things petrified, particularly pieces of wood, some animals, and many fish. There are also birds eggs in their proper nests. They told me that the waters of KARLSBAD have this effect of petrifying, and that most of these things are from thence.

The fourth chamber is very large, there are different sorts of wood and vegetables; of the former is a cabinet with 350 squares as big as the palm of a large hand, run in flat as drawers, being all of different sorts. In this apartment are the pictures of a man and his wife who lived near TAMESWAR; he reached the age of 185, she of 172 years. I have seen copies of these pictures, which were presented by general BRETLACH the emperor's ambassador to the RUSSIAN court, to count BESTUCHEFF the great chancellor. They also shew here a table of tamarinth, of one piece of 2 ells three quarters, and yet they pretend it is only half the diameter of the tree which produced it.

The fifth chamber is a small cabinet of skeletons and other anatomical curiosities. The sixth consists of many sorts of animals, the skins of which are stuffed, particularly crocodiles, leopards, monkeys, stags, &c. and several monstrous births of beasts. There is a figure of a stag of great size made of hartshorn, which is pretended to be a specific against the effects of poison: the plate hanging on the breast of it has this inscription, E CORNU CERVI FACTUS, CONTRA VENENA PROSUM. It is possible this may allude to the frequent exercise of hunting, as a cure of those disorders incidental to luxury and indolence. The seventh chamber
is

is of the skins of fishes stuffed. I observed particularly that of the sea lion, mentioned in lord ANSON's voyages. The eighth has a great quantity of different kinds of shells. The ninth is of amber, of which material there is a cabinet of about six feet high and four broad; every drawer has some natural curiosity in amber. The tenth is a grotto with water springs. The eleventh has many curiosities in coral. The twelfth contains the skeletons of lions, bears, &c. of a prodigious size, and the stuffed skins of some extraordinary beasts, particularly of a horse, whose mane is three ells and a half long, and his tail twelve ells and a half. I did not measure either, but was satisfied of the great curiosity, from the apparent length of them, which is indeed prodigious.

From these apartments I was conducted to another more remote, to see a model cut in cedar, of the temple of SOLOMON, as described in the old testament, and other antient authorities. This piece cost 12,000 crowns, and much labour has been bestowed on it; it represents the ark, the sanctum sanctorum, the sacrifices, and all other rites and ceremonies of the MOSAIC law.

The next object that engaged my curiosity, was the king's gallery of pictures, which, since the purchase of the duke of MODENA's collection, is one of the finest in the world. The SAXONS say the ITALIANS lament the parting with that collection; and that forty young noblemen and gentlemen now take DRESDEN in their travels, to one who formerly visited that city. Part of the collection consists in one hundred capital pieces, which are said to be all originals, though the connoisseurs will not acknowledge it: it is certain however that they cost half a million of crowns; and the whole collection, which consists of above two thousand pieces, are valued between two and three millions of crowns^p. There are many pieces which are said to be inimitable, particularly our Saviour curing the sick; and the shepherds finding him immediately after his birth, by CORREGGIO. These pictures not being ranged in proper order, appear to disadvan-

^p Near 500,000 l.

tage ; but it is certain that the choicest works of RAPHAEL, RUBENS, CORREGIO, and all the top masters, are exhibited in the most magnificent profusion. A young woman twenty one years of age, a daughter of the director RIDEL, paints admirably, and promises to be one of the greatest genius of the age ; and TORELLI, a lad of eleven years only, follows her very close. But the greatest delight which his POLISH majesty takes, is in a small gallery, all of portraits in crayons ; the greatest part of them are of persons with whom the king was acquainted in his travels, particularly in ITALY. Most of these pieces are performed by signiora ROSALBA ; they are certainly very beautiful. Among these pictures they shew one of a certain ITALIAN lady, who is reported to have wasted the estates of half a dozen ENGLISH lords, and as many ENGLISH gentlemen ; but this seems to arise from accidents which have happened in past times.

The next curiosity is the CHINESE palace, so called from the taste of the building, and the intention of furnishing it with porcelain. The ornaments of the architecture, and the relievo in the frontispiece, are after the CHINESE and JAPAN manner. This palace stands on the ELBE, and commands a view of the bridge and of the ROMISH chapel, but it is far from being an elegant building, and is situated too near the river. The vaults of this palace consist of fourteen apartments, filled with CHINA and DRESDEN porcelain ; one would imagine there was sufficient quantity to stock a whole country, and yet they say, with an air of importance, that 100,000 pieces more are wanted to compleat the intention of furnishing this single palace, which is not large.

Perhaps it may be some indulgence, to a female curiosity at least, to be informed concerning this brittle commodity, which has been so passionately sought for by the fair sex. But can this passion be deemed a folly when we see even mighty princes^a pride themselves in it ? Here are a great number of porcelain figures of dogs, squirrels, monkeys, wolves, bears, leopards, &c. some of them as big as the life ; also elephants and

^a His majesty of PRUSSIA sometimes calls his brother of POLAND, the porcelain king.

rhinoceros's of the size of a large dog ; a prodigious variety of birds, as cocks, hens, turkeys, peacocks, pheasants, hawks, eagles, besides parrots and other foreign birds, and a curious collection of different flowers. The apostles near three feet high, are in white porcelain. There is a representation of the crucifixion four or five feet high, with numerous other curious pieces : these last are intended for the ROMISH chapel, which I have already observed is to be furnished with these rare materials. A clock is preparing for the gallery in this palace, whose bells are to be also of porcelain : I heard one of them proved, and they are sufficient to form any music ; but the hammers must be of wood.

A superstitious reverence for this extraordinary production has induced his majesty to preserve some of the first efforts of the porcelain fabric, and other performances in their several gradations, to the perfection the art is now arrived : nor is this pious concern confined to his own manufactures ; here is a great number of plates and dishes of the old porcelain of CHINA, invaluable in the esteem of those whose ideas are refined above common capacities. But what is most amazingly wonderful, are the 48 CHINA vases, which do not appear to be of any use, nor to be any ways extraordinary except their great size ; and yet his late POLISH majesty discovered such captivating charms in these inanimate beauties, that he purchased them of the late king of PRUSSIA, at the price of a whole regiment of dragoons. The long gallery in the second story had already two marble chimney-pieces, each adorned with near 40 very large pieces of porcelain, of birds, beasts, and vases, ranged to the height of above 20 feet in a most superb taste, the figures being all made so natural, that I could conceive no idea superior in this kind. All sorts of rich hangings, glasses, tables, chairs, &c. are brought into the apartments, but kept packed and covered, the walls remaining bare for four years. The palace in general is unfinished, and it may be presumed that the KING himself is tired of the vanity of an unnecessary variety, and of such a profusion of expensive baubles.

Before I finish this chapter, I must beg leave to make some further remarks with relation to the SAXON porcelain, which has not only infatu-

ated many fair admirers, but extended its reputation to the remotest corners of the earth. Baron BOTGAR, a miner about 46 years since, first began to make this porcelain: his first trial was the red, and from thence he proceeded to glazing, and since that, gilding and painting have been carried to an amazing perfection. In order to preserve this art as much as possible a secret, the fabric at MEISSEN, which is near this city, is rendered impenetrable to any but those who are immediately employed about the work, and the secret of mixing and preparing the metal is known to very few of them. They are all confined as prisoners, and subject to be arrested if they go without the walls; and consequently a chapel and every thing necessary is provided within. There are about 700 men employed, most of whom have not above ten GERMAN crowns a month, and the highest wages are forty, so that the annual expence is not estimated above 80,000 crowns. This manufacture being entirely for the king's account, he sells yearly to the value of 150,000 and sometimes 200,000 crowns*, besides the magnificent presents he occasionally makes, and the great quantity he preserves for his own use. They pretend they cannot execute fast enough, the commissions which they receive even from ASIA, as well as from all parts of EUROPE, and are consequently under no necessity of lowering the enormous prices; however this must be the consequence ere long, if the ENGLISH and FRENCH continue to make such great improvements in this art. It is with great satisfaction that I observe the manufactories of BOW, CHELSEA and STEPNEY have made such a considerable progress. On the other hand it is equally a subject of horror to see so many shops in the streets of LONDON supplied with the porcelain of DRESDEN, though it is importable only under oath of being for private use, and not for sale.

* 35,000l.

C H A P. XXXVII.

Remarks on the government in SAXONY. A short account of count BRUHL's great wealth, wardrobe, gallery of pictures, &c. Of the king's gardens. Expences of the court. National debt, taxes, and revenues of SAXONY. A short account of St. HUBERTSBURG. Of the trade, inhabitants, churches, &c. in LEIPSIG.

THE distressed condition of this electorate, which the reader must have observed in the foregoing pages, is occasioned not more by the unavoidable incidents of war and invasions, and by the general depravation of the inhabitants, than by the iniquity of a few. The subjects of the electors of GERMANY, with one exception, have ever changed their condition for the worse, when the regal has been joined to the electoral dignity; for the royal authority, as in the case of POLAND, has generally been employed to oppress instead of supporting them; and the numerous connections attending kingly government, have involved the security and independency of the electorate. Those who have any feeling of human miseries, must needs fall into serious reflections in viewing the expensive collections of curiosities mentioned in the last chapter. If the virtue of the man abstractedly considered, is preferable to the externals of a king; to seek the happiness of one single family is more glorious in the sight of God, than to possess all the useless rarities in the cabinets of this electorate.

In the ordinary computation of greatness as derived from wealth and power, count BRUHL is incomparably the greatest man in SAXONY. The people say that he has bought estates in POLAND to the amount of 20 millions of florins¹, verifying the scriptures, that "the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light," for he has wisely provided a store out of the reach of the SAXONS, whilst they have no other satisfaction than making lampoons on him and his patroness the queen. He has also several estates in SAXONY, and moveables to

¹ 833,333 l.

the value of six millions of dollars : whether these accounts are exaggerated, as is probable, from the little love which the people bear him, I know not ; but he owes large sums, as if he meant to make it the interest of his creditors to preserve him during the present king's reign. The electoral prince, though unfortunate in his person, is a man of sense and virtue, and sees the conduct of this minister in a true light. Count BRUHL, they say, is allowed above half a million of dollars annually for the national service and the support of his office.

The world can produce many remarkable instances of very good and very evil actions, done for the sake of a mistress or a friend, for the desire of gold, or the thirst of power : but to what idol does that man offer incense, whom no less than three or four hundred suits of rich cloaths will satisfy ? Count BRUHL has collected all the finest colours of all the finest cloths, velvets, and silks of all the manufactures, not to mention the different kinds of lace and embroideries, of EUROPE. He calls for his book of patterns, which are numbered, and chuses that suit which pleases his fancy for the day. They boast that he has boots and shoes in proportion to his cloaths. The keeper of this notable wardrobe was absent, so that I did not see it, but I am perfectly well satisfied of its being in nothing inferior to report.

The palace of this lord has been built at several different times. The apartments are elegant and richly furnished, but not many of them magnificent : they have lustres of porcelain in beautiful figures ; the tables are set off with variety of tea equipages, and figures of men and women, birds and beasts of porcelain. The drawing room is pannelled with looking-glasses, and adorned with rich paintings, and his cabinet furnished with enamels and crayons. This house and the gardens belonging to it are situated on the ELBE, near the bridge, and command a pleasant prospect. His library, which is in the garden, is 220 feet long, and well furnished with books ; but the most striking object is the gallery of pictures, which though it does not contain a fourth part so many as the royal gallery, is incomparably more magnificent, being

being 156 ells long, which is 18 longer than that of VERSAILLES. The pictures are set off to great advantage, being ranged only on one side: the windows fronting them are very lofty, and afford light sufficient to point out the minutest beauties of this excellent collection. The pannels between the casements are of looking-glass, against which are placed busts and statues that have a very grand effect.

The king's gardens are agreeable, though they want those natural beauties which an inequality of ground affords. The palace situated in them is small, but the avenue leading to it is grand, and of a considerable length. At the front is the field for the tournaments, and behind a fine piece of water: the sides compose the gardens, which are in a natural taste; here is a profusion of marble statues, of which many pieces are bigger than the life, and seem to be well executed. Most of them shew the genius of their first master the late king, who being entirely devoted to amours, was proud of proclaiming it even to after ages, so long as these statues shall remain as monuments of his lasciviousness. Many of them are already injured by time, and neglected.

The ORANGERY, which is in another part of the town, has 400 orange trees of a very large size, and remarkably strait. There are many exotics, but nothing struck me so much as a strawberry tree cultivated from a plant, and grown three yards high, spreading near as much, and yielding fruit¹.

During my stay here, I heard much of the splendor and great passion for amusement which reigns at this court, even to the giving pensions to ITALIAN singers after they leave the country. How different is this court from that of BRANDENBURG? Here 6500 ducats are yearly allowed for comfits and such articles, which is near twice as much as the king of PRUSSIA allows for his table², as I have observed already. Yet SAXONY is said to owe forty millions of dollars, the interest of which since the late king's death, is not regularly paid; so that the *fluere*³, which was at

¹ There are of the same kind in ENGLAND. ² Fifty dollars a day in SAXONY for sweetmeats and spices, and thirty in BRANDENBURG for the whole table, fish and wine excepted. ³ Government security.

2 per cent. above par, and gave an interest of 5 per cent. is now at a large discount.

The king of PRUSSIA bought up several of the sture bills, at a considerable discount, no doubt with an intention of being paid; the numbers of his bailiffs might easily procure an execution on his debtor. This alarmed the court of SAXONY, and induced it to borrow a large sum of some of the neighbouring states, who very prudently required the security of land.

The revenues of the elector of SAXONY are said to be near 8 millions* of dollars, consequently superior to those of the house of BRANDENBURG; and yet since the late reductions, SAXONY supports 20,000 men only†, and groans under a heavy national debt, whilst PRUSSIA has above 100,000 men, and is free from all incumbrances of this sort. These revenues arise from the taxes on land, and a capitation of about six dollars on all males when they are made apprentices, or begin to work. The people of a higher rank are taxed according to their class, and subject to be called to account if they put themselves in a lower class than is consistent with their estates: even foreigners pay capitation after being six months in the country; but this method in general of raising money is complained of as unequal, and consequently unjust. The people also pay a heavy tax, under a notion of quarters for the army. Some houses of no very great consequence, are taxed at 120 dollars, others as far as 300.

The JEWS are taxed at 50 dollars, their wives 30, and children 20, with some respect however to their abilities. There is also an excise on all eatables and liquors; and besides this, a gratuity which was given the king, of near 10 per cent. on the incomes of the people, is now reduced to a tax. Thus the value of land estates is sunk extremely low. The king has also a tenth of whatever the silver mines of particular property produce; and some mines belong to the crown.

* 1,575,000 l.
and fifty thousand men.

† The standing forces of the electorate are generally reckoned between forty

The miseries of which the SAXONS complain, may be dated so early as 1706, at which period CHARLES XII. of SWEDEN glutted his army with the spoils of all that country, except DRESDEN: AUGUSTUS having shut himself up in that city, determined to defend it, though he did not think it proper to detain the person of CHARLES, who ventured to make him an insulting visit. The war in which SAXONY was involved the beginning of this century, cost her an immense sum. The last war of six weeks only, created an expence of six millions of dollars, and many thousands of her best troops; yet do not the people so much complain of the calamities of war as of the want of œconomy at court, and the excessive expence and ambition of a minister. Count HENECA, who is the director of the FINANCES, they acknowledge to be a man of abilities, but he cannot answer the calls made on him for money.

The king is a man of a mild disposition; he leaves the weight of business to the queen, and his favourite the count. His majesty is now ² about fifty four, and, contrary to the custom of princes, has been constant to the queen, who is three years younger than himself. The people often complain aloud of their grievances; even the king's confessor has in vain attempted to make his majesty sensible of the evils under which this country groans; but his PASSION is for curiosities ³.

Mr. CALKOEN, who had been lately ambassador to the OTTOMAN PORT, on the part of his masters the states of the UNITED PROVINCES, was now here as envoy and plenipotentiary to the king of POLAND: I was introduced to him, and very politely received: he is reputed a man of a generous disposition. We discoursed concerning NADIR SHAH, on which occasion he mentioned several instances of the panic which the PERSIAN arms had struck at the OTTOMAN PORT. It was said that this gentleman's chief business here was to negotiate for the security of the interest which the subjects of the STATES have in the sture. He had resided some time in ENGLAND, and professed himself an admirer of our nation. I was at his

² 1749. ³ I was actually told that half a million of dollars intended for part of a payment due to the king of PRUSSIA, was paid away for the duke of MODENA's pictures.

table in company with POLANDERS, ITALIANS, FRENCH and GERMANS; he asked me which of the countries I had seen was the most agreeable, and where a man of sentiments would chuse to live. I told him my knowledge of the world was very limited; that I had seen a great deal of misery in one shape or other in every country where I had been; but after pausing I determined in favour of ENGLAND. The company seemed surprized at my hesitation, and then gave their suffrage by a loud, but polite applause. Many things were said on this occasion in favour of this happy isle. Would to God it had fewer blemishes! we ought however to be watchful of that reputation for which foreigners of sentiment so universally give us a distinguished preference.

The season being far advanced, I thought it necessary to hasten my departure. It was not without reluctance I left a scene which at the same time it gives occasion of compassion for the distresses of the people, affords travellers a great field of amusement, but most of all when the court is in that city. There is hardly any place in EUROPE more devoted to pleasures and diversions; but we see the consequence of this excessive indulgence, though confined to a court. What has not that nation then to dread, whose people in general free themselves from restraints beyond the measure which health will bear, and beyond the bounds which prudence or justice warrants? The SAXONS amidst their sufferings are gentle in their manners. They have the greatest passion for music and poetry of any of the GERMANS; even the peasants have a rural taste of them: and they have some able men in these sciences.

The 30th of August I left DRESDEN, and travelled towards MEISSEN on the banks of the ELBE. The delightfulness of the weather contributed much towards heightening the natural beauties of this country. The corn fields and gardens, meadow lands and pastures, produced a charming effect. Here the eastern banks of the ELBE are adorned with a great number of vineyards, some of which are admirably situated to receive all the advantages which the sun can afford in this latitude; but the people frustrate their own end, by suffering the vines to grow too high, and with
too,

too great a luxuriancy, so that the grapes do not arrive to that maturity which a more judicious cultivation might afford. The people are extremely industrious, and no ground is lost; some of the steepest hills are supported by many terrasses. As we approach to MEISSEN the valley grows very narrow, and part of the houses on the banks are built on rocks, which rise perpendicular from the river, and form a very agreeable and romantic view.

The castle at MEISSEN, in which is the porcelain manufactory, stands on the western bank of the ELBE, three GERMAN miles from DRESDEN: it is a very large building, and a place of some defence. I had an opportunity of being confirmed with what secrecy this manufactory is conducted, for there is no admittance into the most common part of the work, without an order from the governor of DRESDEN; nor are the workmen ever seen without the gates of this strong hold. Here I passed the ELBE on a bridge, and after mounting a steep ascent I came into a plain country: the road is good, and the soil rich and well cultivated; towns, woods and pasture lands are agreeably intermixed, and combine to give an idea of riches and pleasure; yet the inhabitants are poor, for the taxes fall heavy on the labourer. I arrived at STAUB two GERMAN miles and a half, and from thence to St. HUBERTSBURG two GERMAN miles and a half; the country every where appearing pleasant.

This is a palace intended for the pleasure of hunting, of which I have already observed the SAXON court is immoderately fond. The adjacent country is proper for the sport; and the king's dogs and horses are kept in order by being exercised twice a week. The hunting equipage of the SAXON court is the more gay and brilliant, as an uniform of yellow cloth laced with silver is worn on these occasions by every one who appears in the field. The palace is large, but not magnificent, nor was it yet entirely finished. The six apartments intended for the queen are lined with green damask laced with gold, and those for the king of crimson, in the same taste. The dining-room, which is round, is an elegant apartment: the gallery is of a good size, and

ready to receive the fine pictures which the king had already marked for that purpose from amongst his collection in DRESDEN. There is a handsome lustre of porcelain, which had been sent as a present from FRANCE as FRENCH manufacture, which appeared to me but little inferior to that of SAXONY. There is a picture of St. FRANCIS XAVIER, supported by an angel, done in crayons by the hands of the king's daughter, now the dauphine's of FRANCE. As this alliance flattered the ambition of the SAXONS, the king had promised great amusements to his people whenever this lady should bring a son into the world. The gardens of this palace were small, but the situation admirable, and the ground already laid out for the enlargement of them.

The 31st I left St. HUBERTSBURG; the roads in this neighbourhood are very good, and where the soil is inferior, industry seems to supply the deficiency. Having travelled two GERMAN miles, I arrived at WURTZEN, which is a market town on the river MOLLEN, and has 400 houses. From hence to LEIPSIG is three GERMAN miles; some parts of the road are sandy and disagreeable, though the land produces grain; and there are several towns and villages. From DRESDEN to LEIPSIG is 12 GERMAN miles and a half.

LEIPSIG is one of the greatest trading towns in GERMANY; its situation is advantageous, for a place that has no river of consequence near it. MAGDEBURG, which is situated on the ELBE, is 14 GERMAN miles and a half distance, and merchandize is brought from HAMBURG by that channel. What has distinguished this city through a long series of years, is the liberty of conscience which has been indulged to all sorts of people. As a consequence of this indulgence, they have been industrious in the cultivation of knowledge and moral accomplishments: the university established here has notwithstanding of late years declined very much. The several princes of GERMANY have the wisdom to encourage learning within their own dominions; add to this the neighbourhood of HALL, where the students enjoy advantages in point of cheap living much superior to this place. Notwithstanding this, the number of those in LEIPSIG is yet very considerable.

The wool which is collected in this city is an important article, and contributes much to the wealth of the citizens. They have some rich manufactures, and are much distinguished for painted cloths, in imitation of tapestry. Wars and invasions, with the want of œconomy at court; have much humbled the pride of the citizens, and reduced that luxury which the advantages of commerce had introduced amongst them. The visit which the king of PRUSSIA made them was yet fresh in their minds; and the heavy contributions imposed on them, set heavy at their hearts. In this place are three fairs kept annually, viz. NEW YEAR'S DAY, EASTER, and MICHAELMAS. Formerly these were all very considerable; but now that of EASTER only. To these resort POLANDERS, HUNGARIANS, BOHEMIANS, PRUSSIANs, and people from all parts of GERMANY; also FRENCH and ITALIANs, and even RUSSIANs come hither, and bring the produce of their respective countries. MAGDEBURG supplies it with tobacco, which is the growth of that place: the quantity of this article consumed in GERMANY is prodigious: I have known a common postilion fill his pipe thrice in the space of two GERMAN miles.

Accompts are kept here in dollars and goete groschen, of which 24 make a dollar: a ducat passes for two dollars three quarters. Sundry coins are current, but the pure SAXON silver money is as hard to be found here as in DRESDEN. The exchange on AMSTERDAM is ordinarily about 130 dollars for 100 rix dollars current of the UNITED PROVINCES. Their centner is 110 lbs. different from the ENGLISH weight about two and a half per cent. Their ell is 22 inches and a half ENGLISH.

Here are about 40,000 inhabitants within the gates, of which 16 families are FRENCH refugees: the suburbs also are filled with people. They have six churches for the LUTHERANS, which is the established religion, one for the reformed, and a chapel for the ROMAN CATHOLICS in the castle; but this last is not permitted to use bells. They have introduced a new kind of luxury even in their devotion: one of the capital churches has a number of chapels projected about six feet from the main wall, through which they communicate with the church, each chapel having its distinct door.

door without. Some of the richest citizens have bestowed on these auxiliary buildings 1500 or 2000 dollars. The sober part of the people think the expence had been better bestowed on the poor, as the affectation of so great a distinction is by no means consistent with that equality which is supposed to be among men in their addresses to the Almighty. It seems to be the remains of that passion which the ROMANISTS have for the splendid embellishments of their temples. The contrary of this may be seen in some countries, where the house of God is oftentimes left in a worse condition than a stable: by a pretence of not drawing away the attention by material objects, they make no provision for common decency, nor sometimes for common protection against the weather. The people here are religious, and it is a constant custom observed, to shut their shops every friday morning; and during their devotions, which last till ten o'clock, if any person presume to sell any thing, they are subject to the fine of ten crowns.

The fortifications of LEIPSIG seem rather calculated for the use of the inhabitants to walk on, than for defence. These have however four stone gates, and the citizens support 200 soldiers; this exempts them from quarters, though they are otherwise subject to be taxed as arbitrarily as any other town in SAXONY. This city is of a very small extent, but the houses are lofty as well as elegant in their fronts. Some of them have three stories of cellars, and granaries on the top of the houses to the number of three or four stories, so that the whole makes an appearance of seven, eight, or nine stories. The streets are clean, commodious, and agreeable, and there are two large squares which are used as market-places. But what adds much to the agreeableness of this city, are the gardens which surround it, particularly the APEL^b garden, which is in an excellent taste, considering that it is almost upon a flat. The statues are very indifferent, yet so ranged as to produce a pleasing effect. This garden was much in esteem with the late king AUGUSTUS, but at present it is supported by the contributions of the citizens.

^b A man's name.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

A short account of the inhabitants and revenues of ANHALT KÆTHEN, ANHALT DESSAU, BINBURG and ZERBST. A succinct view of MAGDEBURG and WOLFENBUTTEL. Of the revenues and forces of the court of BRUNSWIC, with a view of the ducal palace and gallery of pictures at SALTZDALEN.

SEPTEMBER the second I took leave of my friends in LEIPSIG, and departed for LANDSPERG; the road near LEIPSIG was full of waggons loaded with merchandize. The land is every where well cultivated, but not inclosed. HALL, which is subject to PRUSSIA, appeared at a small distance: it is famous for its schools and university, particularly for students in physic. At LANDSPERG, which is three GERMAN miles and a half, we entered the PRUSSIAN dominions; the passage from one sovereignty to another in these parts, is very frequent: from thence, passing through ROTHENBURG, which is the frontier of SAXONY, bordering on the petty sovereignty of the prince of ANHALT KOETHEN, I arrived at the city KOETHEN, distant four GERMAN miles.

This is a considerable place, the inhabitants being computed near 15,000. They have three churches, and the principal manufacture of gold and silver lace in GERMANY. It employs near a thousand persons: the usual expence of their wages is 1500 dollars a week. They manufacture here yearly to the value of near a million of dollars, for which there is a demand all over GERMANY as well as abroad. The SAXONS acknowledge that the inhabitants of these little independent sovereignties of KOETHEN, DESSAU, BINBURG, and ZERBST, live in the land of milk and honey; whilst the knowledge which these people have of what the SAXONS and BRANDENBURGERS suffer, convinces them that they are really happy. Indeed these were the only people, considered as a state, which before or since that time I ever heard talk without complaining.

These petty princes possess lands sufficient for their expences, their revenues being reckoned about half a million of dollars. The tax on lands

is 4 per cent. which rating them at 20 years purchase, is not quite one shilling in the pound. Upon an emergency the subjects are capable of raising half a million extraordinary. According to the constitution of the empire, each of these princes is obliged to cloath, arm, and support 100 men in time of war, for the emperor's service. The towns in these little states are not so numerous in proportion to the extent of country as in SAXONY, but better peopled. The young prince of ANHALT KOETHEN has a palace in this town, but it is in a ruinous condition. He supports a body of 250 men, who are well cloathed; his revenues are computed at 160,000 dollars. He was now about 19 years of age, of a very remarkable comeliness, and engaged in the service of the king of DENMARK.

The third, I travelled through a country well cultivated, but not of so rich a soil as most parts of SAXONY. SALTZA, which lies in the road, is famous for refining salt made from an adjacent spring of salt water. The river SAAL divides the dominions of ANHALT KOETHEN, and BRANDENBURG: passing over it in a ferry I entered KALBE, where I found near a regiment of PRUSSIAN soldiers, and was interrogated as usual under PRUSSIAN discipline. This was the first and last place in which I was pilfered; I discovered the thief and obtained restitution, and was inclined to have him chastised, till I learnt that the punishment would be more severe than the nature of the crime seemed to require.

The security with which one travels in this part of the world, is a circumstance much to be commended. Here the people are sober and serious; the duties of morality are taught and inculcated, not by priests only, but by parents: and as a natural consequence of a religious sense of things; thefts and robberies in time of peace^c are hardly known amongst the GERMANS. This is imputable to a strict discipline, but it also arises from the early impressions of religion, which so apparently prevail in this country.

From KALBE to MAGDEBURG is four GERMAN miles; the road is extremely good. If it is warrantable to travel on the sabbath-day without

^c In time of war travelling is said to be dangerous.

neceſſity, we ought at leaſt to perform the duty of public worſhip : I heard a good diſcourſe in one of the FRENCH reformed churches. I have already taken notice of the piety of the LUTHERANS, particularly as expreſſed in ſinging.* On my entrance into MAGDEBURG, a band of vocal muſicians, compoſed of twelve ſtudents, after morning ſervice, were ſinging at the doors of the citizens : this is but a genteeler way of begging ; however it cannot be ſaid to encourage idleneſs. The performance pleaſed me ſo well that I engaged them for a ſhort time, and they received a ſmall gratuity^d with great thankfulneſs. Here are two reformed, one FRENCH LUTHERAN, and eight GERMAN LUTHERAN churches, all which have been rebuilt ſince 1631.

This town was then ſacked and burnt, and the inhabitants put to the ſword by the emperor's general, count TILLY. The king of PRUSSIA, in his memoirs of the houſe of BRANDENBURG, mentions a very remarkable inſtance of heroic virtue, viz. “ That twelve hundred vir-
“ gins drowned themſelves in the ELBE, as the only means of pre-
“ ſerving their chaſtity from the violation to which it was expoſed. Theſe
“ examples, adds this author, are admirable, but they are rare. If the
“ ſtory appears fabulous, it ought to be imputed to the corruption of
“ our manners, or that the fact is not properly atteſted.” It is poſſible that a ſenſe of honour, joined to the terrors of a cruel enemy, might drive numbers to this extremity, eſpecially as very few of the inhabitants were ſaved from the ſword, except fourteen hundred who ſhut themſelves up in the cathedral. I had the pleaſure to find here ſeveral agreeable perſons of both ſexes, to whom the letters I carried procured me an introduction. Indeed I every where experienced advantages of this kind, which, though I travelled alone, rendered my journey improving and delightful.

This place is remarkable for its great magazines, for the reception of merchandize brought from HAMBURG on the ELBE, and from hence ſent by land to LEIPSIG and other parts. Some of the veſſels employed

^d Twelve groſch, or twenty one pence.

for this purpose are of 70 lasts, and though their sides are very thin, are generally deeply loaded; they are flat bottomed, and draw at most three feet water. The current near the town is very strong. There are fourteen floating mills for grinding corn; and to prevent the ill consequences of a rapid stream, a sluice is prepared for the safer passage of vessels with merchandize. Here are some manufactories and remarkable buildings: in the great square at the main guard, is an antient statue of the emperor OTHO, who in the year 930 is said to have founded this city.

The fortifications of this place are very remarkable, and distinguished through all EUROPE. There are six deep fosses: this, together with the lowness of their works, renders the place very strong. Here were three regiments, amounting to 4000 men; but to defend so large a town, a much greater number is necessary.

The fourth, I travelled on to AKERRESLABEN, two GERMAN miles from MAGDEBURG, which is therefore sometimes preferred as the most convenient stage, though it is more than half a GERMAN mile out of the way. The GERMAN postilions wear the liveries of the country they belong to; in BRANDENBURG it is blue, in SAXONY yellow; they bear the king's arms, and pay a tax of one third of the hire of horses to the crown. They are frequently insolent, or stupidly regardless of their duty to strangers. They use small FRENCH horns, the sound of which is shrill; some of them play tunes in no disagreeable manner, but the majority make a shocking noise. Brandy, or uncommon fees of drink-money will induce them to travel fast, otherwise they are insupportably dilatory.

I was yet in the PRUSSIAN dominions, when my postilion attempted to pass by a particular way, and avoid the payment of a small road duty; upon this an officer, who was posted at an avenue to prevent this practice, rode up, stopped my chariot, and seized one of the horses as a trespass. He would not desist till I alighted with my pistol, and let him know, that whatever fault the postilion had committed, it could by no means reach me, who had paid for the horses according to the laws, and was travelling under the protection of those laws; therefore if he
pre-

presumed to detain me, I would resist him as a robber, upon which he thought proper to let me pass.

The next place we came to, was the city of HELMSTET, belonging to the duke of BRUNSWIC; it is surrounded with an old fortification, and had a garrison of 200 of the duke's troops. Here are 200 students, who are chiefly supported by the bounty of their sovereign. From thence I departed for WOLFENBUTTEL, being four very long GERMAN miles; the road is good but the country hilly, and the vallies abound in cattle. There are several groves of oaks, which being kept perfectly clean, have a charming effect. The inhabitants of the towns and villages have the appearance of great health and easy circumstances. A few miles to the eastward of this road are several mines of iron, copper, silver, and, they say, some gold also. In the dominions of the duke of BRUNSWIC, as well as in those of the elector of SAXONY, there is a great variety of oar, which constitutes a considerable part of their revenues. Among such as are remarkable, they reckon that which is of a deep emerald with silver coloured points, like thorns; this oar is said to contain a proportion of gold also.

I arrived at WOLFENBUTTEL after the gates were shut, but I procured admittance*. The houses here are low, but the streets clean. The fortification is very neat and regular, but not calculated for any great defence. The small river OKAR fills a mote round it, and affords water to the inhabitants in a very convenient manner. Without the walls is an antient palace belonging to the duke, which is rather convenient than grand: here are several apartments well furnished, and two small galleries of pictures. In this city there is a good arsenal and library: I declined seeing it from an opinion that the simple view of libraries, without examining their contents, is a more barren entertainment than surveying the sky, without thinking of him who made it.

* There is a rate fixed, three grosch for a vehicle, and one for a horse, for opening the gates after a certain hour.

The next day I went on to BRUNSWIC. About an ENGLISH mile from WOLFENBUTTEL is the palace of ANTOINENBURG, belonging to the duke's mother. For near two ENGLISH miles the road is bordered by trees and groves of wood: the whole way, which is short of two GERMAN miles, is agreeable. The walls of BRUNSWIC are lofty, and the fortifications of no mean note. This is the residence of the prince, whom we stile duke of WOLFENBUTTEL; his majesty the king of GREAT BRITAIN, is a branch of that family, and takes the title of duke of BRUNSWIC. The garrison consisted of five regiments. The duke's forces are estimated 13,000, but I have reason to believe the real number was then only 9000, of which 2000 are invalids. This is a great number for so small a state to support: why so many are kept in pay in time of profound peace, is owing to the pride of these GERMAN princes, and the custom of their forefathers. Add to this, that they sometimes receive subsidies from great princes, in consequence of which they are obliged to keep up a number of forces. The BRUNSWIC troops are very clean, and cloathed much after the PRUSSIAN manner; but the men are smaller, their arms lighter, and their exercise not so exact.

The arsenal of this city contains nothing very extraordinary: in the ROMISH times they say it was a church in the gothic taste, but now very much changed; as well in the exterior part as the inside, which contains three stories. There are about sixty pieces of brass cannon, several colorns and mortars, and ten pieces of large brass battering cannon of an enormous size, with a great quantity of small arms, but not all in the best order. It seems to be the folly of most princes to preserve many uselefs arms, merely for shew, or for the sake of their antiquity.

On the ramparts is a curiosity of a mortar-piece of brass, made in 1411. It is ten feet six inches long, and nine feet two inches diameter, weighing 1800 quintals: it has 93 quintals of iron in the carriage. It will carry a ball of 730 pounds weight to the distance of 3300 paces, and throw a bomb of 1000 weight, but it requires 52 pounds of powder.

Here are several churches, one in particular, which is a very antient gothic building, but the appearance of its antiquity seems to be absorbed in the frequent repairs it has undergone. The top of it is ornamented with twenty large paintings, representing the prophets of the old testament in the clouds of heaven, which gives the building a very solemn air. The high altar is of marble adorned with the statues of the four evangelists, and supported below by MOSES and AARON.

This branch of the house of BRUNSWIC is very numerous, consisting of near thirty persons, who live in great harmony. But this family is unhappy in having one considerable branch in banishment in RUSSIA, and another living in a state of widowhood, the king's^{*} her husband being alive, and, to appearance, in good health.

The revenues of this country are said not to exceed a million and a half of dollars[†], and though the court is so numerous, the œconomy of it is such, that the duke has his theatrical and musical entertainments, and foreigners are received with great civility. Persons of great distinction being considered in some measure upon an equality, seldom leave this court without being extremely well satisfied with the reception they meet with. ENGLISH noblemen in particular are well received when they occasionally pass that way. The duke seems to consult his ease and happiness rather than the parade of life. He generally appears in his coach with three other persons of his family. His livery is yellow, laced with a galloon of blue silk and silver, and has usually four footmen behind his coach; two pages in blue cloth laced with silver, on each side of it; and a servant in livery riding before him to prepare the way.

The duke's palace of SALTZDAHLEN is worthy the curiosity of a traveller: it is situated at the distance of a long GERMAN mile from BRUNSWIC, in a very mean village, and the road to it is but indifferent. The greatest part of this palace is of timber; the rooms are mostly lined with painted cloths, which have a taste of grandeur at a small expence. Here I observed the magnificence of a sovereign prince restrained by a parsimonious.

* 262,000 l.

† The king of PRUSSIA.

regard to small revenues, and to the necessary support of a family and an army. The garden is in no bad taste, but the statues are very mean. The gallery of pictures is a noble apartment, and its contents not less worthy of attention; the end of it divides into several apartments. The left wing is furnished in a grotesque taste with CHINA porcelain, ranged in an agreeable manner: another is full of painted enamelled ware, great part of which is said to be done by RAPHAEL of URBINO, when he was enamoured with the potter's daughter: but I fancy RAPHAEL never made a tenth part of the quantity which is ascribed to him. This collection is said to be above 200 years standing. Of pictures there are many curious originals, some remarkable for the subject, and others for the execution.

Some of the pictures which struck my fancy, were ADAM and EVE viewing ABEL after his death, and pulling open his eyes; they are supposed to be ignorant in what circumstances he was; ABEL's body appears as turned towards one in three different views; this piece is by STRUDEL: our Saviour on the cross: prince EUGENE the imperial general: LEWIS XIV. and his two mistresses; appear to be fine pieces: the ascension, by VOUGERMAN, is much esteemed; the king of POLAND, they say, would gladly purchase it at any rate: the marriage of two HOLLANDERS, the young man and woman looking tenderly at each other, while the parents are equally attentive to the notary who draws up the articles: the woman of SAMARIA soliciting our Saviour's mercy, pleading the argument of dogs eating crumbs from their master's table: the famous REMBRANDT, his wife and three children in one piece, done by himself: JUDITH and her attendant, an old woman, holding HOLIFERNES's head just cut off, the face yet appearing with some marks of life: SPINOLA a famous SPANIARD, by RUBENS: a FLEMING, by VAN DYKE: TIME plunged into an abyss by ETERNITY: an angel is represented with a ring, whilst old TIME is tumbled headlong, the execution of this piece seems to be much inferior to many others: PETER delivered from prison by the angel, by STEINBECK: a representation of the doctrine of the cross and sacred history, opposing the vain imaginations of prophane history,

tory, and driving away the vicious beings which the heathen gods are represented, by JORDAN: CEPHALUS and PROCRIS, an exceeding fine piece: the representation of ABRAHAM embracing his son after the trial which God made of his faith; piety and joy, here seem to contend with each other, whilst his looks express a seraphic adoration; this piece is done by LIEBENS.

The dutchy of BRUNSWIC carries on a trade of some consequence with BOHEMIA. The country abounds in hops, which are esteemed the best in all GERMANY: they have likewise great plenty of turnips, of the seeds of which they make good oil.

C H A P. XXXIX.

The author pursues his journey to the electorate of HANOVER. A brief account of the city of HANOVER, its palace, stables, inhabitants. Of the revenues, soldiery, &c. Reflections on court language. A short account of the palace and garden of HERENHAUSEN.

THE seventh of September I travelled on to PALNE, three GERMAN miles; this place is in the bishoprick of HILDESHEIM, and now subject to the elector of COLOGNE, whose troops were quartered here. From hence to ZERN, a small place in the electorate of HANOVER, is two GERMAN miles; the road is good, but mostly on a heath and barren land.

Here I had an opportunity of discovering a new species of corruption, or rather an insolent abuse of authority. The electorate of HANOVER is distinguished from most others in GERMANY in this instance, that it does not draw any part of the revenues from post horses. They pay here only six grosch a GERMAN mile for each horse, whereas in POMERANIA, BRANDENBURG, and SAXONY, they pay eight. But as in those countries they usually put in four horses to a common chariot, and demand payment only for three, that number being supposed sufficient; in HANOVER they insist on being paid for the four, defeating the intention of the legislature by this act of inhospitable extortion.

From

From ZÆRN to the city of HANOVER is two GERMAN miles; the greatest part of the road is very sandy, and disagreeable; but the soil produces corn, and there are some pleasant groves near the road. The city of HANOVER on this side appears at the distance of a long GERMAN mile, as if it stood in the midst of a wood. Upon entering the HANOVERIAN dominions, I could not help observing a particular difference in the countenances of the inhabitants from those of the BRANDENBURGERS; for though the latter are polite, their persons cleanly, and their houses elegant; yet is there not the same appearance of a comfortable life as in HANOVER. The reason of this will soon appear, from the comparison of the different governments, and different views of their respective sovereigns. The king was now at GHOERD, a hunting-palace 28 GERMAN miles from the city. It is said that twelve hundred persons can be accommodated at this place, where his majesty makes greater expence than at any other diversion. The woods are cut into vistas, and the tract of country so large, that the trees which were blown down in a late storm, though computed at 80,000, are notwithstanding hardly missed.

The connexion which ENGLISH subjects are supposed to have with HANOVER, had almost betrayed me into a persuasion that I should find myself at home there. It is a vulgar notion, that ENGLAND is the chief support of that electorate; how ill founded it may be, I shall not take the pains to enquire; but I could not avoid observing a certain coldness and indifference in ENGLISH travellers in regard to HANOVER, who, though anxious in the dominions of foreign princes, to see things less worthy of note, are apt to pass over this city without any attention.

COUNT WILLIAM BENTINK being in the same inn, did me the honour of a transient visit: this nobleman is particularly polite in his manners, and has a great love for the ENGLISH. The count, who is seigneur of ROON, and of the same family as the duke of PORTLAND, is greatly beloved by all the well-wishers of the house of ORANGE, which, it is said, he had a great share in restoring to the stadtholdership. I had also an oppor-

opportunity of paying my respects to a certain noble peer, possessed of many amiable qualities. He gave me as gracious and polite a reception as I had any title to expect, who hardly ever saw him before. As I had no court-dependences, nor were here any temptations to other amusements; I was at liberty to indulge my thoughts in moralizing on this occasion.

A certain emissary from HAMBURG sent, about this time, to the court of HANOVER, returned home in high joy, from the great honour which had been paid him; though not a jot of his business was done. Men unused to the language of courts, may, like Sir FRANCIS WRONGHEAD in the play, be easily deceived into the imaginary possession of riches and honours, when these soft words are spoken by men in the highest ranks of life: but when courtiers are constrained to disguise their sentiments, can we, with any propriety, say, they are so high in dignity, as the private gentleman, who dares to speak the language of his heart, and is under no kind of necessity of speaking any other language?

One of the apartments in the king's palace being appointed as a chapel for the subjects of the church of ENGLAND, I had the pleasure of hearing doctor YOUNG, one of his majesty's chaplains*, preach. Whilst we are travelling through countries where we have no particular interest, where we are sojourners only for a few days, in a literal sense; shall we neglect to call to mind that country, where we shall live for ever; or think it an impropriety to blend the consideration of both worlds, whilst they are in their nature so inseparably connected? Whether it was from the great distance of time in which I had not heard any preacher of note, or the excellency of the discourse, set off with the advantages of the doctor's gesture, voice, and propriety of expression; his words seemed to have at least as much force as the sweetest eloquence of the most accomplished courtier. To lend an ear to the courtier, and take his word for some uncertain short-lived good, whilst we

* Now master of JESUS college in CAMBRIDGE.

are totally deaf, or carelessly inattentive to that of the priest, who promises certain and eternal felicity, is as common, as for men to think more of this world than of the next.

But, unhappily for mankind, these emissaries from heaven too often utter their important truths with less emotion, and, to APPEARANCE, with less attention to the purport of the words, than the COURTIER can have to his complimentary declarations. It was perhaps on this principle the celebrated Mr. BOOTH justly remarked, that the fictions of the stage have usually penetrated men's hearts, at least for the time, much deeper than the realities which are uttered from the pulpit. To soften this matter, it ought to be remembered, that a strong and harmonious voice, a musical ear, and a devout heart, are things which rarely meet in one and the same man. The great objection seems to consist in this, that the spiritual part of the legislature have declined into an inattention to this article; and custom, joined to the freedom of GREAT BRITAIN, in some measure makes it necessary for them to appoint all persons, who present themselves, if their lives and their learning are unexceptionable, whatever their defects may be in regard to voice, ear, and expression.

There are however many preachers in ENGLAND of admirable skill in oratory: many whose manners, language, and doctrine afford the highest delight to a moral mind; and give occasion to their auditors to show as great marks of their taste, as of their virtue. Unhappy those whose poverty in both, contracts their joys to pleasures of a different nature; pleasures which are rendered valuable only from the expence they create; or such as ought to be shunned, because they are dangerous. The cause of religion seems to suffer with the decline of that respect which is due to a profession, the most dignified in the world. A reverence for priest and for religion, will, in the minds, at least of the common people, ever accompany each other; and, in one sense, there are more common people than is generally imagined. In ENGLAND there seems to be much greater danger from the immorality arising from this cause, than from ecclesiastical power or pride.

HANOVER is, in many respects, pleasant; and, though short of BERLIN, or DRESDEN, it may be deemed elegant: it is every day improving, and the part which is called the new city has several agreeable houses. It is watered by the LEINA, which is a branch of the ALLER, that runs into the WESER, and consequently communicates with BREMEN; but it carries on no trade worth mentioning. The fortifications are not formidable, but the walk round them is very agreeable.

The king's stables are magnificent; besides his riding horses, which were then absent, they contained thirteen complete sets of coach-horses, the most beautiful of their kind.

The palace is situated upon the banks of the LEINA: it has several courts within it. In consequence of a fire, which happened not many years since, great part of it has been rebuilt. The rooms are commodious, as well as grand, and many of them are hung with very rich tapestry, for which this palace is most distinguished. The opera-house, as well as the theatre for the FRENCH comedians, which are both within the palace, are antient, but commodious. The whole is rather rich, decent, and elegant, than splendid; but it has something more solid than any I saw in GERMANY.

The guard is always mounted, and open table is kept even when the king is not in his electoral dominions; at which time the administration, composed of a council of state, is conducted with the utmost dignity. During the whole winter there is a play twice a week, and a concert as often. The courtiers, without exception, take place according to the military rank that is assigned them; at the same time that this feeds their hearts with that pride and emulation, which is one of the great properties of courts in general, it supports that good order and discipline which is essential to a military government.

The king's forces in the electorate are said to be 24,000. They are deservedly distinguished for their valour, of which they gave such signal proof in the late war, that even those politicians, who make it a point to oppose the measures of the government, must confess, that our confidence

in them was more judiciously reposed, than in any other of our good friends and allies. These men do not appear so tall as the ENGLISH soldiers; but, in other respects, bear a great affinity to them. The revenues of the electorate are about four millions of dollars^b. The finances are said to be in good order, which is not improbable; for although this electorate has been so frequently threatened with invasions, war has not reached its bowels now for a long series of years. A considerable part of the revenue arises from the silver mines. The number of inhabitants in the city of HANOVER hardly exceed fifty thousand.

I was told in BRANDENBURG, that the HANOVERIAN women were remarkable for their beauty; but I confess, that I could not discover any such women; it is true, my eyes were then extremely weak.

But nothing here is so much recommended to the attention of travellers as the king's palace at HEREN-HAUSEN, which lies about two ENGLISH miles to the northward of the city. The way to it is through an agreeable avenue of trees, but the road is sandy. I know not if I was most mortified or surprized, to find a building incomparably short of my expectations; for though in ENGLAND it is said our hospitals are palaces, and our palaces are more proper for hospitals^c; yet I had fallen into an opinion, that this palace, so much talked of, was indeed grand, and worthy of his majesty. Princes, like other men, have oftentimes prejudices in favour of a paternal inheritance, and the residence of their forefathers. ERNEST AUGUSTUS, the king's grandfather, built this palace about eighty years since^d: the greatest part of it is of wood, and the apartments in general rather give an idea of a large antient mansion-house of a private gentleman in ENGLAND, than the palace of a great monarch. It has some rich and decent furniture, and good pictures. Charles the first, and prince RUPERT in particular, are said to be originals, and distinguished for their likenesses.

The garden however may justly be admired. I saw none in GERMANY comparable to it, though it wants those exquisite charms and enchanting

^b 700,000 l.

^c HAMPTON-COURT, &c. excepted.

^d In 1670.

variety that an inequality of ground produces, of which we have numerous proofs in GREAT BRITAIN. One side of the garden is covered by a narrow piece of water above a quarter of a mile in length. The walks are mostly of gravel made wide and spacious, large squares and basons dividing the several parts of the garden. The intermediate spaces are formed by lofty groves and orchards: the whole produces a grand effect; but in my judgment not very rural. The statues are mostly of stones, and do not appear to me of the first rank. The jet-d'eau, erected by Mr. BENSON in 1716, perhaps exceeds any thing of the sort in the world; it throws the water 70 feet high. Here is also a sylvan theatre according to the GERMAN taste, on which plays and masquerades are sometimes exhibited: it is adorned with statues, and occasionally illuminated in a grand taste. In this palace, it is said, the king most unbends his mind; and whilst he enjoys an uncontrouled authority, has the entire possession of the hearts of his subjects. Such cannot be the limited power of a BRITISH monarch; but he certainly has the sincere love of MUCH the greatest part of his people in GREAT BRITAIN; the real friendship of many near his person, and the veneration, even of those few, who are too much their own enemies to be entirely his friends; and to these we may add a country possessed of all the advantages of nature and art, incomparably superior to the electorate: yet the native born subjects, who judge dispassionately, and enter a little into the human heart, will soon find reasons to consider a king as man like themselves, and reconcile the constancy of his majesty's affections for his HANOVERIAN dominions. Whether such an affection will exist in the minds of this illustrious family in FUTURE ages, FUTURITY only can discover. That the HANOVERIANS are as impatient for the absence of their ELECTOR, as any BRITISH subjects can be of their KING, is obvious; so natural is it to mankind to covet the sight and presence of their sovereign when he is a good prince.

One great topic during my stay at HANOVER, was the treaty just then concluded between the BRITISH crown and the UNITED PROVINCES on the one part, and the elector of BAVARIA on the other, with regard to a supply of forces in case of need; for which BAVARIA

is to receive an annual subsidy of near 40,000 l. The sufferings of BAVARIA in the late war, one would imagine, were sufficient to detach her elector from FRANCE, though such an emolument had not been given. The generality of people in ENGLAND are apt to complain, that these subsidies are injurious to the honour and welfare of their country; but if it is necessary to support an interest upon the continent, as in some lights it must be granted; these GERMAN princes, whose interest or inclination may induce them to enter into an alliance with us, will as naturally demand of us some kind of reward for their friendship, as the poor expect to be relieved by the bounty of the rich: and although more may be paid for a thing than it is worth; yet, in some cases, is it not as much our interest to give moderate subsidies, as it is for other princes to take them? We see that the FRENCH, who are very acute in their politics, are as little disposed to give something for nothing, as we possibly can be; and yet they pay to PRUSSIA, COLOGN, DENMARK, SWEDEN, POLAND, and the republic of GENOA near 600,000 l. which I apprehend is near twelve times as much as we pay in subsidies*. As custom is the law of mankind, whilst the system of political interest remains on its present footing, those nations who, by commerce, are in the way of accumulating riches, will have demands on them for part of those riches, whenever the assistance of other princes is, in a certain degree, necessary to preserve that power by which those riches are acquired: and whilst we commit depredations on one another by arts of corruption, even supposing the giving of moderate subsidies to be an evil, if it is such as the conduct of other powers renders necessary, we have the less reason to complain.

* The last subsidy to SAXONY, together with that of BAVARIA, I believe does not exceed fifty thousand pounds. The most provoking circumstances in regard to paying foreign subsidies, is being deserted in time of need; and yet we are, in this respect, on the same footing as the FRENCH, supposing we give with the same attention to the natural interest of those who receive, as the FRENCH do.



C H A P. XL.

A duel fought between two of the king's HANOVERIAN subjects. Reflections on duelling.

SINCE my arrival in this city^a, the great subject of discourse was the duel, by which his majesty had just lost Mr. FRICHAPEL and Mr. SWEKEL, two of his principal HANOVERIAN subjects, the one being fled, and the other killed. The latter was a lord of the bed-chamber, and being in favour with the king, he had attended his majesty into HOLLAND, though this office ordinarily belonged to FRICHAPEL as master of the horse: this created a disgust and jealousy, which were inflamed by an occasional insult. Both were said to be equally disposed to refer the decision of the matter to the sword; SWEKEL, though no young man, and short-sighted, was weak enough to comply with the challenge, and lost his life in the unequal combat, much to the regret of the court, and of all lovers of peace and amity.

What a reproach is it to the first magistrates of the CHRISTIAN world, that this custom should be so often connived at! A custom which is considered by MAHOMMEDANS, and even PAGANS, as impious as it is ridiculous. Do princes imagine there is no other way to support military courage and external politeness, but by the sacrifice of religion and humanity? What a disgrace to common sense, that men, of the most gallant spirits in a nation, should thus become the dupes of princes by a compliance with a tyrannical and fantastic rule of conduct, which has no sound politic, nor one good reason to support it?

His majesty, it was said, would have made the survivor shorter by the head, had he remained in the HANOVERIAN dominions^b. It might be wished that the king would declare, and we ought to believe he would be as good as his word, that any man for the future, who has not courage and resolu-

^a HANOVER.

^b Mr. FRICHAPEL has now a regiment in the FRENCH service.

tion enough to obey the laws, nor humanity to forgive, nor even the moderation to appeal to others, shall be deemed a bad man, if not a coward, and receive no mercy, but what the laws will give him. Would it not be more honourable for CHRISTIAN princes to interpose, by banishing from their courts with infamy, every subject, who, being a party, pretends to be also judge, jury, and executioner in his own cause in this important article of life and death?

To take away life contrary to law, is a power which a king ought not to have; and which kings, in our happy isle, must not assume: and shall a subject dare to do it? Yet the fault apparently lies in the breast of princes, that this detestable practice is not suppressed. Princes are the fountain of that honour, which is the principle on which the duellist is supposed to act. The connivance or resentment of a king must feed or dry up the source of this delusion, which is more owing to custom, than to the badness of men's hearts; a custom which, in the ages of ignorance and superstition, was not known among men; as if learning, politeness, and the light of the gospel, were productive only of false refinements, diametrically opposite to humanity and religion. Princes are also supreme in religious matters. This is a case, which seems to require an appeal to the sovereign of heaven and earth, whose vice-gerents princes ought to be; and if men, in a wanton pursuit of an imaginary honour, despise even death itself, what other law can rectify this abuse, than the law of honour, of which the prince is the guardian? Hence the notions which render this practice in some instances warrantable, may, by a change of custom, render it infamous, and the very memory of such false notions will thus in time wear off.

If the fault is not imputable to princes, if they do not consider such practices as necessary evils, how comes it, for this is the common received opinion, that the honestest man, and most gallant officer in an army, is obliged to give up his commission after refusal to fight, though demanded by a person, who is stupidly intrepid, and deserves severe punishment for disturbing the society? But supposing the challenger is of a contrary character, I see not how the case is altered: The violation of human and di-

vine laws is the same. I must again repeat it, if the fault is not imputable to princes, how comes it that the survivor is generally pardoned in consequence of the prerogative of the crown?

It is true, many worthy men have been in the sad case of the surviving duellist, by offending more from a regard to custom than the badness of their hearts. Perhaps it was a debt to humanity to save them from the gallows, since they must have fought in some measure from their knowledge of the lenity of princes. Is it enough that the law declares it death to kill in a duel, when what we call the fair duellist knows that the survivor is generally, I might say, ALWAYS pardoned? The deceased is always most in fault, or, what is very remarkable, always said to be so: but did subjects of every rank know, that to meet an adversary with weapons, with an intention of fighting, was certain death by the laws; and that the sovereign would interpose only to see the laws executed, there is great reason to believe that no one would proceed to such extremities.

The FRENCH in this case generally fly their country; many are connived at; and by a neglect of the laws which prevails in every nation in favour of the higher ranks, duelling is often deemed a rencounter^a, and as such is pardoned. There are indeed many of the FRENCH abroad in an inglorious banishment for crimes of this nature, who make no secret of it, but avow the cause, by calling it an affair of honour; a specious name indeed to colour a wicked action!

A prince is concerned to prevent this abuse, not only as the chief magistrate, and the guardian of the laws, but in most countries as the principal military officer, or general of the army. In a camp this extravagant whim received its birth, and has been since propagated for about one hundred and fifty years, as much to the disgrace of all pretenders to true honour, and the common laws of civil society, as to the professors of the christian religion.

^a I have heard that the FRENCH king takes an oath at his coronation not to pardon duels.

HENRY IV. of FRANCE is said to have been the first that encouraged this practice, by which many a good subject has lost his life, and many a family has been left in distress, who may justly call for vengeance on him who first gave countenance to so dangerous a system. LEWIS XIV. did much in curbing this vice in FRANCE, and it became less fashionable in other parts of EUROPE: but alas! since his time, in FRANCE and several parts of EUROPE, what a number of souls have been sent to their last account full of this complicated crime, of regarding men rather than God? I say regarding men rather than God, since pride is certainly at the bottom, and every such act of pride is plainly a rebellion against divine laws.

As this custom so apparently strikes at the fundamental laws of all society, ought it not to be resented as such by the whole community? 'Tis amazing how impiously stupid some men are in this article in countries professing christianity, who presume to dispose of their lives as if they possessed them by an independent act of their own, and acknowledging no God, are directed intirely by their own caprice.

To intimidate these valiant men, it might perhaps be demonstrated that duels are often fought for want of courage. Have the combatants resolution to act up to the real sense of things? If they have not, in what sense are they brave beyond a dog or a lyon? And where is THE HONOUR of doing a wicked action for fear of wanting bread? An honest man will die rather than do a base action; and what is the notion of a base action but such as is offensive to God, and destructive of society? Thinking men esteem it a folly to say any thing in vindication of this flagitious practice; but how many even of these are preserved more by the kindness of providence, than by the strength and uprightness of their own hearts. The world is in many cases an arrant cheat, and perhaps in no instance more than this. How many thousands of gallant spirits are preserved from the effects of a duel, because they never receive any of those INGENIOUS EPISTLES called CHALLENGES? I remember to have read of a man, who, whilst he was writing a treatise against self-murder, was found

found hanging on his bed-post. Such has been, and such probably will be the case of many in regard to duels, if some more effectual method is not used to suppress them. As to men who profess arms, they DARE not maintain that they are christians in this instance: they must be CAREFUL what they say, or rather they must be FALSE to their own sense of the matter whenever they talk of it. Is it only then from the pulpit, or the moral writer, that the custom is to be exploded? Are religion and true politics interesting only to a few under particular circumstances? Such is the state of the polite christian world! Thus men make themselves the slaves of false opinions under the notion of bravery, not considering, that of all cowardice, that is the worst, which enslaves the mind, and compels a man to be false to his own heart.

To be reconciled to death is essential to a philosopher and a christian, that is, in fact to be really no coward; but it is equally essential to these characters to refuse this criminal way of dying. It follows then, that these renounce the appearance of virtue for the reality of it. If the duellist acts contrary to this principle, he renounces the reality for the appearance. From hence we may observe how extravagantly absurd the conduct of those is, who offer incense to this capricious, cruel, lawless, stupid idol, opinion, dressed in the garb of honour, and under the disguise of a gallant spirit.

That this matter requires serious animadversion, is but too apparent: for my own part I have hardly met a man of the world, but leaned, in some degree, to the side of what they call the honourable duellist. The youth who has fought his duel, where no murder is committed, is sometimes more distinguished than the officer who has been in ten campaigns, has fought gallantly as many battles under a just command, and has truly served, nay perhaps has been one of a few who saved, their country. Thus the false courage which carries men to destroy the laws, and bring on anarchy and confusion, finds more respect than that which is employed according to the laws for the defence and preservation of the society, which can exist no longer than the laws. How exceedingly ab-

is it to shew a man a secret or an open contempt for not fighting, when if he kills his adversary, humanity steps in, and we look on him with horror? Pity indeed often takes place, but the reflection that the laws have been contemned, is that which enters least into our heads or hearts. To mention ourselves with a good grace, though we exult in the satisfaction of having acted right, is a difficult task: but this apprehension must not hinder us from pursuing the great purpose and duty of life, nor render us really deficient on one side, whilst we are afraid of being so on the other. Perhaps a false shame in well disposed minds has done more harm than all the vanity or affectation of the weak part of mankind: the triumphs of the understanding ought to be distinguished from the vanity of the heart. Some confessions of our conduct and principles, even when we approve, require a great mixture of self-denial; for there is hardly a man breathing, who is not in some instances a slave to OPINION: besides, arguments deduced from the general reason of things, though they may affect the understanding, do not penetrate the heart so deep as precepts which are brought into action.

The reader is by this time acquainted with my sentiments, if he believes I am sincere. May I then, as I am writing a journal, mention a circumstance of my own life? I once received a challenge. A certain manuscript of no consequence, clandestinely taken, and misrepresented, gave an alarm to a gentleman of the fighting sort; upon which I received a letter from him, conceived in these terms:

“SIR,

“I Understand you are the author of a paper subscribed * * * *, in which
 “are initial letters that I presume mean me. As I ALWAYS MAKE
 “IT A POINT TO RESENT AFFRONTs, I desire you will meet me at
 “* * * *, and bring your sword with you.

“I am, &c.”

To which I answered to this effect:

“SIR,

“ SIR,

“ **I**N reply to your letter, the meaning of which I suppose is a challenge to fight with you : as I do not understand by what authority you call me to account, I will NOT tell you whether I am the author of any such paper as you mention, or not : but this I think my honour is concerned to tell you, that I never intend to do any man an injury ; and if an offence does come, that honour also obliges me to make atonement, without putting my friends to the trouble of fighting : and for my part I ALWAYS MAKE IT A POINT NOT TO RESENT AFFRONTS, beyond the measure which reason and religion warrant.

“ As to meeting you at * * * *, I have no inclination to walk in such weather as this, much less am I disposed to fight for NOTHING ; but a sword I ALWAYS wear, intending to use it upon every JUST occasion.

“ I am, &c.”

My antagonist was satisfied, and no doubt was glad to be excused fighting, as all men are except those who are intoxicated with wine, or what is much the same, with anger ; or quite deprived of understanding. What an absurd custom is this ! A man injures me, and therefore I must also give him an opportunity of killing me : on the other hand, what can possess a man with an opinion that he must fight because another is so mad as to require it of him ? Is the challenge a sufficient provocation ? that is, as if because a man demands the loan of a large sum of money, I must lend it at the hazard of my own ruin : if a man by a trespass forfeits his right in his own life ; if I have a right to kill him, if I think it good to remove him as a villain, why should I not kill him in the most convenient way ? The grand point will be who is to judge in this matter ; I think at least some casuist of learning and great probity ought to be consulted in so important a case ; and after all I am afraid the laws would judge this private vindictive justice as murder, and me to be hanged.

To bring the thing home to my own breast, now I am upon the subject, I will suppose I had the same sort of sense in this business as my adversary,

versary, and had carried my sword as he desired, used it and died, and been brought to my last account, for such account I believe there will be; what could I say in my own defence? That I was not afraid of God, but I feared the phantom OPINION. But what if I had killed my adversary, and, to put the matter in the best light, been pardoned by human laws; could all my tears of repentance have cleansed my hand from this HONOURABLE MURDER? Ought I not to run it into the flames, and stand, as a ROMAN^b did on a worse occasion, to see it burnt off, to expiate the bloody deed, if such expiation could avail?

A friend of mine mentioned an acquaintance of his who treated a challenge less seriously, by calling out in a public coffee-house, "You * * * *", what did you mean by sending me a challenge, do you think "that at my time of life I am such a fool to fight a duel?"

There is no man who acts virtuously but somebody or other suffers when he dyes: however, let us consider him in the different relations of life; suppose him wedded to a woman of honour and sentiments, a kind husband, a dutiful son, a tender parent, and consequently it may be presumed a faithful friend; and, except in this wild enthusiast, a lover of his country. Behold him prostrate on the earth, killed by the hand of him who perhaps was yesterday the friend of his bosom; and a man whom he loved and wished to serve; sent to his last account with all his sins upon him; plunged into eternity in a rebellious act against the plain decrees of heaven. Whilst we see the blood issuing from his wound, behold the gentle matron, the partner of all his happiness or misery, with floods of tears streaming from her eyes, calling for that aid which no mortal arm can give. The tender infant by her side knows not that one fatal thrust, robs him of all the joys, the comforts and support, with which providence had blessed him in a parent, now no more. The aged father losing his son, in whom all his worldly joys were centered, and for whom only he wished to live, droops his hoary head and dies with sorrow. On the other hand what horror must invade

the soul of the surviving duellist ! The reproaches of his heart, and his fearful apprehensions of the laws, must fill him with dismay. If it was only to die, death is but a debt we owe to nature, and the end of life is to pay that debt in a graceful manner : but under these circumstances it is shocking. Not the devouring flames ; nor storms that plunge the affrighted mariner into his watery grave, have half the terrors of this dreadful scene.

The most capital misfortune attending the preludes to these catastrophes, is the frequent carelessness, or too great confidence in a supposed accommodation, on the parts of by-standers, or of the friends of the parties contending ; to which we may add, the supposed shame of the parties in asking advice in such cases. I have been more than once assured by a very gallant sea officer, who has given proof of his courage upon the most important occasions, that he has been instrumental in making up near a dozen quarrels, which to all appearance must otherwise have proceeded to the extremity of a duel.

If a benediction is annexed to feeding the hungry and cloathing the naked, how amiable in the sight of GOD must that man be who saves the souls as well as bodies of his fellow-creatures !

Not to think of death as the entrance into ANOTHER STATE, is to neglect the most essential duty of THIS ; and to fear death is to renounce our patrimony ; to turn a blessing into a curse ; to prefer pain to pleasure ; and to imbitter the joys which the kindness of providence has so liberally presented to us. We ought to be ready to meet death, and in some cases even to wish for it. We ought to long for a glorious occasion to finish the campaign of life ; but it should be a glorious, that is a just occasion. What man in his right mind would not die a martyr to the principles on which his eternity depended ; and suffer himself to be stoned to death under the harsh name of a coward, rather than die, or even live by the sword, as a fool ? a fool, if there is a GOD, and a state of rewards for good, and punishments for evil actions ; who shipwrecks his hopes, and renounces all the profit of a long and dangerous voyage for NOTHING ; for the breath of idle satlers, for indigested opinions, and the false judgment of those who reject these considerations in their plan of life. We

all

all naturally desire to be beloved in life, and applauded by men; however uncertain and precarious the advantages of such love and applause: but how great soever they are, they MUST terminate with THAT life, of which we are thus so stupidly lavish; though at the same time we know, that if we observe a consistent conduct in this world, we must deny the immortality of the soul, and refuse our acknowledgment that GOD is wise, just, and merciful; or expect that immortality in a state of happiness, in comparison of which the highest human felicity is but the "baseless fabric of a vision."

C H A P. XLI.

Further reflexions on duelling, with the cases of a demand to draw, the lie given, or a blow received; with the conduct of a reasonable man of honour in an appeal to national justice.

MANY admonitions have been written on the subject of duelling, and some of them, no doubt, have made impressions on men, however disposed, by their circumstances and professions, to be numbered amongst the lawless combatants. We have lately seen men professing arms*, who have declined the challenge; but whilst so many adopt false principles, it is not possible to eradicate this pernicious custom.

Various are the incidents which bear a great affinity with the more cool and deliberate invitation to the duel. A case once happened by the well-meant officiousness of a gentleman; he endeavoured to soften the wrath of a person, who directed it at no higher an object than a porter. This gentleman afterwards run his inflamed adversary through the body, in consequence of the OFFENCE of demanding him to DRAW. How can we reconcile a conduct which brought on so fatal a catastrophe? Would it not have been more consistent for this gentleman to retire? Is it a shame to run away from a madman? The risk of being killed by direct assassination, had he retired, was not perhaps as one to ten equal to the hazard of the combat; so that it seems as if he chose the greater danger

* If some public relations are genuine.

to avoid the less : but how much more glorious had it been to die in such a case, whilst he endeavoured to avoid spilling the blood of his fellow-creature, under such circumstances of disgrace to human nature, than to live the wretched vanquisher of so miserable a being ? However romantic this thought may appear, I confess I see as great a duty to avoid killing a man, though at the hazard of one's own life, as to endeavour to defend a fellow-creature, under certain circumstances, at the same hazard : and there is no man of true bravery, but, upon some occasions, will run the risk of his own life to save that of another person. As to the case of direct assassination, the first principle of life teaches us what to do.

In relation to the accidents which happen for want of fixed principles, I have seen several cases. A particular acquaintance of mine abroad, was taken up by the watch, when he was so much disordered in liquor, that he was not capable of distinguishing ; his friend passing by, and hearing of the event, gave bail for him. As they walked together, he demanded satisfaction of his benefactor for an offence committed by another person : his friend, instead of flying from this temporary madman, fought with him, and they both lost their lives.

I have often wondered that well-regulated states should suffer the profession of a fencing-master^b : to one that has been saved by the knowledge of this science, twenty have been lost. We often find bad men excel in this art, and the best are not excused on account of their ignorance of it. What have we to do with a science, of which the laws forbid the use ? Men are not taught to counterfeit a hand-writing, nor to coin false money. National quarrels are not determined by the sword of the duellist ; nor can the best fencer parry a musket-ball, or a bayonet. But a knowledge of the use of the fusée, or spontoon, may be of great advantage in the field of battle. A warlike nation should learn how to kill their enemies when there is a necessity for it, and not their countrymen when there is none. As to fencing, it has been frequently a temptation to desperate actions ;

^b Except that the challenged may chuse his weapons ; I once heard of a man who chose a pitchfork, which, though improper for a gentleman, had good effect, for it prevented the duel.

and men often engage with an entire knowledge of their great superiority, as well as a presumption of it. Of the last sort I knew a very particular instance.

A very near relation of mine was once attacked in the open streets in full day by one of these fighting gentlemen, who, it seems, took him for another person. He retired, and told him, "Sir, for heaven's sake forbear; I never saw you before, nor know I who you are." This however did not restrain the aggressor. His eyes were as blind as his heart: he pushed forward, and, as the price of his rashness, he received a mortal wound, and only lived to beg pardon for his mistake.

Another remarkable event happened also to the same person: he was challenged by a man whom he had never seen, nor heard of. As a man of the sword however he consented, and had the fortune to make his antagonist beg his life: this person then confessed, that he had no motive to fighting but his distressed condition, and entreated his antagonist to assist him. The wounds he had received, now made him the greater object of compassion; so that this extravagant enterprize ended in the aggressor's being relieved by the charity of the man whom he had provoked to this desperate trial of skill.

Instances of this sort are very numerous, arising, for the most part, from the same cause, viz. a gross ignorance of what a man ought to do under certain circumstances. For what can HONOUR mean, if it is not A RULE OF CONDUCT? However complicated cases of this nature are, the ordinary incentives to such catastrophes are a demand to DRAW, that is, to fight; the lie given; or a blow. As to the first, the party offending by this demand is generally in anger, and as incapable of reason as the drunken man. If by this demand he means to kill you on the spot, if you do not kill him; what is it less than assassination? and if no relief can be obtained, all means either of art or force are warrantable for the preservation of life. But if it is only a simple proposition to fight with him, as is generally understood, it ought to be considered as a proposal, to leap with him from the top of a house, and he should be regarded as a mad-man:

man : however, as he bears the figure of a man, his person ought to be sacred, and all possible means used to protect him from himself.

As to giving the lie, the ancient ROMANS, whose valour we never call in question, considered it only as a contradiction. Custom, pride, or a higher sense of moral virtue in some, and an affectation of it in others, have rendered this word very harsh and violent to us : but human laws seldom take any cognizance of it, unless with respect to men of high rank, or eminent authority. If the party HAS really uttered an injurious falsity, the punishment will, in a great measure, attend it ; and if he has NOT, the lie is retorted, and the dishonour properly fixed : but in matters of fact, or assertion, witnesses only can determine, and resentments of this sort ought, in all reason, to be referred to a court of honour ; that is, to the friends of the parties, who may easily accommodate such a quarrel, when men really mean to act LIKE MEN.

But the severest trial of a man is by a blow. This is the treatment of a slave, or a malefactor, and he who is above the rank of the lowest of mankind, or has any consciousness of his own dignity, ought, in justice to himself, and to the community, to require satisfaction ; because this is an offence against the society, of which the laws take cognizance. Out of respect then to the society, and in obedience to the laws, he ought to appeal to them. Suppose then a man is struck without a just provocation, let him appeal to the magistrate, to whom he is supposed to have entered into a solemn engagement to refer his cause, in consequence of the common protection he derives from the laws.

But as such appeals are not often made by men, who profess to have a very high sense of honour, it ought to be extremely clear that they mean to support the respect due to the laws, abstracted from all private considerations ; and therefore if the satisfaction, which may be judged due for the injury done, is pecuniary ; they must transfer it in trust for the use of the poor ; not as a gift, but as a forfeiture to the poor by the offender. A man who would not do a base action for gain, ought not to benefit by such a forfeiture, not even in the supposed merit of a charity. A villain

may artfully provoke an honest man to an offence against the laws, with a view to private benefit : but as no man of honour will suffer disgrace for the sake of gain ; he ought also to avoid the appearance of such advantage, in any case it is his duty to rest in a determined resolution to be really a man of honour, and not a slave to opinion, against the light of his own mind ; against the laws of his country ; and against the awful majesty of heaven.

The highest indignity, in the ordinary estimation of crimes of this sort, is for a man, who professes arms, to receive a blow. In a free country the military law being subservient to civil institutions, we must conclude that a court-martial would proceed upon much the same principles as any other court of judicature.

Let us suppose then even a gentleman of the army confronting the transgressor in the presence of the judge, and that he means to act like a CHRISTIAN, and a good member of the community, as well as a soldier : I presume his pleading would stand thus :

“ As I believe the religion of CHRIST, I now appear before your lord-
 “ ships for my hope in that religion ; I appear to vindicate the decrees of
 “ heaven, and to rescue them from contempt. I plead, my lord, in de-
 “ fence of the highest privilege of mankind, desiring to prove, by my own
 “ submission, that the wise author of nature has not ordained any partial law,
 “ which is obligatory only to people under particular circumstances.

“ I know that custom has not only made it honourable to decide
 “ such complaints as mine by the sword of private vindictive justice, but
 “ also dishonourable to appeal to any other. That custom, unsupported
 “ by reason, is the law of fools, is acknowledged by all men of common
 “ sense ; yet as it has been the custom for the highest ranks of mankind,
 “ to neglect the national justice, and revenge themselves with their own
 “ arm ; in the eyes of many I must appear, if not as a coward, at least as in-
 “ ferior to them in courage, and a due sense of honour. Whilst the
 “ world is enslaved to OPINION, men will appear with dignity, or disgrace,
 “ as they follow or abandon the standard of this tyrant.

“ But

“ But I apprehend, my lord, that the important affair now under con-
 sideration, is not how I am to pay a blind homage to custom, or opi-
 nion; but how to express the submission of a reasonable being to reason-
 able laws, with a due regard to both worlds. Human institutions are
 ever presumed to be directed by the higher motives of divine laws; to
 evade the one, is to despise the other. As I know that my freedom,
 my religion, and all that is dear to me, are secured by the laws, and
 that the protection derived from them, implies a solemn obligation on
 my part; can I, with the name of honour, pretend to annul that obli-
 gation? In this light things appear to me: but I have learnt also, by long
 experience, the fallacy of human wisdom; how incapable we often are
 to judge for ourselves; and how differently the same action appears to
 the same person at different times: upon this account also I appeal to
 the judgment of this honourable court. I refer my cause to the laws of
 GOD and my country, in hopes that the day will come, when soldiers
 will have the courage to act like men, and like CHRISTIANS; and to
 dare to do any thing which ought to be done: till that day comes, he
 who has the courage to act up to the dictates of his conscience, and
 the clear precepts of his religion, must deplore an evil which he cannot
 rectify, and stand up against the imputation even of cowardice, rather
 than renounce that conscience and religion.

“ There is another reason, my lord, why, contrary to all custom with
 men of my profession, I appear before this honourable assembly. The
 common dictates of humanity call on me to demand justice in this
 manner; not the dictates of a mean self-love; nor a dastardly fear of
 death; but the cause of honour and of liberty, the cause of my fellow-
 citizens and countrymen: as it is my duty to fight for them WHEN I AM
 CALLED, I now mean, my lord, to preserve their lives, and, by endeavour-
 ing to stop the current of a flagitious practice, to screen them from in-
 famy or disgrace in the like circumstances.

“ If we enjoy life, and the name of honour, only by the romantic cle-
 mency of him who dares to draw his sword in defiance of the laws,
 what is this, in effect, but slavery? He that challenges to an illegal com-
 bat,

“bat, and has it in his power to blast my reputation, if I refuse; is he
“not a more dangerous member of the community, than he who chal-
“lenges me to deliver my purse, and will neither touch my life nor ho-
“nour, if I consent: and if it is inglorious to solicit for justice against
“those who violate the rules of civil society; the consequence must be, that
“it is glorious to persecute and destroy the virtuous, who are the support
“of that society.

“In all the dreadful scenes of blood, which my duty, as a soldier, has
“often engaged me; I ever considered it as my pride and honour to be
“obedient to the command of my superiors, though it were to rush on cer-
“tain death: that is the law of a soldier in the field of battle: the same rule
“of conduct now brings me before this honourable court. As in those
“scenes of slaughter, I never thought it justifiable to kill an enemy out of
“mere revenge, or to take a life, which, consistently with my duty, I
“could spare; what change of principles should now induce me to run
“the hazard of robbing my fellow-subject of his life, from the impulse
“of a lawless revenge? A revenge which, if followed, mankind would
“be reduced to a state of war, the links of humanity would be broken,
“and the foundation of all society rooted up.

“And now, my lord, in what degree the offender is punishable, rests
“on the judgment of this honourable assembly: I do not mean to bias
“the court, or load the aggressor with guilt, arising from motives per-
“haps foreign to his thoughts: on the contrary, I hope he will expe-
“rience such a mitigation of his punishment, as will demonstrate to him-
“self, and to all the world, either that honour, equity, and all the sacred
“regards by which society is supported, are, in the course of national
“justice entirely neglected; or, that it is absurd, unjust, and inhuman,
“to revenge a blow, the wild effect of anger, by no less a chastisement
“than the death of the offender.”

C H A P. XLII.

A short account of ZELL, the adjacent country, and the passage of the ELBE. Observations on the hospitality of the BRITISH factory in HAMBURG, with some reflections on the sacrament. Of the body corporate of that factory. Of the houses, inhabitants, government, military force, fortification, territories, and trade of HAMBURG. A short account of ALTONA.

THE 13th of September I left HANOVER, and proceeded to ENZEN, a small mean village; the road to this place exhibits little more than heath, with very few houses and inhabitants, for two GERMAN miles and a half. From thence to ZELL is two GERMAN miles and a half; the chief production of the country near the road, is turf, which serves as fuel for the adjacent inhabitants. About three feet from the surface of the earth, I observed in several places the remains of antient buildings, which the common people are idle enough to think have remained there ever since the deluge.

ZELL is a very considerable place, and guarded by a fortification: it has been formerly the residence of the dukes of that name, but by marriage it is now devolved to the house of HANOVER. The palace is fortified by a wall and a mote, and, being on an eminence, commands an extensive prospect. Here are four LUTHERAN churches, one FRENCH, and one DUTCH reformed church, and one for the ROMAN catholics. The buildings for the most part are very mean, being chiefly of wood. The town has a small trade with BREMEN, by means of the river ALLER; and now afforded quarters to a regiment of 700 men. It has been also long distinguished for a stud of exceeding fine horses, of which I saw many: here are sometimes to the number of one hundred and fifty; the pedigree of each horse is marked on the post of the stall. Besides many beautiful horses for the saddle, there is a very fine set of cream-coloured horses for a coach of state.

From ZELL I travelled to WEISSENDORFF, which is four excessive long GERMAN miles; the greatest part of the way appears like a desert, having only three or four mean villages, and very little corn land, but some flocks of sheep. This electorate supplies the greatest part of GERMANY with mutton, as BRANDENBURG and WESTPHALIA produces hogs, and HUNGARY beef; but the trade in corn is very small, as each of those countries produces sufficient for its own consumption.

On the 15th I went to ZÆHRENDORF, four GERMAN miles, the country still abounding in heaths and woods. The villagers in some places complained of the unwholesome air. Whether this arises from the earth not being cultivated, the number of inhabitants being small, or from the badness of the soil I cannot determine. On the 16th I travelled on to HAMBURG, four GERMAN miles: the country towards the banks of the ELBE has a more agreeable aspect. Travellers sometimes go by SPICKERWICK, where the ELBE being much narrower, the passage is short and the charge easy; from thence on the north east banks of the ELBE there are many delightful gardens in the territories of HAMBURG; whereas at HARBURG it is five or six ENGLISH miles cross the ELBE to HAMBURG. The banks of this river below the city, are in some places very lofty, and exhibit a delightful view of the several small islands in the middle of it. It is very unlucky for travellers who are well inclined to entertain a good opinion of the electorate of HANOVER, that the road from the metropolis cross the country to the ELBE in the rout to HAMBURG, has so barren and desolate an appearance. The districts of ZELL and LUNENBURG are by no means scenes of pleasure or profit; but at some distance from the road in proper HANOVER, I am assured are lands fertile and well peopled, which indeed ought to be inferred from the amount of the revenues of this electorate, as already mentioned; though these arise chiefly from the mines.

The 17th. Being now arrived in a great trading city, amongst a considerable BRITISH factory, with some of the members of which I had particular connections from commercial interest, I considered myself as at home;

home; and indeed the politeness, hospitality, and agreeable conversation of the factory in general made it such to me.

It is a common vice of mankind to suffer the most trivial incidents of life to divert them from religious duties, and to furnish themselves with an excuse for that neglect. The day after my arrival being the sabbath, if the motive of devotion had failed, curiosity would, I think, have carried me to divine service: of all curses idleness seems to be one of the worst, and of all kinds of idleness, that of neglecting the sabbath seems to be the most unworthy. "Remember that thou keep holy the sabbath day," is as clear an injunction as "Thou shalt not murder;" as clear and forcible as if the Almighty was to look down from the battlements of heaven, and declare in thunder "This is my will." But if the foundations of the earth were shaken, would men awake to their duty? The chaplain, Mr. MURRAY, gave us an excellent discourse on this text, "Take this in remembrance of me;" he remarked "That men, who are really sincere, and endeavour to think and act well, are not disqualified for receiving the sacrament from what they imagine or fear, however seemingly contrary to the spirit of religion." A weak judgment and a roving fancy are most certainly apt to disturb the best men; but the real good or evil in consequence of the sacrament, must be determined by the effect it has on our lives; by engaging us to forsake our sins, as we thereby covenant and agree to do: this law is of eternal obligation, whether we commemorate his death or not; but if we will not commemorate, we break one essential part of that law, by neglecting his absolute command, "Take this in remembrance of me;" an argument which is intelligible to a child, and as conclusive as volumes of theology. If the taking that sacrament is enjoined as the means of remembering him; as a token of remembrance, and as an act of gratitude to him as a friend and benefactor; to neglect this command seems to imply, that we do not chuse to remember him, nor to take any pains to express our gratitude to him. Were we to judge from the conduct of some CHRISTIANS, one would be tempted to think such an injunction was really never made, or that they really were not CHRISTIANS.

It is very familiar to common observation, that men who demonstrate a scrupulous forbearance of offences which are clearly forbidden, do not regard this duty, though it is as clearly commanded; as if one implied guilt, but not the other. If they were just to themselves, they would not only reflect on the absurdity of this conduct, but also that they neglect one of the most essential means of procuring the pardon of their sins.

This is a long introduction to a short story. The congregation of the BRITISH factory at HAMBURG, though neither methodists nor fanatics; being about fifty persons of both sexes, all, except one, received the sacrament on this occasion. A sight which I never saw before, nor ever expect to see again, unless I should happen to go to HAMBURG. The chapel belonging to the factory is very neatly finished with oak, and of a proper and convenient size. Mr. MURRAY is deservedly beloved for his learning and agreeable conversation, for his persuasive discourses, and the natural and just manner in which he delivers them.

The BRITISH factory which removed from FLANDERS to HAMBURG, are possessed of privileges since about 1610, confirmed by a convention with the regency, as distinguished as any body of foreigners enjoy in any part of the commercial world. The HAMBURGERS found it their interest to indulge them, inasmuch that, till the revolution, they had an exclusive privilege of importing cloth; but this liberty is now free to any of the inhabitants of the city. This factory is incorporated into a company, consisting of thirteen members, a governor ^a, and deputy governor ^b. All disputes among themselves are referred to the final decision of a majority of voices. They also judge with regard to their demands on the burghers; but in this case a deputation of two senators is required to act in concert with them. Their judgments are so just and summary that the burghers generally make application to them, when they have demands upon any of the BRITISH factors, preferring their decisions to any other court in the jurif-

^a Mr. JOHN GORE.

^b Mr. JOHN THORNTON, who resides on the spot.

dition of the city. The trade of this company is not so considerable as it was at the latter end of the last century.

Besides the pleasure which they enjoy in domestic diversions and mutual acts of hospitality, the king of DENMARK has granted them a privilege of hunting in his jurisdiction, to the extent of about ten ENGLISH miles, and some of the factors often take this amusement.

HAMBURG is well known to be a hanse town of the most importance of any in EUROPE. It is said to have derived its name from the adjacent forest of HAM, so early as the beginning of the eighth century: its reputation for laws, and situation for trade, has long since furnished it with opulent inhabitants. It stands in the dukedom of HOLSTEIN, on the north side of the ELBE, where this river forms many islands; some part of the town is so low, that north west winds and high tides extremely incommode the inhabitants, by the overflowing of the water. The houses are built very strong and lofty, and many of them are extremely neat. Most of the streets are so narrow as hardly to suffer wheel carriages to pass each other, but their coachmen are remarkably dexterous. Vehicles of this sort, which were hardly known amongst them seventy years ago, are now very common. There are also many streets which are spacious, but these lying higher, and more detached from the water, are not so much frequented by merchants of any consideration.

Here are generally ministers from most of the princes in EUROPE, but I believe more for the affairs and correspondence relating to GERMANY and the north, than for what regards the city. I had the pleasure of being very politely received, particularly by Mr. COPE, the ENGLISH resident, who is much beloved.

The number of inhabitants in this city, appears to be larger than it really is; as much the greatest part of them are abroad and in motion. Mechanics are not numerous here; and of manufactures, sugar-baking and calicoe-printing are the great articles; gold and silver lace, silks and stockings are also made, but in no considerable quantities. The families which

pay foot and lot are about 14,000, and the soldiery, including their wives and children, are reckoned 10,000. There is about the same number of foreigners; so that, reckoning seven persons to a family, the whole makes 118,000. The suburbs and villages adjacent, may encrease it to half as many more.

The better sort of people here are extremely affable, most of them having travelled; but the women are bred up with great reserve. They generally go veiled with black silk; but not so as to hide their faces, when they have any reason to entertain a favourable opinion of their own beauty. Though here are many instances of gay life, especially at particular seasons, yet there is no appearance of state or grandeur amongst them; their chief pursuit is trade. Those who have left off business are esteemed in the same rank with merchants. As there are no marks of regal authority to create a due subordination, the easy circumstances of the greatest part of the inhabitants, have introduced a species of insolence and imposition on strangers, peculiar to a republican state: the common people tread close upon the heels of those of higher rank. I observed also they have introduced the custom of giving money to servants; and, as in some other countries, convert the domestic obligations of society into acts of venality.

The government of this city is composed of four burgomasters; the emoluments annexed to their offices generally yield 1000*l.* a year each, particularly the two elder of them, who have the disposal of several places. The next in rank are senators, of whom there are twenty-four; their dress resembles the antient habit of the SPANIARDS: fourteen of these must be chosen from among the merchants, and ten bred to the study of the law. The senators are sometimes very illiterate persons, but when chosen they are obliged to forsake their shops, and keep a coach. Their salary is two hundred pounds per annum, but they are chosen for life, and their perquisites are considerable: suits at law are determined by the senate; criminal affairs by the senate and burghers. There are also four findics, or lawyers, who act as secretaries of the state, and on whom the

the greatest weight of the executive part of the government lies; next to these are four real secretaries. The city is divided into five parishes, in which are five capital churches; the most modern, dedicated to St. MICHAEL, was reduced to ashes by lightening in 1749. There is also the DOME, which is a cathedral church governed by a dean and secular canons, remarkable for its antiquity, being built in the time of CHARLEMAGNE; it is now partly under the protection of his majesty king GEORGE, in the quality of duke of BREMEN and VERDEN: each of these parishes has three officers in the nature of the tribunes of the people among the antient ROMANS; and nothing of moment is resolved on by the senate without their concurrence. When taxes are laid on the people, fifty burghers of each parish must be present to constitute a proper assembly for this purpose, and the same tax is never prolonged above a year. Upon these occasions the gates of the city are shut, and nobody permitted to go in or out till the assembly is broke up. Though upon the principle of that liberty which I have mentioned, the inhabitants are sometimes with difficulty kept within bounds; yet, in the ordinary course of things, good order and oeconomy are preserved.

The religion established here is the LUTHERAN; nor is there a toleration as in AMSTERDAM, or LONDON. The ROMAN catholics are objects of great jealousy; but the JEWS are indulged, and support themselves by commerce and brokerage: indeed the greatest part of the POLISH JEWS appear to be in a wretched condition; but the PORTUGUEZE are not in such despicable circumstances.

The establishment of regular forces in this city is 2500 men; but the magistracy seldom support so many: they are however very cautious in shutting their gates early, and will, upon no occasion, open a wicket, though the town might raise a considerable tax by means of it. This part of oeconomy puts a great restraint on the citizens, and habituates them the more to moderation in pursuit of pleasures and amusement.

The fortifications of this town, on the land-side, are considered as very strong; but the greatest security of it is the jealousy of the several prin-

ces, who have, from time to time, formed pretensions, and cast an ambitious eye towards it. The walk round the ramparts is about four **ENGLISH** miles, and in most parts very pleasant. On the east side is a large piece of water formed by a small river called the **ALSTER**, within the walls, on which the town's people amuse themselves in the summer, by rowing about it, attended by bands of musicians.

The citizens have also several gardens on the banks of the **ELBE** and **ALSTER**, some of which are agreeable: but they are mostly in the **DUTCH** taste, very small, and kept in such exquisite order, as rather to exhibit a poppet-shew, than a rural scene; much less is there any grandeur in them.

The territories of this city are but small: on the north-west side there is a considerable fort on an eminence, which serves as an out-work to the town, and as a boundary of its dominion; **ALTONA**, on the west, is within half a mile. To the north they have only about one mile; but to the east, along the banks of the **ELBE**, about sixteen, which, in the broadest place, is not above four miles ^h.

Several of the citizens, who have acquired great fortunes by commerce, have purchased large estates in the neighbouring territories, under the jurisdiction of the several princes; but this is apt to create jealousies among those whose property is in trade only, or within the territory of **HAMBURG**. Monsieur **PIERRE HISS**, a **FRENCH** merchant, to whom I am obliged for the polite reception he gave me, is said to be worth above 100,000 l. acquired from a very small beginning; and there are others, whose opulence is not inferior.

This place must be considered with respect to **GERMANY**, what **AMSTERDAM** is to **EUROPE**, a magazine of the different produce, and merchandize of the trading world. Many of the houses are built on the very edge of the canals, so that ships may unload into their warehouses. The number of vessels, of any considerable burthen, belonging to the town, is computed at four hundred, of which thirty of the princi-

^h In this passage I mean **ENGLISH** miles.

pal are employed in the trade to and from LONDON. They have many in the FRENCH trade, particularly about forty, which bring wine, and other commodities, from BOURDEAUX; a great number in the GREENLAND trade, besides many which navigate the BALTIC, and some also to PORTUGAL, SPAIN, the MEDITERRANEAN, &c.

They keep their accounts in marks and schillings, 16 schillings to a mark. The agio varies, but the bank-money is generally about 15 or 16 per cent. better than current.

Formerly the DANISH money was their chief currency, but now they have a coin of their own; one HAMBURG schilling is equal to two DANISH, or a penny ENGLISH. There are 4 schilling pieces, or $\frac{1}{2}$ mark, and 8 schillings or $\frac{1}{4}$ mark. A ducat, which passes for 2 and $\frac{1}{2}$ dollars in BRANDENBURG and SAXONY, is worth here 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ dollars of HAMBURG. Here is a difference of bank and current money, as in AMSTERDAM; a ducat which passes for 7 marks current, is worth but 6 bank money; 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ schillings are equal to 2 gude groschen; and all sorts of money are taken here, valued according to foreign exchange.

The mouth of the ELBE, at the north-sea, is about thirteen GERMAN miles distance; the navigation is difficult, yet, except some of the largest vessels, they can unload at the town, the tide coming up about four GERMAN miles above HAMBURG. Its ebb leaves most of the canals of the city dry; but there is a good bed of mud for the ships.

I have already observed, that the manufactures of this place, except that of baking sugar, and printing calicoes, are very inconsiderable, though the art of dying is well known here. They export quantities of SILESIA linnens from hence under the name of HAMBURG. A great part of this branch of commission-business is indeed fallen into the hands of the merchants of ALTONA, the HAMBURGERS having injudiciously charged a small duty on them, which they have since taken off, and made it a free port for the transit of all goods: but they cannot recover this business in the same manner as before. There are other branches, of which the HAMBURGERS have been obliged to yield a part to other nations

tions. The trade of LUBEC, which was sunk very low, has mended of late years. STETIN, which was hardly known as a trading town, now begins to make some figure in commerce; and we find the king of PRUSSIA endeavouring to establish EMBDEN as a place of trade. COPENHAGEN, of late years, is improved; and a vast trade is established in St. PETERSBURG, which did not exist till this century; but, above all, FRANCE, since the queen's war, has made large strides in the advancement of her commercial interest. These concurring reasons must necessarily diminish the trade of HAMBURG.

As mankind increase in numbers, at least in EUROPE, together with arts, luxurious indulgences, and the refinements of life; it is natural to presume that commerce, in general, encreases also; though it is subject to change hands. But nothing, I think, is more demonstrable than this, that the state which has most naval power, supposing the people have a genius for commerce, and are situated advantageously for it, must have the greatest portion. Will it be surprizing if, in a few ages, war should become entirely, as it already is in a great measure, subservient to the ends of trade? Upon this principle it is rather an argument of the virtue and equity of mankind, that so inconsiderable a state as HAMBURG should have yet so great a trade, than that it is in some degree diminished.

As nations grow enlightened, they will forsake their indolence, and go to market, where the commodity is cheapest; passing by those who are enriched by their former industry and sagacity, in collecting the different productions of the earth; consequently these lesser states, whose consumption within themselves is small, will decline in commercial power.

It has been generally imagined, that luxury is a great cause of the increase of commerce: that it has enlarged the scene, and occasioned an increase of several of the productions of the earth, is beyond dispute. Hence the use of tobacco, sugar, tea, spices, and other commodities, which are of very little real benefit to mankind, and yet are become great articles
of

of commerce all over the world. But these have been attended also with improvements of essential service, particularly that of manufactures, which being now spread over the whole earth; the skins of beasts, which were formerly the great article of cloathing, are not worn, except in very cold countries, or as a rich and costly dress. These have been exchanged for the manufactures of wool, and other materials, much beyond what the animals furnished in the simple manner of life of our forefathers: some of these indeed had hardly any cloaths at all. But to come down to the present time, FRANCE has now near thirty times the quantity of wollen cloth, to what she manufactured in the beginning of this centuryⁱ. And ENGLAND already so far advanced, has made vast improvements. In the last century calculators valued our wool at two millions, now they reckon near four millions^k. The same wool manufactured is now computed worth twelve millions; whereas it then amounted to eight millions only.

But as things necessary, and in their nature good, are become common, and supplied in a great profusion; that which was magnificence, is no longer so: numerous improvements however being added, it takes that name again. When these improvements are carried to an excess beyond what our fortunes, and duties of life will bear, it becomes luxury; and luxury is in its nature ruinous. We see even the lower classes of mankind have acquired a taste of many things, not only beyond the simplicity of life which nature dictates, but also beyond what their circumstances will bear. These new passions craving their object; an equal pace must be kept by industry, and the productions of the earth. All excesses require great labour to support them. The people of a country, who live very high, to use a vulgar expression, are apt to light their candle at both ends; that is to say, they are apt to consume too much, and work too little. Hence they are also more subject to misfortunes, because that will appear as a misfortune under such circumstances, which otherwise would not be regarded. There is a medium; if we pass beyond it, we prepare the

ⁱ See page 55. but this remark alludes to LANGUEDOC only.

^k Near 70,000 packs at 6l.

way for ruin. Luxury and corruption have ever been the destruction of states; and nothing can be more plain than this, that there would be little or no corruption, if there was no luxury.

To return to the HAMBURGERS: what has clipped their wings, though not in so great a degree as generally imagined, is the neighbourhood of ALTONA, which signifies, much too near, as indeed it is for their interest; having the advantage of situation the same as HAMBURG; but it has no fortification, nor is the DANISH sovereignty so great a security of its commerce, as the independency of a HANSE TOWN is to HAMBURG. ALTONA has been long considered by the HAMBURGERS as an object of great jealousy; but there is not, I apprehend, so much cause to fear, as is suggested by many.

ALTONA is a large place, but does not partake in the least of the pride of HAMBURG, with regard to its buildings; nor can it afford to pay any thing of consequence towards the revenues of DENMARK. It is an asylum for those who fly from the adjacent countries for debt, or worse crimes: the HAMBURGERS, whose fortunes reduce them to this extremity, take refuge there also. Except two or three houses of business, there is very little appearance of riches or plenty in ALTONA. In opposition to HAMBURG it encourages all religions, so that there is a medley of the poorer classes of mankind, particularly of POLISH JEWS. In the war with SWEDEN in 1713, the town was burnt to the ground, and now appears as new. The HAMBURGERS not daring to risk their own security, by opening their gates in the night, when a SWEDISH army was so near, and when a sickness prevailed amongst the inhabitants of ALTONA; many of the latter perished as monuments of SWEDISH cruelty.

The continual losses suffered by the ALGERINE rovers, who thought it their interest to decline all accommodation, have been a great obstruction to the trade of HAMBURG; and the more as they can hardly, with any assurance, ask the assistance of any sovereign prince, and particularly a maritime power, who is a competitor in point of commerce. During the last war they had several ships on the western ocean, and the MEDITER-

RANEAN ; but hostilities at sea were no sooner ended, than they were obliged to alter their measures ^a.

The 29th of September I took my leave of Mr. J. BOSANQUET, Mr. HANBURY, Mr. THORNTON the deputy governor of the BRITISH company, and the other gentlemen, to whom I am much indebted for their great civility.

C H A P. XLIII.

The author departs from HAMBURG. A short account of the trade, inhabitants, and dome church of BREMEN. He continues his journey through WESTPHALIA.

THE 30th of September I departed from HAMBURG. The ordinary rout to AMSTERDAM is directly to OSNABRUCK ; but my curiosity carried me to to BREMEN, not without some intention of going to EMDEN, if the weather had proved favourable. My rout then was to BLANKENESS, two short GERMAN miles from HAMBURG. The road being on the lofty banks of the ELBE, gives a most delightful and extensive view, as well of part of the HANOVERIAN dominions on the west, as of the DANISH territories in HOLSTEIN on the east of that river. There is no regular stage for post horses to BLANKENESS ; the ferry also is very small for a wheel carriage, and if a proper season is not taken with regard to wind and tide, it may be dangerous. The rusticity of the DANISH boors is apt to create vexation : it is their custom to spend some time on the shore at a certain game, to determine whose fortune it shall be to attend the passenger. The breadth of the river in this place is about an ENGLISH mile, and near the same distance, up a creek to CRANTZ, a mean village in the HANOVERIAN dominions, where there is no regular post ; yet the peasants

^a The ALGERINES finding the SPANIARDS meant to make war with them in good earnest, entered lately into a treaty with the HAMBURGERS, not of friendship only, but of commerce also. This the SPANIARDS highly resented, and put the HAMBURGERS under necessity of annulling that treaty, or of being excluded from their trade with SPAIN. Being reduced to this alternative they have chosen the former.

are obliged to find horses for passengers at stated rates. CRANTZ, though so mean a place, is extended above two ENGLISH miles, built on the top of a high bank, intended to resist the overflowing of the ELBE, which sometimes happens. A small branch of this river runs to BUXTEHUDE, the next stage, which is about a GERMAN mile and a half: the country abounds in meadow and corn lands.

October the 1st, I pursued my journey to CLOSTER-SEVEN, four long GERMAN miles, the road but indifferent; the prospect is mostly of woods and heath; the country is but thinly inhabited, and has not much corn land or cattle. From thence to OTTERSBERG is three GERMAN miles: here I found two companies of HANOVERIAN soldiers quartered. The soil hereabouts is infertile, being chiefly morass. From thence to BREMEN is three GERMAN miles, through a sandy country. The land towards BREMEN is more improved, but without any great face of fertility. We passed two turnpikes, and within an ENGLISH mile of BREMEN I observed three stones which are erected on the side of the road, with the arms of the BRITISH crown, denoting the confines of the HANOVERIAN dominion.

BREMEN is situated on a plain on both sides of the river WESER, over which it has a bridge. The dutchy in which it stands formerly belonged to the SWEDES, but being conquered by the DANES, was by them sold to the elector of HANOVER in 1716; yet there is only a small quarter of the town, in which stands the dome church, subject to that electorate. The rest, with its territories, is free under its own laws and magistrates, who are composed of four burgo-masters and twenty four senators, chosen out of the citizens who profess CALVINISM: this is the established religion, and they have five churches for the citizens of that persuasion.

The number of inhabitants are computed at 30,000, who appear to live in comfortable circumstances. The greatest part of the streets are narrow: the shops are well stocked with merchandize, and they have many houses of good appearance. They have a town house, an exchange, and waterworks, by which the city is supplied from the river. One would imagine that the people are extremely pious, SOLI DEO GLO-

RIA being in large characters over their doors and windows, within doors and without.

In the market-place they shew the figure of a man in armour, who, as the people pretend, saved the city when it was in the utmost danger from the SWEDES. They call it a ROWLAND, or ROYLAND, from the name of a general who died in ITALY in the service of the emperor, by whom this was made a free city. This general was of a remarkable stature; and the figure serves to keep up a sense of freedom, though under the burlesque form of a giant of about fourteen feet high.

But nothing is so remarkable in this place, as the great dome, where their worship is performed after the LUTHERAN manner: the people of this persuasion bearing a great proportion to those of the established reformed church. It is an antient building in the gothic manner, reputed to be about 600 years old. There is a vault under it, in which are the bodies of several persons, said to be deposited there above one hundred and fifty years ago, and first discovered about forty years since to be entire, as they yet remain. These bodies lye in the vault as one common grave; the linnen in which they are drest is light as tinder: their skins look black and parched, but their features distinguishable; they are extremely light, but the cohesion of the parts entire. The vault to appearance has nothing extraordinary, except that the air seems to be temperate, and the walls perfectly dry. It is about six feet below the surface of the earth, and vaulted eight or nine feet high. A dead cat, which has been accidentally thrown in through the window, has had the same fortune as the human bodies. They will not suffer the vault to be cleansed, from an idle opinion that it may lose its virtue. Several have offered considerable sums to have their bodies deposited there, which the priests object to, alledging the sentence of God, that man shall return to dust; though it is more probable the magistrates do not chuse to indulge this idle vanity, as the LUTHERAN is not the established church.

BREMEN, standing on the WESER but twelve GERMAN miles from the sea, would be as advantageously situated for trade as HAMBURG, but

but that ships of burthen cannot come within two miles of the town, as there is often not above four feet water. This deficiency is supplied by boats, and does not hinder their building large fly boats at the town. Notwithstanding the neighbourhood of HAMBURG, the trade here is considerable: they import a great quantity of sugar from FRANCE; of the ENGLISH they take tobacco, and other WEST INDIA commodities, and also some of their manufactures. This city trades with HANOVER, SAXONY, BOHEMIA, &c. from whom they receive corn, linnen, timber and minerals. They have fresh fish in plenty in some seasons, and are said to dress leather well.

Exceeding heavy rains having fallen, and the season becoming cold, I determined to make the best of my way to AMSTERDAM. From BREMEN is a long causeway, the country being marshy, and soon covered with water. About a mile from the town we re-entered the HANOVERIAN dominions; the soil near the road is mostly sandy or heath to WILDESHUSEN, which is three very long GERMAN miles: this is a principal town, and the residence of the great bailiff of the district, of which there are about twenty five in the HANOVERIAN dominions. Mr. HEINEBER the bailiff's son, who is a young man of great virtue, accomplishments, and excellent parts, did me the favour of a visit, and invited me to his father's house, which gave me an occasion of paying my respects to the bailiff.

The 2d I travelled on to KLOPPENBERG, three long GERMAN miles, the road very sandy. This is a mean town in the dominion of the bishop of MUNSTER, elector of COLOGN; but the country round it is pleasant, being composed of arable and meadow lands, bordered by groves and plantations.

The 3d I went on to LOENNINGEN; the distance is nominally two GERMAN miles, but here they seem to be double, and the peasants are paid near twice the common price, with this inconvenience, that instead of one postilion I was obliged to take two peasants for four horses. It has

* Now preceptor for the GERMAN language and history to the young princes.

sometimes been the fortune of travellers in this country, to have as many men to attend them, as horses to draw their vehicle.

LOENNINGEN is a mean dirty place, but the country near it pleasant and fertile. The government of these ecclesiastical princes does not seem to establish charity or politeness; at least I found the people insolent and given to extortion.

From thence to HASSELUNE is accounted two GERMAN miles; the country is very sandy. This is a more agreeable town, and has a small garrison of troops belonging to the elector of COLOGN. Poverty seemed to prevail here; but superstition still more, in consequence of that ecclesiastical power which had erected crucifixes almost on every hillock.

The next town is LINGEN, at the distance of two long GERMAN miles; the road to it is sandy, but the adjacent country pleasant. This place, which is in the circle of WESTPHALIA, is subject to the king of PRUSSIA: it stands on the river EMS, and has a fortification of some small consideration. The cleanness, breadth, and good pavement of its streets, and regular built houses, give one the more striking idea of that good order for which the PRUSSIANS are so much distinguished. This town indeed formerly belonged to king WILLIAM III. and devolved to the house of BRANDENBURG on his death. It partakes much of DUTCH oeconomy: here the exorbitant price of near a ducat a GERMAN mile for horses was first charged to me.

C H A P. XLIV.

Observations at ALMELLO, DAVENTER, &c. Reflections on the produce of tobacco. A short account of AMERSFORT and NAARDEN.

THE 4th of October I advanced two long GERMAN miles, towards the dominions of the UNITED PROVINCES, and arrived at NORTHORN, where I observed the women appear to be almost blinded with the smোক arising from the turf, which they have here in great abundance:

Most

Most of the country over which I travelled from LOENNINGEN produces nothing else.

It was now the season in which the STATES order the rates of post horses to be increased about one third part more than it is from April to September: I was obliged to pay 18 gilders to ALMELLO, which is computed four GERMAN miles; but, in consideration of the roads, they gave me six horses. The little towns I now passed through began to exhibit that cleanliness for which the HOLLANDERS are so much distinguished. The marriages of this country are performed with a humorous solemnity: I observed pillars and festoons of verdure, adorned with garlands and flowers, which are prepared for the decoration of a nuptial feast at the houses of the parties.

The heaths reserved for the production of turf on this side of the country, are much larger than is generally imagined, considering the small extent of the dominion of the UNITED PROVINCES; but except these the hand of industry appears in a very remarkable degree; the inclosure of meadows, corn land and kitchen-gardens, plantation of trees and banks, which are thrown up for roads, at the same time that they demonstrate the labour of the peasant, afford an agreeable prospect. Most of their cows are red, and these are the chief riches of this part of the country; by the great quantity of butter and cheese which they produce, and in this season they feed them on an herb they call SPERSEN, which grows six or eight inches high.

ALMELLO is a neat town in the province of OVERYSSEL, where there is a manufactory of fine holland: the greatest part of what we commonly call by this name is made in SILESIA, and only bleached in the UNITED PROVINCES. The preference which I thought due to the manufactures of my own country, prevented my making any purchase in ALMELLO. The improvements we have made both in SCOTLAND and IRELAND, are such as will, I hope, in a small number of years, gratify the most luxurious, as well as afford a quantity for a considerable exportation to foreign markets.

The

The 5th I set out for DAVENTER; the road for the most part is through marshes and heath, with a ridge of hills to the north. HASLEN appears to the south west about two ENGLISH miles from the common road; some make it their way, though it is half a league about. They generally reckon here by the hours, as in ASIA, and compute two hours to a GERMAN mile; this computation is hardly too much when the roads are bad. From NORTHORN to DAVENTER they compute four GERMAN miles.

DAVENTER is a large city in the province of OVERYSSEL, formerly a hanse town, but now subject to the states. It stands on the river YSSEL, which bears vessels of burthen. There is a large bridge of wood over it, for the passage of which they pay a heavy toll. This river runs into the ZUYDER sea. The town is well fortified, and has a strong garrison; the streets and houses are very neat, and the shops well supplied with manufactures and other necessaries. It has a pretty large inland trade, but no manufactures.

From hence is a regular post, four GERMAN miles to VOORTHUSEN; the soil of the country is various; near the midway is LOO, a famous seat of the prince of ORANGE. VOORTHUSEN is a village of very little note; nor has the country an agreeable aspect. The 6th, I proceeded to AMERSFORT, two GERMAN miles, the first of which is through a sandy country, and one sees but little cultivated land, or appearance of rich inhabitants; but towards OUVELACH the country appears worthy the reputation it has in the world. There are large plantations of tobacco; for the production of which the land is thrown up into ridges of about two feet high. The consumption of this article in the UNITED PROVINCES is very considerable, and by some pretended to be necessary in so moist a climate. It may be questioned however whether the lives of the inhabitants are prolonged by it; or whether the same labour and expence which is employed about it, would not produce provision for the support of life more effectually, and for greater numbers of people: for it seems inconsistent with reason that so many thousands, I might say

millions of people in the different quarters of the world, should be employed in cultivating this herb, whilst such multitudes are suffering distress for want of the common provisions of life.

AMERSFORT is an antient and considerable town in the province of UTRECHT, on the small river EEMS, which runs to the ZUYDER sea. There is a very large church, and an excellent set of chimes, for which the UNITED PROVINCES are very remarkable; those of this town play every hour on market days from ten till twelve in the morning. This affords a cheap and agreeable amusement to the common people, and some pleasure to those in higher life who delight in music. I was struck with the neatness and cleanness of the streets and houses; but the manners of the people are not equally delicate: a certain rusticity prevails, which is sometimes shewn in an apparent contempt of strangers. This town is chiefly supported by husbandry, and has a considerable trade in tobacco of its own growth. I observed many of the people wear wooden shoes, which are indeed best calculated for their brick floors, and incessant washing.

From AMERSFORT I departed for NAARDEN, which is about two GERMAN miles distant; the turnpikes are very numerous, where passengers pay regularly, though there is no fence in many places. About two ENGLISH miles from AMERSFORT is SOESDYKE, a palace belonging to the prince of ORANGE, which has a park said to be near eight ENGLISH miles in circumference. Being impatient to get early to AMSTERDAM, I declined visiting UTRECHT, remarkable for that treaty which has blotted the annals of ENGLAND, and aggrandized the house of BOURBON, as appeared too plain in the late war. UTRECHT is said to be one of the most agreeable places, and as worthy the attention of a traveller as any in the UNITED PROVINCES.

The road to NAARDEN is pleasant, abounding in regular plantations of trees; and the country is well cultivated and inhabited. NAARDEN is a boundary of the province of HOLLAND, at a small distance from the ZUYDER sea: the fortification is considerable, being partly composed of a broad double

double mote filled from the sea, which has often made inroads upon it. In antient wars it was often sacked, and in 1486 reduced to ashes by fire. Here also the SPANIARDS massacred the inhabitants upon the occasion of the revolt of the UNITED PROVINCES. In 1672 it was taken by the FRENCH, but soon retaken by the prince of ORANGE.

From NAARDEN to AMSTERDAM is reckoned two GERMAN miles; the whole country consists of pasture lands and gardens, below the surface of the sea, if one may judge from the appearances of the bodies of ships on the water. The road on the banks of the canals is made with great cost, so that there are no less than seven tolls, at which I paid three guilders. The avenue to AMSTERDAM is a causeway, on the sides of which, near the city, are small villages and gardens belonging to the citizens, which serve to beautify the face of this artificial country. The gates of AMSTERDAM are shut at six in the evening, but there is admittance till ten, for a toll of one stiver each person. According to the ordinary computation I had travelled only forty one GERMAN miles and a half from HAMBURG. By the way of OSNABRUCK it is reckoned fifty two GERMAN miles, but the difference is rather in the computation of the miles than the real distance.

C H A P. XLV.

Reflections on the commercial genius of the DUTCH. A brief description of AMSTERDAM. Of the dykes in HOLLAND. Of the taxes and revenues of the UNITED PROVINCES compared with those of GREAT BRITAIN.

THE correspondence which I had as a merchant, procured me acquaintances in AMSTERDAM, of the want of which, foreigners, who are not interested in commerce, generally complain. Indeed of all the great cities which I have yet seen, this seems to afford the least entertainment, to those whose heads and hearts are not intirely turned to

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pecuniary

pecuniary acquisitions: here every moment seems to be filled up in the pursuit of trade, with all its various and extended connections. The people have no time to complain of a bad climate, bad weather, or the want of health: they have hardly leisure to perform the common duties of hospitality and benevolence.

The observation I made of the inhabitants of AMSTERDAM, corresponds exactly with what has been often remarked, that those disorders of the mind, particularly that of being seldom contented for any length of time, which seem to be the more peculiar affliction of my own country, where the people are more refined in manners and sentiments, are hardly known in this city, verifying the maxim, that the turn of men's minds constitutes their felicity, much more than their fortunes or external circumstances.

In allusion to this subject, Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE observes, "This is
 " a disease too refined for this country and people; who are well, when
 " they are not ill, and pleased when they are not troubled; are content
 " because they think little of it; and seek their happiness in the com-
 " mon ease and commodities of life, or the increase of riches; not amu-
 " sing themselves with the more speculative contrivance of passion, or
 " refinements of pleasure."

The principal houses of business in this great metropolis of the NETHERLANDS, among several others, are those of messieurs HOPES, messieurs CLIFFORDS, and messieurs MUILMANS, with whom I had particular connections, and from whom I received great marks of hospitality and politeness. Mr. THOMAS HOPE did me the favour of a visit immediately on my arrival. This gentleman is no less distinguished for the great skill and industry, and extensive business by which he has acquired a large fortune, than for his ingenuousness and abilities, which set him at the head of the WEST INDIA company, as the deputy of the prince of ORANGE. Messieurs CLIFFORDS, who are related to the noble family of that name in ENGLAND, have, by an extensive correspondence through a long series of years, acquired a very considerable fortune; and for their probity

probity and politeness are much respected by all who have any connexion with them. Messieurs MUILMANS are well known in LONDON, from the residence of two of the brothers, who are very eminent merchants in that city. Their father and brothers in AMSTERDAM are also distinguished for their wealth, and for the share they have in the government of the UNITED PROVINCES.

This wonderful city of AMSTERDAM, as well as many other towns of the NETHERLANDS, is certainly a work of art and labour, not inferior to the greatest monuments of human industry in past ages. It is about 220 ENGLISH miles from LONDON: its proper name as derived from the river AMSTEL, is AMSTELDAM, i. e. the dam of the AMSTEL, which is the name generally given to it in authentic records. From its earliest beginning they reckon about 400 years; and 270 from its being inclosed with walls. It was not till the year 1570, that the DUTCH began to lay the foundation of their prodigious riches and naval strength. About 20 years before this time they were provoked by the oppressive measures of ROMISH bigotry, to shake off the SPANISH yoke, and adopt the doctrine of CALVIN. The SPANIARDS exerted themselves, upon this occasion, upon religious, as well as political principles; but it was not in their power to render that confederacy abortive, which at length united the seven provinces, and, forming a powerful republic, gave a just occasion to this motto; "*Concordia res parvæ crescunt.*"

About the year 1600, the love of liberty and gain occasioned such a conflux of people, that the walls of the city were extended; since that time they have had further enlargements, the whole now making about three leagues in circumference. Her greatest strength is in the difficulty of access both by sea and land; yet have not the numerous shoals, which render the entrance of the TEXEL so difficult, obstructed the progress of her commerce. One striking proof of œconomy is very obvious, even in the fortifications of this city; for the bastions, which are very numerous, have each a windmill on them.

The streets are, for the most part, extremely clean; but except those which have canals, much too narrow for beauty or convenience. They are rendered the less disagreeable, as the hired coaches are set on sledges, drawn by one horse, which do not greatly incommode passengers. Merchandize is also drawn on sledges. These are not only the most convenient vehicles for the inhabitants, and their trade, but also calculated to preserve their houses, which being built on piles, might, in a length of time, be much damaged in their foundations by means of a great number of wheel-carriages. The coaches of gentlemen are however for the most part set on wheels; but they pay a considerable tax for this liberty. The principal streets, or rather quays of the canals are agreeable, particularly the KEYZARGRAFT and HEEREGRAFT, which are planted on each side with trees; but the canals sometimes throw up a very offensive stench. The people are not at a loss how to account for this inconveniency: something is owing to nature; but it is apparent, that the discipline of the state is relaxed by the canals not being kept so clean as the regulations require: these canals, in some parts, are of a considerable breadth.

The houses in AMSTERDAM are rather neat than elegant, or commodious: the nature of the climate renders it necessary to wash them often; but the greatest part of the people carry their cleanliness in this way so far, as hardly to afford themselves time for the necessary care of their persons. The same humour prevails amongst them, as with some of middling fortunes in ENGLAND; they shut themselves out of their own houses, by keeping the most useful and agreeable apartment for the entertainment of their friends on particular occasions, that is, for vanity.

The entrance of their houses is generally by stairs four or five feet from the ground, and the passage into the rooms, which run very deep, is floored and paneled with marble, which has an air of grandeur in miniature. They have much neat, and some rich furniture; but it does not seem to be the effect of a luxurious and expensive taste, so much as the observance of an antient custom of neatness and elegance. At the worst

worst it may plead its being less dangerous to a state, than the constant expence of a table, equipage, or amusement; and these are not countenanced in AMSTERDAM in any remarkable degree.

This city is generally esteemed one third as populous as LONDON and PARIS. They reckon within the walls, twenty-six thousand five hundred houses, and about two hundred and forty thousand inhabitants: the suburbs, though small, must add to this number.

The grand rendezvous of the merchants of this metropolis, as in other great trading cities, is the exchange, which was finished in 1613. The interior part is 250 feet long, and 140 broad; but much inferior in architecture and embellishment to that of LONDON. It is supported by forty-six pillars, which are marked with numbers; and the merchants take their stands near particular pillars, to be found the more easily. The city of AMSTERDAM is guarded by a militia, as the safest and most proper defence of their wealth and liberty; these are all burghers, and consequently no objects of jealousy, nor do they cause any considerable expence.

With regard to the several religions of the inhabitants; here is great freedom, so long as the priests avoid disturbing the repose of the state. The established faith is that of CALVIN, for which there are eleven churches for the DUTCH, one for the ENGLISH, two for the GERMANS, and two for the FRENCH. The ROMAN catholics are said to have near thirty places of worship, of which some are chapels, and others, apartments in houses fitted for that purpose. Besides these, there are LUTHERANS and ANABAPTISTS: the JEWS also are in no small number, and have their synagogues as in LONDON. But of all these different religions, none but the CALVINISTS are allowed the use of bells. The states very cautiously preserve their supremacy, by invalidating all marriages not made according to the rites of the established church, unless the parties first engage themselves in form before the civil magistrate; and when that is done, they may perform the ceremonies of their respective religions as they think proper.

Nothing adds more to the beauty of this city, as well as of the country in general, than the plantations of trees for the public use and pleasure; an inclination which seems to prevail very much, and is highly worthy of imitation. In ENGLAND things of this sort are often done; but more for private gratification, than the general delight of the people; so that the lower classes are the more apt to crowd to gardens, where they pay their money, waste their time, and sometimes debauch themselves with excesses. We may observe however, to the honour of GREAT BRITAIN, that within these thirty years, great improvements have been made in many parts of the kingdom: works of this nature for the public recreation^d, are certainly worthy of the best citizens, the most zealous patriots, and greatest princes.

The DUTCH are distinguished for the number and oeconomy of their useful charities, which seem to exceed those of ENGLAND; not in extent; for, in beneficence, the ENGLISH have hardly any bounds, as if they meant in good earnest to “cover a multitude of sins; but in regard to discipline and wholesome severity, we have not supported it so well as the DUTCH, who make all their poor perform some useful labour. It does not indeed seem possible to engage the lowest sort of the people, of any nation, to work from a mere sense of duty. If they are left to their choice, or the materials of labour withheld from them, can it be expected they will work? But if the make and constitution of man renders labour necessary to his support; I presume it follows, that he who CAN work, and WILL not, should not have food GIVEN him. Charities founded on principles not consistent with this rule, instead of drawing down blessings, produce calamities, as is often experienced.

With regard to their dykes, the DUTCH have made vast improvements since the year when the worms made great havock in their piles: they now line many of their shores with very large stones, and have carried

^d For instance, St. JAMES's park contributes greatly to the health and pleasure of the inhabitants of LONDON.

this work on with great success. I observed the dyke^b to the ZUYDER-SEA is raised about sixteen feet perpendicular, and goes off upon an easy decline. The stones are regularly laid, and form an excellent defence against the water. They bring these stones from NORWAY: the government pays seven guilders^c a ton for any quantity that is brought; so that when masters have no better employment for their vessels, they make a voyage to NORWAY for this purpose. The work intended to be completed in this manner, is of such extent, as may yet require the labour of eight or ten years: it will, to all appearance, be not only a great saving, but also a security to the state. The dykes towards the north sea are said to be more lofty, and not to be supported but with piles at a great expence.

Even a dreadful vulcano cannot render the situation of the neighbouring inhabitants so precarious, as that of the DUTCH from the nature of their country. By great skill and industry they have indeed given laws to the ocean; but it has, upon some occasions, past its bounds, and exhibited a lively picture of that deluge, in which the whole race of mankind was once involved, a single family excepted. In 1530 a great part of ZEALAND was overflowed: in 1568 no less than seventy-two villages on the coasts of HOLLAND and FRIEZLAND were swallowed up, and near twenty thousand people perished. Those who escaped on trees and rising grounds, after suffering much with hunger, were relieved by the care of the magistrates. The inundation of November 1665, drove in the sea with violence hardly to be conceived: it broke down the dyke of MUYDENBERG, and laid the whole country round NAARDEN, and many places in the province of UTRECHT under water. The dyke between AMSTERDAM and HAERLEM was also broke, and many others, too tedious to enumerate. Notwithstanding these great mischiefs, the storms no sooner ceased, than the industry of the inhabitants repaired, in a great measure, the havock created by them.

^b As this word in ENGLISH signifies a very different thing from the sense in which it is used here, it may easily deceive those who have not seen the dykes in HOLLAND; the DUTCH call it diik, which properly signifies a bank.

^c Thirteen shillings.

The accidents which are common to a flat country in being overflowed with water at certain seasons of the year, do not seem to be much regarded here, as provision is made against them by housing their cattle. These also render their meadow-lands the more fertile; and when the waters are frozen, which generally happens in the winter season, it furnishes them the amusement of skeiting. What contributes also to the safety of this country is, that they can lay it under water when they please; yet does not this prevent the terrors of the people in regard to FRENCH armies, much less render it healthy or agreeable.

The province of HOLLAND is said to pay half the tax of the whole seven, and AMSTERDAM half^d of the province of HOLLAND; from whence one must conclude, that there are immense riches in AMSTERDAM, or no great wealth in the seven provinces. The revenues of AMSTERDAM are reported to be a million sterling; and consequently the whole must be four millions; which, I apprehend, greatly exceeds the reality, or it is meant only in time of war. Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE estimates their ordinary revenues in his time at twenty-one millions of guilders^e; but he says the revenues of the province of HOLLAND, including AMSTERDAM, were REPORTED to be one million six hundred thousand pounds, which brings the whole to three millions two hundred thousand pounds: most calculators have made it three millions; but as things are circumstanced at present, we must not, I think, compute it above two millions of ENGLISH money.

In 1665 they raised 40 millions of guilders^f, and of these, the province of HOLLAND only, paid twenty-two millions; which is nearly correspondent with the account they now give of the proportion this province bears to all the others, as already mentioned.

It may be worth the enquiry of the curious, how vastly the taxes in the UNITED PROVINCES exceed those of GREAT BRITAIN, in proportion to the number of inhabitants. They generally calculate two millions^g of

^d Some call it three-eighths; but I believe half is nearest the truth. ^e 1,920,000 l. ^f 3,820,000 l.

^g The DUTCH say there are not above 80,000 inhabitants in all ZEALAND and a million in HOLLAND; so that the other five PROVINCES have 920,000.

people in the UNITED PROVINCES; and two millions at the lowest computation are annually paid in taxes: now as we compute eight millions of people, if we were to pay in proportion, our taxes should be eight millions; but I believe they are not fix. The UNITED PROVINCES are reckoned to contain only 7500 square miles; whereas ENGLAND has 49,450 square miles; consequently these PROVINCES are six times as populous as ENGLAND. How industry flourishes among them is apparent, even if they pay but two millions; since considering the goodness, and extent of our country, and the barrenness of theirs, we may suppose ourselves capable of paying six times as much in taxes as they; whereas we pay but three times, as above-mentioned. The truth is, they acquire riches by the sea in a double capacity, that is, by commerce and fishery; and we may conclude, from this general view, of what great consequence their fishing is to them, of which I shall make further mention in its place.

C H A P. XLVI.

An account of the trade of the UNITED PROVINCES. A short description of the stadthouse. Observations on the bank of AMSTERDAM, compared with that of LONDON.

FROM the consideration of the revenues of these PROVINCES, the most familiar transition is to their trade; and here we find numerous causes coinciding to raise the commerce of this country to so prodigious a height. The original of this is so familiar to most persons, as to need very little animadversion. Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE mentions the subject in these terms: "HOLLAND has not grown rich by any native commodities, but by force of industry, by improvement and manufacture of all foreign growths, by being the general magazine of EUROPE, and furnishing all parts with whatever the market wants, or invites, and by their seamen being, as they have properly been called, the common carriers of the world."

The trade of this city was raised chiefly on the ruins of ANTWERP, once the mistress of the commercial world, till the fiery zeal of priests, and the in-

solence of military authority, trampled equally upon the laws of justice and humanity ; and, lastly, upon commerce, the support of nations. Towards the close of the 16th century, the PORTUGUEZE also, from being the greatest traders to the EAST, their commerce began to decline ; which gave the more room to this new colony of merchants, who had many of the requisites to carry trade to its highest pitch, though their country does not produce one single material for building ships.

The same reasons which I have assigned for the decline of the trade of HAMBURG, may also be given for the present diminution of the commerce of the UNITED PROVINCES ; for in proportion to the flow in some countries, it is likely to ebb in others. But to these reasons we may also add, that the increase of riches in the UNITED PROVINCES has contributed to a corruption of manners among the people, and slackened the reins of that discipline by which they acquired their wealth. According to Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, the DUTCH had but little foreign trade, except that to the INDIES, till 1670 ; and, in few years after this time, the same author observes, that they began to indulge in an expensive way of life, which made their rulers think, that sumptuary laws were necessary.

But to consider things as they yet stand, AMSTERDAM is a prodigious magazine of timber, corn, wine, and many other commodities of foreign EUROPEAN production. The inhabitants excel in dying, sugar-baking, bleaching of linnen and wax, manufacturing of paper and sail-cloth, with no inconsiderable quantity of silk and wool. Their whale-fishery generally produces great riches, and their EAST-INDIA trade is of the highest importance to them both in EUROPE and ASIA : the article of spices only is a mine of gold, which they have preserved with more care and assiduity, than if it had been really such. Here are also great repositories of gold and silver, precious stones and choice drugs, from different parts of the world.

In regard to the balance of trade between GREAT BRITAIN and the UNITED PROVINCES, the linnens, flax, sail-cloth, tiles, juniper-berries, &c. which this nation takes of the DUTCH, much exceed in value
the

the lead, tin, tobacco and coals, which they take of the **BRITISH** subjects.

I must not forget that their herring fishery is a source of riches, as it employs so great a number of hands^b. Persons of every age and denomination delight in this sort of food: there is hardly a family in the **UNITED PROVINCES** but consumes a barrel. The quantities which they send to foreign markets and convert into money, is also an object of some consequence: in whatever light we consider this fishery, it is of the greatest value to them. One would imagine that the happy situation of the **BRITISH** subjects rendered this trade unnecessary; at least I do not find that they ever did enjoy it in any considerable degree. King **JAMES I.** had this business under consideration, as appears by the ambassador **CARLTON**'s letter, dated February 1618, from the **HAGUE**, which gives us an idea how things were circumstanced at that time. As the **BRITISH** nation is now making fresh endeavours to establish this fishery, I will venture to insert the following short extract of the letter above-mentioned, viz.

“ I find likewise in the manner of proceeding, that treating by way of
“ proposition here, nothing can be expected but their wonted dilatory and
“ evasive answers; their manner being to refer such propositions from
“ the **STATES GENERAL** to the **STATES OF HOLLAND**. The **STATES**
“ OF **HOLLAND** take advice of a certain council residing at **DELFT**,
“ which they call the **COUNCIL OF FISHERY**. From them such an an-
“ swer commonly comes, as may be expected from such an oracle. The
“ way therefore (under correction) to effect your majesty's intent, is to
“ begin with the fishers themselves, by publishing against the time of their
“ going out, your resolution at what distance you will permit them to
“ fish, whereby they will have recourse to their **COUNCIL OF FISHERY**;
“ that council to the **STATES OF HOLLAND**, and those of **HOLLAND** to

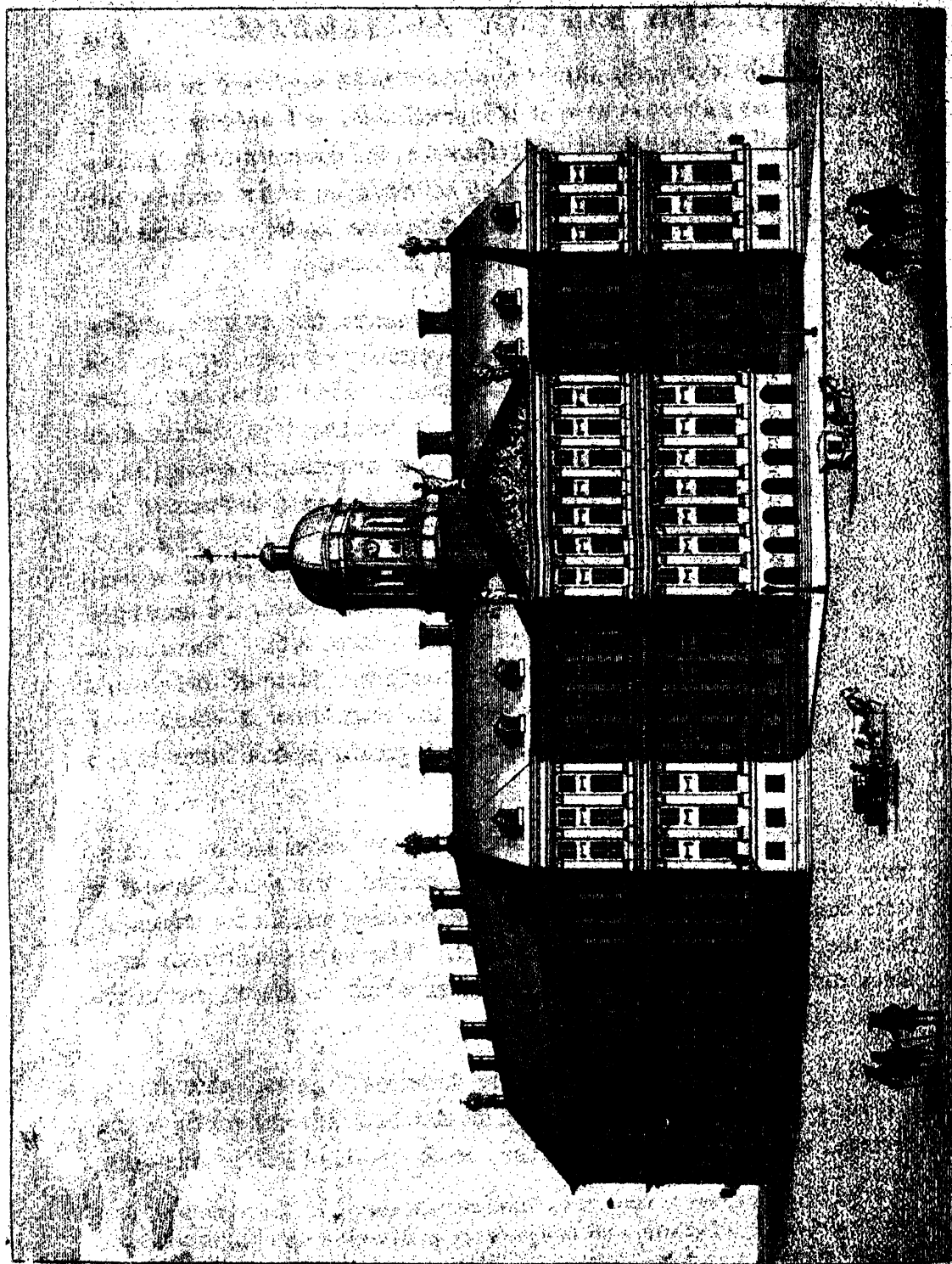
^b In 1601 they had 1500 busses, of twenty five to thirty tons, with a great number of small vessels. In 1618 it was represented to King **JAMES**, that the **DUTCH** employed 3000 ships and boats, and 15,000 men in this fishery. Their barrels usually weigh three hundred weight, containing each about 1000 herrings. It is also worth observing, that the **FRENCH**, of late years, have made a prodigious progress in the herring-fishery near the **ENGLISH** coast.

“the STATES GENERAL, who then, in place of being fought unto, will, for contentment of their subjects, seek unto your majesty.”

In the time of king CHARLES II. we also find great resentments of the conduct of the DUTCH towards the ENGLISH nation; the latter complaining at the same time of their own indolence with regard to the herring fishery. The learned SELDEN maintained the argument of our exclusive right to fish, in a treatise intitled, MARE CLAUSUM; whilst GROTIUS, in behalf of the DUTCH, pleads for a MARE LIBERUM: which of the two is right, is not my business at present to enquire.

It was long imagined that the BRITISH nation declined all attempts on this fishery from a particular desire of shewing the highest regard to her good friends and allies the DUTCH; but whatever THEIR virtues are, or OUR singular obligations to them, they must be sensible either of our folly in submitting, our incapacity of hindering, or our justice in acquiescing. The HOLLANDERS depend so much on fish for their support, that it would seem a system of politics grating to humanity, to use the means which providence has put in our hands, to prevent their drawing such supplies from the sea; but we are also led by no less a motive than self-preservation, and the duty we owe to our own poor, to provide for the means of their support.

It is doubted by some, whether the erection of workhouses, without finding NEW WORK for the poor, will fully answer the purposes of the nation; but nothing can be more evident than that the fishery, supposing it succeeds, will produce an increase in our shipping, an additional manufactory in nets, and in general an employment entirely new, and of such an extent, as may in time take in a great number of the poor of GREAT BRITAIN, men, women and children, old and young; for they can all perform some part or other. It ought to be presumed that the gentlemen who have undertaken the care of this fishery, will endeavour to surprize the nation with the success, answer the good intention of the legislature, and convince the world that constancy and perseverance can do any thing except miracles. We should likewise consider, that this
fishery,



The Town house at Amsterdam

fishery, which is properly BRITISH, OUGHT to be employed to the advantage of GREAT BRITAIN, if it is practicable, as I presume it is. It is at least well deserving the attention shewn it, and the event can be known only by time. There seems to be no contradiction in the nature of the thing why it should not do; and if we determine under providence that it shall succeed, more than half the event is secured.

To return to what more immediately concerns the DUTCH; passing over the Y^a to SARDAM^b, I had an opportunity of observing what vast labour they execute by means of windmills. Here they saw timber at a very easy rate^c, which occasions their building ships cheaper than in other parts. They grind woods, and other materials for dyeing, make gunpowder, and paper, of which here are the best manufactories of any in HOLLAND. These mills are employed in many other uses. This work is performed by very few hands, and the women are employed as well as the men; which gives one a strong idea of that industry and œconomy from whence the riches of the UNITED PROVINCES arise. There are other scenes where the people are not less active. Many of these windmills cost considerable sums of money, the foundation of them being made in a very expensive manner, as the ground is little better than a marsh.

Of all the public buildings in AMSTERDAM, either for use or ornament, the town house^d is the most distinguished: the foundations of it were laid in 1648, and in seven years the building was so far advanced, that the magistrates took their seats in it. The LATIN inscription on a black marble pedestal, the representation of which constitutes part of the subject of a relievo, is to this purpose:

“The UNITED PROVINCES of the LOW COUNTRIES, after having
“bravely supported a bloody war by sea and land in every region of the
“earth, against the three PHILIPS, most powerful kings of SPAIN,

^a Called also the Y^a, and by some^e the Y^a, about five miles over. ^b The proper name of this place is SANDAM. ^c I observed a tree of eight or nine inches diameter sawed into thirty six boards, with great exactness. ^d Stadt-house.

“ for more than 80 years, and by that means secured their liberty, and
 “ the exercise of their religion, the most honourable burgomasters.

“ GERBRANT PANCRAAS,

“ JAQUES DE GRAAF,

“ SYBRANT VALKENIER, and

“ PIETER SCHAAP.

“ made the peace in their magistracy in 1648, their sons and relations lay-
 “ ing the first stone of this town house, the 4th of November of the same
 “ year.”

The dimensions of this building are 282 feet in front, 232 deep, and 116 high, exclusive of the cupola. It cost three millions of guilders*, when money was more valuable than it is now : this may be the more easily reconciled, if we consider that no less than 13,000 large piles were driven to make a foundation for this ponderous burthen. Whether in this sum they include all the plafonds, and other paintings, of which here are some very valuable, is not essential to our present purpose. Behind the seat of the presiding burgomaster is a complimentary inscription in DUTCH verse, wrote by C. HUYGENS, one of their most eminent poets, which seems to argue the sense they had of the secure establishment of the state at that time.

To give a minute description of this edifice, would require more labour and observation than I had inclination or leisure to bestow on it. We may consider it as a very grand and useful building, but not elegant nor agreeable. It contains most of the offices and tribunals, for the execution of the laws, in the several branches of the military as well as civil government.

It is constantly remarked by foreigners, that the entrance of this building is very mean, and not worthy the other parts of the structure ; the reason assigned for this is, that in consulting the strength and usefulness

of this work, the architect purposely neglected the beauty of it. Had the doors been proportioned, they would have been more subject to be forced, upon occasion of those tumultuous assemblies of the people, which are not unfrequent in this country'. The stadthouse is guarded during the night by a body of the burghers, who are thus charged with the care of the great reservoir of the wealth of the UNITED PROVINCES. In the lower apartments of this building is the bank, in which are supposed to be deposited immense treasures: the keys of them are deposited in the hands of the four regent burgomasters. Some report that these treasures amount to three hundred tuns of gold; and those who have faith enough to think it true, have this to say, that the value of so much gold is not above thirty two millions sterling; and the debt of the UNITED PROVINCES is yet larger, as I shall have occasion to mention hereafter. The real sum here deposited, is perhaps not known to any one person living; and even the computation in the gross, except such as I have already mentioned, is kept as an impenetrable secret; and no doubt there are many good reasons why it ought to be so^e.

The notion of credit supports a great part of the commercial interest of mankind; as it had its original foundation in reality, the business of the world is carried on by means of it, perhaps as well as if that reality still existed. How long this fashion will last, I will not presume to foretell, probably as long as national faith. Banks are maintained upon a certain principle of social confidence; perhaps not so much from any good opinion which men have of each other's justice, as from a mutual tye of interest, and to prevent that distress which might follow, should the knot be once untied.

^f In 1525 the anabaptists formed a conspiracy, and 600 men, during the night, forced the town-house. A burgher took the precaution to cut the ropes of the bells, by which means he prevented the alarm from spreading: and the rebels from strengthening their numbers; so that the next day they were taken in the town house, and put to death. In 1535 the fanatics raised another commotion, and ran naked into the streets, men and women, intending by dreadful cries to intimidate the inhabitants, and seize on the town-house; but this piece of extravagant folly ended only in the chastisement of several of the promoters of it.

^g They say King WILLIAM III. was once questioned on that subject, by one who perhaps was not distinguished for his understanding. This prince answered, "Can you keep a secret?"

The bank of AMSTERDAM differs very much from that of LONDON. In the first all the cash is lodged without paying any interest; in the last, as great sums are acknowledged to be lent to the government, which pays interest; that interest is again paid to the proprietors of the stock.

As the bank of AMSTERDAM receives only the best and purest coin or bullion; the bank-money, as properly denominated, bears a premium of four or five per cent. more than the current money. If a man is desirous to realize his estate, he sells his bank money for current money, with greater facility than we sell bank stock. Here they make payments after the manner of the bank of VENICE^b, viz. by transfer in the books of the bank from the credit of one to the credit of another: these transfers are made by the personal appearance of the transferer; by his order for which there are printed forms; or by virtue of his power of attorney. No coin or specie whatsoever, when once delivered into the bank, is paid out again, unless in cases of deposits, where the identical gold or silver is reclaimed by him who delivered it in, and for that purpose he has a permit, renewable every six months, otherwise to become invalid; in the last case the cash or bullion so delivered, is blended with the common stock, and transferable only in the manner already mentioned. The accounts which are kept by the bank are remarkably regular and true, which is indeed the more essential as here are no bank-notes; so that the merchant or other creditor, has only to confer occasionally, in order to see that his accounts agree with those of the bank books. Tho' this bank pays no interest, yet it receives interest for the sums lent to the EAST and WEST INDIA companies; so that these companies trade, in some measure, for account of the state. The city is thus connected with the bank, as being so immediately under the direction of the chief burgo masters; so it is also bound for the LOMBARD^b, where monies are lent on the security of all kinds of merchandize at a low interest.

^a The bank of VENICE is the more antient of the two, and^c probably served as a model to this of AMSTERDAM.

^b LEMBAERT, as denominated by the DUTCH.

The large sums of money which have been lent to the DUTCH government, are intirely independent of this bank; the revenues of the respective provinces being engaged as a security for such sums, and for which they give bonds. These debts have been made into a stock, which bearing a reasonable interest, was at first above par; but that stock being taxed, or more properly the interest reduced, and not always paid in a punctual manner, the principal is fallen under par. This being considered as a kind of violation of national faith, necessarily sinks the credit of the state.

Though the public interest in GREAT BRITAIN is also reduced, it is not felt in this manner; on the contrary, the principal stock, which is a token of great property, is lately much encreased in value; whilst the DUTCH are obliged to submit, not only to the reduction of interest, but also to the diminution of the value of the principal.

With regard to the government of AMSTERDAM, the subject has been exhausted by other writers. I will only take notice that there are twelve burgomasters who change by rotation, and of these, four are regents annually, one of the former year always remaining. Proper officers are appointed to attend these burgomasters, who are in most respects of very great weight, as the chief directors in this popular government. As the senate has the legislative, the burgomasters have, for the most part, the executive power; and their influence is necessarily the cause of their being held in the highest veneration. The original frame of this government, seems to have been founded in the inclinations of the common people, and their rulers elected by their suffrage; but as liberty in low minds is naturally apt to breed licentiousness, and consequently to destroy itself; it was, in process of time, found necessary to confine those elections to particular bodies; that is in fact for the magistrates to chuse themselves: this also has produced its evils, and occasioned jealousies and tumults, to which we may add, instability, and consequently the insecurity of the state.

Before I take my leave of AMSTERDAM, I must observe to the honour of the DUTCH, that as they acknowledge themselves to be a colony of merchants, and that civil government is essential to trade; they do not think the civil offices contemptible; nor do persons of high rank; from indolence, or a false delicacy, decline these offices, and leave them to the inferior inhabitants. It might be wished that LONDON, whose chief glory is her trade, paid the same regard to the offices of civil oeconomy: it is true, some of the most considerable citizens have lately taken the virtuous resolution of serving the community in this essential point; and it may be hoped that others will follow their example.

C H A P. XLVII.

Comparison of the debt of the UNITED PROVINCES with that of GREAT BRITAIN. The situation of BRITISH subjects in regard to their debt. The reduction of national interest. Moral reflections on the motives to oeconomy.

FROM the consideration of the enormous debt of the UNITED PROVINCES, and the present condition of the DUTCH, the transition is natural to that of my own country. The circumstances of GREAT BRITAIN are incomparably better than those of the UNITED PROVINCES; the immoveable estate of the latter is not computed one fortieth part so good as ours, though their debt, at the lowest computation, is said to be half as great, and before the late war was near equal^{*}. It is remarkable that, in order to save their money, the DUTCH plead poverty, and report their debt to be rather greater, than some apprehend it really to be. However, I think it will appear to the inquisitive world, that in regard to venality, and the want of public love, the people of the UNITED PROVINCES exceed those of GREAT BRITAIN. Whether I am partial to my own country, and that the test of this opinion will depend on which nation falls first, we must leave to futurity.

The dangerous power exercised amongst the DUTCH, was demonstrated by the conduct of their rulers in the late war, and again by the occasional tu-

* Four hundred millions of florins, or near forty millions sterling.



mults of the common people : it is still a dangerous exercise of power, whether a mob or a magistrate governs without law ? But in any case, that state would hardly submit to a sponge without a civil commotion : an attempt to wipe off their debt would probably involve them in a greater distress, than the heavy contributions of the opulent, which are necessary for the relief of it.

At the close of king WILLIAM's war the province of HOLLAND was engaged only for sixty millions of guilders^b. It was in this reign that GREAT BRITAIN began to contract debts. I know not if it is worth the pains to examine, how we came to be so deep in debt, unless that enquiry can diminish it : perhaps the rapid progress of this NECESSARY EVIL is owing to the ambition of the house of BOURBON, which has been the occasion of expensive wars. We know that the ambition of that very house has involved FRANCE in the same difficulty, perhaps in no less a degree ; whilst property in an arbitrary government cannot be so secure as it is in a free state : consequently the people of FRANCE are so far in a worse condition, in respect to the debt of their government, than the BRITISH subjects. But may we impute this accident with regard to ourselves, to the facility with which necessities or expences are created, when men know where there is a fund to supply them ; or to a corruption of manners, and the profuse luxuries, which are become fashionable ? Be this as it may, it must be obvious to every dispassionate enquirer, that the encrease of property by trade, is a concomitant cause of the encrease of the national debt in GREAT BRITAIN.

We find political writers differ very much in their sentiments ; and, from the comparison of the past and present times, draw very different conclusions : this must necessarily happen, whenever we compare things, which are not the proper object of comparison. It is very plain, that, before the revolution, the BRITISH nation was not incumbered with a debt : it is now deeply immersed, and engaged to pay a very large sum annually in interest ; and yet, I hope, no one will doubt, that GREAT BRITAIN is at least as rich and powerful a nation now as it was then. The oeconomy of the state and of the people must consequently have taken a very differ-

^b 600,000 l.

rent turn. Our wars have been more expensive, because honesty and national love have been less in fashion^c. Perhaps, with more oeconomy, we might have saved a considerable quantity of coin and bullion, which have been sent out of the nation : but all this time it ought to be remembered, that such coin and bullion is but a small part of our riches. I know not what computation is made of the export of it on the account of war ; but I question if the whole value of the coin and bullion now in the nation amounts to four per cent on our national stock.

Wars, though they are the chastisements of heaven, are also great incentives to industry, and create a more diffusive circulation of money. The same industry and circulation, are, among others, great causes of the accumulation of our national debt ; and this debt has also created a more extensive accumulation of property^d : these seem to have acted reciprocally on each other ; whilst the nation, as I just observed, has certainly acquired a great encrease in riches by the general balance of her trade.

Hence it arises that so much money is brought to market to be disposed of to the government upon very easy terms. Nothing can be plainer than this, that if we were to lose upon the general balance of our commerce, money would rise in value in proportion to such loss. But all things have their bounds : the very encrease of private property would render the condition of the nation the more calamitous, should the legislature, which may be considered as the great merchant of the state, enter into such deep engagements as to become bankrupt : for if the government lives upon the principal, without fixing certain bounds, it will not signify that the people live on the interest, since their mutual preservation is inseparably connected.

^c To what other cause can we impute our wars being more expensive now than they were formerly ? The value of things is not increased beyond the proportion of the increase of riches. As we are now better able to pay a tax of six millions, than formerly of three or four ; if that which cost only three or four, is now worth six, there is no greater occasion to make war more expensive, in proportion to our revenues, now, than there was then : unless we come back to the same argument, that the formidable efforts of FRANCE have put us under a necessity of preparing greater fleets and armies than formerly. It would be very well if we could prove from thence, that the public is treated at present with as great respect as ever it was.

^d E. g. If the government buys of me 1000 l. what I should not otherwise have sold for above 7 or 800, the national debt is increased, but so is my property also.

From

From this general position it may be deduced, that although the public debt has been the cause of public taxes, yet it is owing also to the same cause, that thousands have lived upon the interest of their money, when they must have otherwise encroached upon the principal; and, impoverishing themselves, have done more injury to the state, than it now suffers by the public debt; because the state has so enlarged a credit beyond any private person.

According to the present circumstances of things, a public debt is undoubtedly a benefit; but ours is too large: the great point is to observe the due measure and degree of it. Thirty or forty millions may be always convenient; and, if the state should require so much in time of war, even fifty or sixty millions may be supportable without danger to the constitution. There is a certain proportion of taxes, beyond which the inhabitants will not, or cannot pay, without danger to their liberty. If our debt should ever exceed a sum, for which the government cannot pay a PROPER interest, without exacting heavier taxes, than such as we are supposing to be consistent; though liberty may not be endangered to the present generation, yet we must entail such an incumbrance on posterity, as will hardly consist with their freedom.

The BRITISH nation is now said to owe eighty millions: in case of a war this may be enlarged to an hundred, or an hundred and twenty millions; the interest of which, though at three and half per cent. is four millions two hundred thousand pounds. So vast a principal sum would necessarily alarm the creditors on every occasion of the least danger. In proportion as that alarm increased, public love among the people would be changed into a timorous self-love, and A LOOKING OUT each for himself; and the state might thus be reduced to bankruptcy.

The present reduction of interest to a standard of three and half per cent. seems to have all the marks of a judicious and equitable policy; but if we were to go much lower, the question is, if the state would not suffer more by the distress of individuals, than benefit by a saving in this manner? Supposing a further reduction should no ways injure the national credit,

credit, yet it would fall too hard upon those who have no other possible dependance than that of national interest; consequently expedients of a more general nature seem eligible. Annuities on lives, for instance, have been recommended; these appear better for the state than the people; and yet numbers would accept of annuities^d. If the nation has patience to wait for twenty years, we may perhaps see thirty or forty millions of this debt paid off, in the method already established; perhaps we shall be able to support ourselves with honour and safety in so long a peace, or the accumulated strength of our neighbours may not, at the expiration of that time, render it necessary to swell the debt as great as it was before, and entail this incumbrance on posterity.

Of the two evils however, the more speedy diminution of the debt appears the most eligible, supposing that it would tend most to the security of this vast property. It is not a sufficient consolation to those who extend their views beyond the present hour, nor yet consistent with the dignity of the nation to say, “that so long as the government exists, the public security of the funds will be supported.” As a commercial nation, we ought to calculate better, than to run a risk greatly exceeding all the advantages we can possibly propose. This is putting the thing upon a dangerous and fallacious issue; for it seems much less difficult to imagine a continuance of the independency of the nation, through the vicissitudes to which it is subject; than of the support of the public credit, through the necessities to which the government may be reduced; especially if we should be soon involved in another formidable war, that may shake the foundations of this constitution.

Though GREAT BRITAIN has just grounds to complain of her vices and immoralities, there seems to be religion and virtue enough left in the island; to create a submission to the dispensations of providence, even in a case so shocking, as that of plunging eighteen or twenty thousand people,

^d It may be doubted which of the two is the greater evil, to suffer the diminution of interest during life, or the loss of the principal after death. Where there are no families in the case, the latter seems the most eligible, otherwise it would certainly be a less evil to suffer a reduction of our revenues without affecting the principal, than for a man's children to be plunged into poverty.

with ten times as many more who are their dependents, and the meanest of them above the labouring part of the people, at one stroke into the lowest poverty. The evil would be extended to very remote consequences, whilst the national stock would not be in the least increased; unless we suppose foreigners who have their money in our hands, must also submit to see us turn bankrupts, and at the same time hold such a rich landed estate as ours, unengaged for any future payment. What politicians are these who suppose this nation so corrupt as to run such a risk without any general benefit? The property of the merchants is in a great measure connected with the public credit: if that credit should fail, what an immense circulation would cease! what a wound would our commerce receive, in consequence of the loss of that imaginary wealth which is now as good as real!

It is true, we have an example in FRANCE of no antient date, of a large national debt being paid with a sponge: but FRANCE was, and still is, under arbitrary power; the HONOUR OF INDIVIDUALS is consequently at a much lower ebb than among us; and what could WE expect for a national crime as this, but the tenfold curse of despotic rule?

No man of common modesty, or common sense, will pretend to say that a nation, computed upon a fair calculation to be worth from 600 to 800 millions, cannot pay off half a debt of 80 millions. The possibility is apparent; the great point is, to levy such an equal tax as shall not distress the poor, nor leave the rich any JUST cause of complaint. Whatever is done, ought to be calculated for the main end in view, which is the preservation of liberty, in the manner most practicable and agreeable to the genius of the people. The debt was contracted to supply the exigencies of the state, and to protect the whole body of the nation; the whole body of the nation then are obliged to repay it; and if the state requires it, not by taxes on the common people, but according to the proportions of the actual possessions of every individual^k, in such a manner as

^k Even one-per cent. per annum on real property, exclusive of other taxes, would, in six or eight years, produce a vast treasure.

should not appear in the least degree destructive of liberty. Those who urge that great part of this sum has been devoured in bribes, unjust accounts, and a whole list of crying enormities under past administrations, say very little to the purpose; for if this is NOT true, the argument amounts to nothing more than a calumnious report; and if it is true, though we must own they are injuries committed against the whole community, yet they are injuries of such a nature, that the whole community are answerable for them to themselves, and must for their own sakes make good the consequences of them.

Men who think soberly on this subject, will hardly conceive that a BRITISH government has ever entertained so impious a thought, as to mean to annul this debt; or that any party secretly wish for it; consequently all POLITICAL PREDICTIONS on this principle ought to be treated as dishonourable reveries, and melancholy delusions. We ought rather to suppose, that the landed as well as monied interest of the nation, mean to pay off this debt in such a necessary proportion, as will strengthen our credit, already so justly superior to that of any other nation.

That GREAT BRITAIN is immensely rich, is indubitable. A land tax of one shilling produces half a million to the crown; and if the assessment was just and equal, and the charge of collecting reduced, it would then amount to a whole million: it follows, that the annual revenues of the proprietors of land only, are 20 millions; consequently at the moderate computation of 20 years purchase, the value is 400 millions; may not the annual industry of this nation be deemed equal to the produce of above half as much more; not to mention the plate, jewels, money, mines and houses?

On the other hand, if the proprietors in good earnest felt the evil at their doors, and that they are the real debtors, and subject to be arrested by each other: if they were in danger of sequestration by civil war, or in consequence of foreign invasion, how greatly would this valuation sink!

1 Some professed calculators make the revenues for the support of the people and the government forty three millions, which corresponds with the supposition I have made above.

I am

I am not versed in political arithmetic, but I will suppose the value in question to be only 600 millions in the whole; would not a gradual diminution, or rather change of property of five or six in the hundred of this national stock, in the space of eight or ten years, and I hope there is no danger of being involved in a war sooner, be a less evil than to continue so deeply in debt as we now are? Would not this method enrich the proprietors of the ninety-four parts? By this means all taxes on every branch of trade, and on every article of consumption, would be diminished in so great a degree, that these ninety four parts would be then more valuable than the hundred are now^m. If this can be demonstrated, we seem to be in the circumstances of that miser who offered a shilling to be bled; but the surgeon demanding half a crown, before the contest was decided, the man died. This may be our case, for we are subject to a political as well as a natural death.

Something of this sort would certainly be brought into execution, if every proprietor would say to his own heart, "I am flattering myself into a belief that I owe nothing, when I really owe a tenth part of my estate; which if I do not offer to pay off in part, though the government should not compel me to it, the danger my children are exposed to of losing the whole, is greater than the inconvenience of paying my share at this time. Can I answer it to my conscience to leave the poor to pay MY DEBT from their daily labour? Is it possible they CAN pay it whilst the taxes do little more than answer the interest of this debt, and the current annual expence of the government in time of peace?"

The reader may laugh at the expression MY DEBT, till he considers that the term MY COUNTRY in this land of liberty is adopted as proper; the first indeed means a deprivation of a good, as the last implies the possession of one. The debt of the public is certainly the debt of a number of individuals; but because every one considers the sum in the gross, and thinks but with repugnance on his proportion of it, the mind being

^m The vast expence this government is at in collecting taxes would revert into the national treasuries, as well as the labour of collectors, who must find a different employment.

lost on the one side in the greatness of the idea, and distressed on the other by the painfulness of it, turns to some other object.

Are we not bound, in proportion to the degree of power and fortune we possess, to act as if this debt was our own, in the common sense of the word? If every member of the body politic thus considered himself, he could not with common honesty avoid being anxious to clear himself of his share, in a necessary proportion, as already observed; and to exert his utmost abilities that others should perform their duty in like manner, and make self-love and social the same common principle.

Though the riches of some, or the poverty of others, may make them repugnant to the receipt of any part of their principal money; and though it may be imagined that national funds which pay interest are national benefits; yet it seems to be a glaring absurdity, that we had better remain so DEEP in debt, than discharge ANY PART of it; unless we had at the same time a sinking fund annually accumulating, and devoted to the support of a war, or any important call of the nation. Such a fund can hardly be supposed, for then the government would pay a large interest for a sum laying dead, out of pure love to such people who might be ignorant how to employ their money in any other way. It is, I presume, most natural to imagine, that the less we owe, the higher interest the public can afford to give upon an emergency: for that emergency we ought to be ready; we know it will come: if we judge from the experience of past ages, it is, humanly speaking, as certain as death, though we know not the time of either. Money is plenty now, but experience does not warrant its being so in time of war; on the contrary, an unprofitable peace is sometimes submitted to, merely for want of money, though we are at the same time so rich a nation; which proves how the want of public love may subvert a monarchy. The higher interest the nation gives, the greater sums it can raise^a, and consequently whilst money, as well as

^a The contrary is maintained by some, but that can be only in time of peace and safety, and at best proves only that the people know not how to employ all their money.

good foldiers, is confessedly the sinews of war, the fairer we bid for a secure and lasting peace.

Perhaps it may be also found, that this debt, as is generally experienced among private men, wounds the œconomy of the state; if it does not prevent such a number of ships of war being constantly employed, as might tend to the better support of our naval strength.

What but the consideration of this debt could have so long induced a nation famed through the world for humanity, to raise a tax on the miserable poor, for the liberty of destroying themselves with liquid fire, whilst it became a provocation to them to destroy others also, and endanger the very foundations of society?

From hence it must appear of how great importance it is to diminish a national debt, when we see so striking an instance of the necessities of a government arising from that debt. No one will pretend to say that a minister, who is a man of sense and humanity, could be either ignorant or careless in this respect. Is it however possible that a ministry should see the people indifferent with relation to the public, and without any scruple enriching themselves beyond due measure out of the public money, without being alarmed? A ministry less moderate and disinterested than the present, might be almost tempted to consider the government and the people in a distinct view: for what is more according to the corruption of the human heart than this, that when a people do not observe their duty with regard to the government, the government should have the less tenderness for the people? Is not this consideration sufficient to rouse a nation to a sense of virtue?

There are without doubt many political points of universal concernment to a nation, and yet not easy to be understood. It is the business only of a few to know all the secret springs which move a government; hence we may justly entertain a jealousy of our private apprehensions. Some points however will be canvassed, whether they are understood or not: every body can talk, though some may not clearly understand their own meaning.

We ought to thank heaven for what is already done towards our relief. By the particular countenance shown by the ministry, and the generous efforts of the PATRIOT CITIZEN, the interest of the national debt is reduced. There were some struggles in obtaining this necessary, great, and valuable point. That patriot citizen will not, I fear, live to see his scheme carried into execution in all its parts. The reduction of interest seems to be in effect a sumptuary law, which ought to extend to all ranks and orders.

I presume that men even in the greatest offices, profess to be no more than servants of the people; the foundation of a free government supposes the first regard due to them: consequently if the necessities of the people, for the support of the state, require their living lower in THEIR rank; those whom they enable to live in splendor, according to the nature of their respective offices in the state, ought in all reason to contribute in PROPORTION; for this plain reason, that instead of weakening their own dignity, and by this means hurting the community, they will probably, do it the greatest service, and answer the wise ends for which the people have agreed to support them in that splendor.

A liberal allowance is perhaps at all times necessary to the principal offices in a great state; and if some prodigality is countenanced when that state is in a flourishing condition, what mighty injury can it receive? But can a state be said to flourish in the sense of the present argument, when it is involved in a heavy debt? To make no distinction seems to argue as gross an impropriety as the conduct of that private man who, when his estate is without incumbrance, lives up to the height of it, and when it becomes deeply mortgaged, still makes the same expence. He may perhaps have the address to support himself for a considerable time; but if winds blow down his barns, or mortality rage among his cattle, what will become of his estate? Nations are subject to calamities as well as private men; and the exercise of human wisdom is as necessary in public as private affairs.

Upon the occasion of the late reduction of national interest, neighbouring nations * began to gaze with wonder as if the golden age was restored to this island, and that this reduction of national interest would be followed by that of national pensions, and of the great salaries annexed to some offices, so as to bear a proportion to the SAVINGS upon the article of interest, and thus enable the government to make great advances in the payment of the national debt. In this THEIR opinion has outrun our virtue; but much may be expected from the equal spirit that prevails in the legislature. It is true, speculative and active virtue differ extremely. There are always more philosophers in theory than in practice; yet it ought to be presumed that those who think justly, will endeavour to act consistently.

Every man of great rank and office in this nation must either believe that our debt is really an object of no danger, and that we are conjuring up a spirit for the pleasure of being frightened; or he must be of a contrary opinion; if the last, supposing he wishes the happiness of his country, which ought to be presumed, will he not in his serious hours reason thus with his own heart? “ I see my country involved in a heavy debt
“ which injures her foreign influence and her domestic security. It is true
“ our affairs are mending; the interest of money is lowered, but can
“ this produce so speedy a reduction of the national debt as our welfare
“ requires? Is it in my power to do any real service to my country? Is it
“ not my duty to contribute to her wants? The circumstances of the times
“ are such, that I am not called upon for any reduction of the salary which
“ I receive of the public, and perhaps my example will not make any
“ impression; but if the thing is right and proper to me, it is so to all
“ persons under the same circumstances as I am; nor will it be less right,
“ though it should be deemed an affectation of popularity, an enthusiasm
“ in politics, or a rank hypocrisy. Some body must begin: it may not
“ be convenient for the minister: I confess it appears to me just and con-
“ sistent; and my conscience dictates it to me; I can live with most ho-

* The FRENCH ministers, I am told, declared without reserve, that they thought it practicable.

“NOUR on a smaller income; for instead of pampering my dependents in
 “a luxurious superfluity, I MAY become an instrument of providence to
 “save eight or nine millions of people, who are all dear to me, from the
 “miseries of civil war, or the despotic tyranny of some bold invader: but
 “it is CERTAIN I shall perform an act of justice to my country. I
 “shall do a charity which I hope will be acceptable in the sight of GOD.
 “I shall express my gratitude to the public, as that common benefactor
 “by which my ancestors have been supported through so many ages; and
 “by which I have myself enjoyed all the comforts and delights of the
 “happiest government in the world, under one of the best of kings. Per-
 “haps in the chain of effects, and the course of a wise and good provi-
 “dence, this single action might also be a means of preserving the welfare
 “of a great part of EUROPE; for if the antient virtue of this island is re-
 “stored to it; the native valour of my countrymen may establish them as
 “the arbiters of EUROPEAN liberty, or at least secure our own on the most
 “permanent basis.”

Were such visionary speculations brought into action, which is at least possible; would a minister deny his acquiescence to SUCH A CONDUCT, and think SUCH A MAN a lunatic; or rejoice to see an instance of disinterested and generous regard to the community? Would he be sorry to find himself in a fair way of being relieved from those perplexities in which ministers in GREAT BRITAIN have been generally involved? Would he lament to see a large saving to the nation, instead of that anxiety which attends a want of money for the purposes of government?

If SUCH A CONDUCT were the issue of a solid judgment and well-regulated affections; and if the necessities of the nation do require SUCH a conduct; it may be asked why is not this, or something equal to it, brought into execution by the minister, who has the power? Is not this begging the question? Would a minister in GREAT BRITAIN have ANY POWER AT ALL, was he to attempt making the people virtuous in despite of themselves? It is impossible that he can be ignorant of the inclination of the people; and if they have not virtue enough to save the nation, that

is, themselves, whenever the matter is brought to this issue, what power on earth can save them?

By operating with their bad affections, a minister might bring the people to a speedier ruin; or by a judicious opposition of them, ward off the blow for a time; but can he support the people against their wills? Let us consider the thing in another light: if those who enjoy places and pensions, and may, in some measure, have the power of acting in this respect as they please, have too much wit, or too little virtue, to renounce any part of the profits arising from such places and pensions, from a consideration that the state is in NEED; it will not follow that the landed and commercial interest, which is incomparably the most wealthy, may not contribute as largely as the state requires. Such an UNBIASSED DIS-INTERESTEDNESS would never be their ruin. The more virtue there is in the nation, the longer it will stand: therefore if the place or pension-man does not shew the nobility, or the country gentlemen an example of patriotism; if these begin, the effect will be near the same.

In short, if the ruling passion of persons in any state, is the preservation of their country, they will rather consider the END, than the MEANS. They will subscribe to any method not in itself inconsistent, rather than spend their time in a fruitless debate. I suppose we are still a free and a wise nation; whatever method then the legislature may appoint, the virtuous will unite in warding off every calamity to which the nation is exposed.

A resolution of the legislature to pay off a large proportion of the debt by taxes, unprecedented in these latter times, would appear to many as an invasion of liberty, and a greater evil than to suffer the debt to be paid in more moderate proportions. On the other hand, some apprehend it to be more inconsistent with liberty, that we should owe so heavy a national debt; and think it ought to be reduced by extraordinary taxes. If men of fortune are of this last opinion, and have virtue enough to act up to their principles, we shall soon owe a less exorbitant sum. If they are

not of that opinion, or have not virtue to act up to their principles, with what countenance can they complain?

C H A P. XLVIII.

A description of HAERLEM. Reflexions on retirement in advanced age. Of LEYDEN and the HAGUE. A brief account of the house of ORANGE.

ON the 16th of October I took my leave of AMSTERDAM, where it was my fortune to be at a season that was rude and disagreeable. Were the people in that city so disposed to kill themselves in an ill humour as they are in another great trading metropolis, I should think it at least as proper a place for this purpose, especially in the present month. When the frost comes on, they are more braced and active, and at all times too busy to fall into this atrocious practice. I embarked at the HAERLEM gate, taking the^a roof of the treckscoot: these stage-boats are extremely commodious, as they set out at stated hours, and perform their passage at a certain time almost to a minute; but the common part of the boat is often rendered insupportable, from the custom of smoking tobacco, so highly offensive to some persons.

The HAERLEM canal is bounded by meadow-lands, well covered with horned cattle; but there are not many houses near the banks. In two hours and a half we reached HAERLEM. This is a town of very great note, and not less distinguished for its cleanness. It is remarkable for bleaching, also for the manufactory of linnen, and several other material articles. Here was a considerable garrison of soldiers: the fortification, in some parts, is only a lofty brick wall. This place is said to have flourished so early as the year 1155. In 1292 a revolution happened, in which great part of it was burnt: a circumstance of the like nature happened by accident in 1347. In 1573 it was taken by the SPANIARDS, who treated the inhabitants

^a The cabin.

with great cruelty; 1700 men, the remains of the garrison, were either hanged, or put to the sword, for defending themselves eight months. Here are twelve churches, of which four only are of the established religion. HAERLEM lays claim to the invention of printing, which they attribute to LAWRENCE COSTER, who was born here about the beginning of the 15th century. A little to the south of this city is the HAERLEM-MEER, which is a large lake, but as it abounds in shallows, and is too much exposed to the wind, the canal is much preferable for the commerce with AMSTERDAM.

After a short stay I embarked for LEYDEN: the land behind HAERLEM is hilly and sandy, and the banks of the LEYDEN canal are higher than those of HAERLEM. Here they cover their cows with body-cloths, assigning this as a reason, that by keeping their backs warm, they give milk the more abundantly. There are several country houses and plantations of trees, and agreeable walks. About three miles from HAERLEM is HARTCAMP, the country-seat of old Mr. CLIFFORD; this gentleman is possessed of a considerable fortune, and having a taste for gardening, he passes his time mostly in the country.

The acquisition of riches being, for the most part, the supreme object of a DUTCHMAN's attention; seldom any of them leave the world till the world leaves them, however indulgent providence may have been to them, with regard to the means of a comfortable and honourable retirement. It is no uncommon thing in all countries to grasp at the objects of avarice and ambition, even under the circumstances of age and sickness; and though such men see themselves, if they see at all, suspended by a hair between the visible and invisible world, yet will they continue to be led by the delusions of the mind. It is true, there is nothing in which we are oftener mistaken, than in our apprehensions of the pleasures of retirement, after a life devoted to business. Men of contemplative minds are apt to think of this too early, and persons of a contrary turn never imagine it is late enough. Active virtue is certainly preferable to that which is passive only; yet it seems unpardonable in old men of easy fortunes, who, having

made the experiment, find that they CAN bring themselves to a relish of a contemplative life, that they DO NOT devote the greatest part of their latter days to it. Every profession, I believe, has reason enough to rejoice in an opportunity of making up for the deficiencies of the earlier part of life; but some callings, in a more peculiar manner, keep the mind in a continual hurry, or, which is much the same, in a closer attention to the concerns of this world than is consistent with the duties of religion. Old men ought to be ready to assist with their counsel: but is it not sometimes an injury to the society for them to refuse giving up the more active scenes of life? Those who are best qualified, by their years and strength, for a greater fertility and energy of thought, should certainly have the office which God and nature seems to have appointed for them. Mr. CLIFFORD, in this respect, has judged like a man of sense and virtue.

It may be observed however, that, in commercial nations, men of the most advanced age, and greatest fortunes, seem to think it as consistent to die with a pen, as with a prayer-book, in their hands. The opulency of nations, in some measure, arises from this spirit; but it cannot be right policy to give more of ourselves to this world than belongs to it. Besides, most of the good purposes of life relating to national welfare, may be answered by initiating our sons or relations into an early taste of commerce, and committing it to their conduct before we die, under circumstances that may render it pleasant, as well as profitable; rather than to leave them immense fortunes, perhaps to be squandered after our death, merely for want of this precaution.

The distance to LEYDEN is fifteen ENGLISH miles: we were four hours exactly on the way. On the bank of the canal, near this place, is the seat of the famous Dr. BOERHAVE, now in the hands of a person of that name, who also professes physic. This place is well known for its university, and great antiquity. It is also remarkable for a considerable manufactory of woollen cloth, which however, for some years past, has very much decreased, partly owing to the decay of the PERSIAN trade carried on by the ARMENIANS, which equally affects the silk

manufactories of AMSTERDAM^b. There is a considerable number of students from all parts of EUROPE, and the university is of great reputation. They have generally a very large garrison: the city in itself is neat and agreeable; but, as most other places in the UNITED PROVINCES have too much water, this has not enough; nor has it such a communication with the sea as affords a proper motion by tides to keep the water sweet. The gardens about it are extremely fruitful, and land bears a prodigious price.

In 1574 the SPANIARDS besieged this town, upon which occasion the inhabitants, to the number of about twenty thousand, behaved with such intrepid valour during a siege of five months, that the very women performed the military duty. About six thousand died of the plague and famine; and being at length reduced to the last extremity, they were summoned by the SPANISH general FRANCIS BALDEZ to surrender; they answered bravely, that so long as they had a LEFT arm, they should not want provision; and that they would employ their RIGHT to defend their liberty. They say that ADRIAN DE WERF, a burgomaster, being importuned by some of the inhabitants to surrender the city, replied, "Since I must die, my friends, it does not signify whether it be by you, or the enemy; cut my body into pieces, and divide it amongst you; I shall expire contented, if I can be a means of preserving you, though it were for one hour only." Providence at length interposed in a signal manner for their deliverance; count LEWIS of NASSAU, brother to the prince of ORANGE, came to their succour, and obliged the SPANIARDS to retire.

From LEYDEN I went to the HAGUE, where we arrived in three hours. A place so renowned for political negotiations would, on that account, be celebrated in the journals of travellers, even though it was not in itself equal, in some respects, to the proudest cities in EUROPE: it has no inclosure, and is called a village; the streets are broad, and several of them are

^b It appears that the DUTCH were jealous of the ENGLISH trade through RUSSIA to PERSIA, and that Mr. DE DIEU applied in 1743 for the same privilege as the BRITISH subjects then enjoyed, in order to obtain an ample supply of silk. At present the great decline of this branch of trade is owing to the troubles in PERSIA.

without canals : their houses for the most part are extremely well built. The number of coaches belonging to noblemen and gentlemen, and the gay appearance of dress, give one an idea of life very different from that of the trading cities. People here are more polite and easy in their carriage than in other parts of HOLLAND ; this is a natural consequence of some of the most considerable persons in EUROPE meeting there continually for political affairs, in the service of almost every EUROPEAN prince : besides as the STATES GENERAL assemble here, this draws the greatest part of the people of the first distinction in the UNITED PROVINCES. The HAGUE may also be considered either as a great city, or a rural scene : for the ENVIRONS which immediately inclose it are extremely delightful ; whilst they have plays, and other amusements, as customary in great cities.

The air of this place is said to be very wholesome. Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE attributes longer life to the inhabitants of this village, than to those of any other place in the UNITED PROVINCES ; yet are the people more careless in cleaning their canals, than is consistent with the preservation of health. It is really amazing how men decline into neglects injurious to the society, which might be prevented with the least thought and industry. Near this place is the palace known by the name of the house in the wood, which belongs to the prince of ORANGE ; as also RYSWICK, famous for the peace of 1697.

One of the finest houses in the HAGUE belongs to count WILLIAM BENTINCK, and was now occupied by the prince of ORANGE. As this nobleman had been so extremely obliging in HANOVER, as to invite me to his house at the HAGUE, I went to pay my respects to him at SORG-VLIET, where he generally resides in the summer season : but he was gone to meet his BRITANNIC majesty in his return from HANOVER. This seat is near two ENGLISH miles distance, and much frequented by persons of taste. The house is of little note ; but the gardens, though in many parts yet uncultivated, are delightful. They abound in lofty trees, and different kinds of hanging walks, which diversify the scene, and render them very pleasant, particularly in a country where most of their country-
seats



Georg. Gaudens and Vincent del.

Ant. W. Schuppert sculp.

The Prince of Orange 1750.

seats are upon a dead flat: on the road to it there is a public garden, in imitation of VAUX-HALL.

At the HAGUE are only two churches of any consequence. Though several of the streets abound in shops, their trade is mostly confined to their own consumptions; hence this place is preferred for the quartering of the soldiery, of whom here was a regiment of grey cavalry of HESSIANS, who made a gallant appearance, also a regiment of DUTCH dragoons, and two regiments of infantry. The pay of a common soldier in the DUTCH service is four stivers, cloaths deducted; but provisions are dear. I observed their clothing, which is blue, is of much better cloth than that in which his PRUSSIAN majesty's soldiers are clad; the serjeants of the guards have silver-laced regimentals. The DUTCH are distinguished from the HESSIANS and SWISS by white breeches. They are extremely neat, their hair being dressed in the manner of the PRUSSIAN soldiers, but their cloaths are not quite so short: they are incumbered with heavier swords and larger hats, whilst their muskets are lighter. They perform their exercise with exactness, and are examined every fourth day that their arms be kept in order. In 1666 the DUTCH had 60,000 men in pay, and four years after at the general peace, upon the reduction of the army they continued 26,200 men, which costing annually six millions of guilders, this we may reckon twenty-three pounds each man, officers included.

As this place might be considered more immediately the court of the prince of ORANGE, I hardly expected to hear any thing said of him disrespectfully. It is well known however with what reluctance a considerable party in the UNITED PROVINCES submitted to this prince's accession to the dignity enjoyed by his fore-fathers; though he had so just a title, not only on account of THEIR merit, but HIS OWN also; and not less from the nature of the constitution of that country, and the experience of past ages, than from the particular danger of the time, in which this event was brought about.

WILLIAM, surnamed the GREAT, was the FIRST STADT-HOLDER, and may be properly called the founder of the republic. He spent his life in the study of war and politics, in which he was a great proficient, and not less distinguished for his private virtues. He was at length assassinated, in consequence of the resentments of the SPANIARDS, and sealed the generous actions of his life with his blood. His son MAURICE, the second stadtholder, adhering to the virtuous principles of his father, supported the independency of the republic. HENRY FREDERIC, the next brother, succeeding to the stadtholdership, distinguished himself as a warrior and a patriot. The fourth stadtholder was WILLIAM II. who married the eldest daughter of our king CHARLES I. This prince dying at the age of twenty-four, left a posthumous son, who was our WILLIAM III. In his infancy the dignity of stadtholdership was annulled; but the terror of FRENCH armies obliged the STATES to recur to that expedient to which they owed their very being, as a republic. King WILLIAM fought their battles, and saved them. After his decease, though the dignity of stadtholder was not abolished, it was suffered to expire; nor did the STATES revive it till the sixth and present stadtholder, WILLIAM CHARLES HENRY FRIZO, a collateral branch of the illustrious house of ORANGE, who by the salutary mediation of a strong party of his friends, and the spirit of a mob, when a FRENCH army was already at their doors, had this dignity conferred on him in 1745. With what moderation he has used it, and what little respect has been shewed to it, the history of the times will make apparent. I only mention what fell under my notice of the general turn of the party in the UNITED PROVINCES, who were luke-warm friends, or no friends at all, to the prince; with this distinction however, that some who hated the STADTHOLDER, loved the PRINCE.

Considering the neighbourhood and great power of FRANCE, the present, as they think, precarious peace, and the disunion of their councils; the DUTCH seem to be persuaded that there must be a power lodged in ONE, to unite and exert their force in case of danger. Reason and experience have taught

taught them the necessity of this power: But a state must possess more virtue than I am afraid there is among the DUTCH, to suppress those prejudices and resentments which are apt to arise in the minds of one part of a people upon any change of government. The anti-stadt-holders, who wish to see the prince pulled out of his seat, operate with him most heartily in making provision for the very men they most despise, or hate, whenever they think they can, by this means, render his office odious to the people: thus his highness has to struggle with secret, as well as professed enemies. Men of moderation say, he does not want parts, that he is a man of a most amiable disposition, of an excellent heart, and yet every day he loses ground; alledging that "his disposition may be good; but the effects of it are bad, by his being too indulgent to men of no principles."

It is a common saying, we love the treason, though we hate the traitor: to save a state can hardly be called treason; but it is generally thought a dangerous maxim in politics, to put men in offices of trust, whose principles allow them to take any side that may afterwards appear to be their interest. But how will they prove, that the prince makes choice of such men? It may be suspected, that those who are not in office are, for that very reason, disaffected. It is granted that many persons, whose power is now eclipsed, ought not to be admitted to the offices of the state, because they have a rooted dislike to the prince, as well as to the stadt-holdership: but then it is OBJECTED, that those who love the prince, and acquiesce sincerely in the power vested in him; who are capable of service, and beloved by the people, are notwithstanding kept out of office. They acknowledge that every honest man cannot be employed; but that such persons of worth and honour ought not to be rejected, for the servile tools, and lower instruments, who brought the prince into office, but are by no means able to establish such a degree of power, as is essential to that office; that such men ought rather to be rewarded in a pecuniary way, or by employments abroad; but not to be preferred so as to disgrace their very patrons, who are ashamed to own their having brought them into place: whereas by chusing men of worth and reputation, who are really the prince's friends, there would be no difficulty in his acquiring a proper ascendancy, and thereby establish himself in the minds of the people.

How the prince ought to act, is hard to say; but this is clear to me, that his very moderation which would render him amiable in a virtuous age, will make him contemptible in a vicious one; for, without a great share of resolution, it is not possible to govern men, who have been used to make their own will the law and rule of their conduct.

To drop so critical a point, let us consider the authority of a stadtholder, which is very confined, unless when he appears at the head of an army, and then perhaps he is not only an object of jealousy, but his power too much circumscribed. The stadtholder sometimes signs public treaties in conjunction with the states, but such treaties do not derive from hence the greater weight or authenticity; for though he is supposed to represent the dignity of the republic, yet whilst the STATES possess the sovereignty, he cannot be considered but as a subject. He has indeed the power to pardon condemned malefactors; but he has not even a seat or vote in the assemblies of the STATES. There are certain prerogatives annexed to the office, which vary in the different provinces, and are alterable by the power from whence they are derived, that is, by the STATES GENERAL.

The stadtholdership, which is now made hereditary in the house of ORANGE, was, from it's original nature, elective; but the high and indelible obligations which the DUTCH owe to WILLIAM the GREAT; and the renowned patriotism and fidelity of the illustrious house of ORANGE, through every generation, have ever thrown the choice on this family as a kind of necessary consequence.

The appointment of the stadtholdership from the STATES, is one hundred thousand guilders^b, and the prince's paternal inheritance is far more considerable.

But, alas! while we are yet speaking, his candle is burnt out; and all our wishes for his temporal happiness vanish like a dream in the night. The memory of this excellent PRINCE will indeed ever retain a sweet favor, and must do honour to human nature, whilst probity is revered by mankind.

C H A P. XLIX.

A general account of the commerce and cause of riches, as also of the air, soil, &c. of the UNITED PROVINCES. Of the genius and manners of the DUTCH, their parcimony, cloathing, women, &c.

IT may appear careless to leave the UNITED PROVINCES without some general reflections, especially as travellers, either in pursuit of learning or pleasure, seldom consider this country in the same light as ITALY or FRANCE; and consequently there is not much said of it, except in laborious historical accounts. Indeed it ought not to be expected from one who only rides post, that he should be able to give an accurate and circumstantial account of a foreign country, when perhaps he knows very little of his own, after living in it for many years.

I know not if any body has given an account of the UNITED PROVINCES so worthy of esteem as that of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE. His general idea of these people in his time is contained in these words: "HOLLAND
"is a country where the earth is better than the air, and profit more
"in request than honour; where there is more sense than wit; more
"good nature than good humour; and more wealth than pleasure; where
"a man would chuse rather to travel than to live; shall find more things
"to observe than desire; and more persons to esteem than to love."

As a kind of contrast to what is remarked by this polite author, the following description will corroborate the notion which the unprejudiced reader may have received of the genius of the DUTCH, and the nature of their country. This burlesque, and perhaps obscure historian says,
"In HOLLAND the four elements are good for nothing; it is a coun-
"try where they worship a golden idol, seated on a throne of cheese,
"and crowned with tobacco; where art surpasses nature, and industry
"alone makes the state flourish; where rusticity of speech is prefer-
"red to the perswasive softness of gentle words, and a coarseness of

“manners makes a show of liberty; where the wives are mistresses,
 “and the husbands servants; where the houses, by dint of frequent
 “washings, appear as cabinets; and an excess of cleanliness is inconve-
 “nient: in a word, where butter and cheese is the harvest and reward
 “of the people’s toil.”

The DUTCH are most certainly devoted to commerce, and, though in the midst of EUROPE, detached as it were from other nations: they are bred up in an abhorrence of regal power, and consequently have a distaste of the manners of the polite nations who are subject to this form of government. Under these circumstances they can hardly be supposed to raise many men of genius, or to cultivate the more refined arts of contemplative life and liberal science. It may be presumed that later ages have improved many of the higher ranks of their people, but perhaps some of them have at the same time exchanged their parcimonious simplicity for an expensive and luxurious manner of living, and by rendering themselves necessitous, opened a way to those temptations which their artful and ambitious neighbours have thought proper to play upon them.

The ease, the gentleness, the sweetness of manners which we find in the polite nations, are seldom possessed, even amongst the higher ranks of the people in HOLLAND, though we often meet with an excess of complaisance: nor is this at all surprising if we consider that men devoted to arts of gain from their earliest life, can with difficulty be formed to a true taste of society. The amusement in which the DUTCH have the greatest pretence to delicacy, is that of gardening, for which some of them contract so great a passion, that I have heard there is a law restraining the price of tulip roots.

They are so well convinced that much diversion not only creates expence, but calls off the mind from business and domestic duties, that in AMSTERDAM no public shows are permitted within the walls. After seven in the evening every person that passes the gates pays one stiver, and a coach five stivers; so that diversions are taxed with this impost. It is not however very considerable, for the people have not a great passion for

for theatrical entertainments. In the winter time skeiting is their greatest amusement. Their retired manner of living is often the occasion that the men when they affect a chearful, polite, and delicate turn of manners, are awkward; and when gay, wicked: the same remark holds with the women also, when they depart from a reserved habit of life.

Their notions of religion, which must ever influence the manners of a people, are not very liberal; and though the practice of it is strictly enjoined as a duty, it does not appear to be rendered delightful. I have heard an HOLLANDER ingenuously acknowledge, that their priests cannot be in any great reputation, for want of that politeness which is essential to all ranks of men in office in a civilized state. Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE's remark is, "That if religion does more good in other places, "it does less hurt here."

The same author imputes the grandeur of their state in a great measure to the modesty and simplicity of their manner of living, which was the general fashion among the first magistrates in his time; and he adds, that he never saw the great pensioner DE WIT in a coach, nor his cloathing, equipage, house or furniture, beyond that of any private merchant.

It is not difficult to conceive, that constant application to business, and indefatigable industry not diverted by any of the warmer passions, nor by the habit or temptation of pleasure, should produce that degree of wealth, power and influence, at which the HOLLANDERS once arrived, and of which, with respect to individuals, they may yet boast.

With regard to the air or water of the NETHERLANDS, the elements are in no country more blended than in this. The abundance of water must necessarily affect the air: at some seasons of the year, many of their most fertile spots are overflowed, which renders both land and water disagreeable. Those DUTCHMEN who know little but of their own country, ask how we manage in ENGLAND to keep our cattle in the field during the winter. Turf, which is reckoned much inferior to wood or coal,

coal, is the chief article of fuel to the inhabitants. But this land of moisture does not ordinarily prevent the people from enjoying a moderate share of health, though their lives seem to be shorter than with us in GREAT BRITAIN. There are several instances of remarkable recoveries in HOLLAND, from consumptive cases, which I believe are not so general among them as in ENGLAND. The reason of this I impute not so much to their climate as their careful manner of cloathing. In ENGLAND people too often dress, feed, and expose themselves to heat and cold, without any regard to difference of constitution. A careless indifference in this respect must be often attended with the same or worse consequences, than an injudicious solicitude.

The vapours arising from the canals in HOLLAND, affect the air in such a manner that the fronts of the houses near the water side are frequently discoloured in one night; this occasions a particular attention to the outside as well as the interior part of their buildings. The manner in which the DUTCH cloath themselves, is a demonstration how subject they are to rheumatic pains, necessity having taught them that kind of habit, which we are inadvertently apt to ridicule.

There are many HOLLANDERS who think judiciously, and, in some respects, live elegantly; but I believe few philosophically. The common people are extremely boorish: I have seen a boatman in a great city, though indeed the distinction of city and village is very inconsiderable, strut up and down a room with his hat on, his hands on his hips, and, with a careless air of insolence, spit at the feet of a gentleman who was treating him with civility, and giving him an opportunity of gaining a guinea for an inconsiderable service. This sort of conduct they mistake for liberty^b,

^b Foreigners make complaint also of the ill-manners of the common people in ENGLAND; but this is expressed rather by a libertine than a boorish conduct; and though we have some savages in human shape, yet the general turn of our people is humane: to this purpose I knew an instance of a common fellow who insulted a FRENCH lady in the street, by the name of FRENCH bitch. Before she advanced many paces she happened to fall, and the same man who had that moment treated her with such unworthy language, was the first who assisted her in rising, addressing her with great complaisance in these words, 'I hope madam you have not hurt yourself.'

whilst their knowledge is confined to the ordinary means of gain, and the gratification of the calls of nature. Cheese, beer and tobacco are the joys which seem to crown the labours of the common people : geneva, to which they are well known to be no enemy, and which is not altogether improper to their climate, contributes much to the circulation of their blood ; but they are apt in their cups to mix cruelty with rusticity.

As they are not so much improved in their sentiments as our common people, neither are they so strong, active and capable of labour ; this may be imputed, not only to the different genius's of nations, but also to the superiority of our climate, and the different nature of the liberty we enjoy : add to this that the animal food which our common people eat, is incomparably more strengthening than their fish, cheese, milk and grout, to which the poverty of their own produce confines them. It is true the UNITED PROVINCES abound in pasture lands ; but cheese being so great an article of commerce, as some of the inhabitants cannot, others will not, afford themselves flesh for their diet. A moderate use of animal food would, in all probability, tend to the prolongation of their lives in that moist climate.

Constancy of employment, coldness of complexion, and perhaps the nature of their food also, may contribute to their being but little given to amour. The women, I speak not of the higher ranks, adorn their heads with gold lace, and other such ornaments, but with more frugality than generally practised in GERMANY. Except a few court ladies, they have not much taste or delicacy in their manners. There are some of good complexions, but not many beautiful. Their teeth in general are bad, probably owing to the use of hot liquors, as tea, coffee, &c. I observed particularly at SAARDAM, that many of the women are pale and languid, and not a few crooked. They acknowledge that most of their children, till the age of eight or ten years, are sickly ; and indeed the women seem so incessantly employed in cleaning their houses, and other offices, of which some are in common with their husbands, that one would imagine they did not afford themselves rest enough to breed children, or at least not

time to support them when they were born. The women in this country seldom breed after the age of thirty. As the men are remarkable for the many breeches they wear, the women, for the most part, use pots with live coals of wood or turf, which they set into boxes bored full of holes; and put under their petticoats, to warm themselves in cold weather; this is not only apt to make them old from the waist downward before the time ordained by nature, but the smell of the coals is offensive. Upon the whole they have a proverbial saying, that the dirtiest piece of furniture in the house of a DUTCHMAN is his wife.

Whether it is the remains of any jealousy which they have retained since the time of the SPANISH government, or the mere effect of prudence, I could not help observing that many of them will not mention their wives in company, nor do they seem pleased that others should speak of them; though in the most respectful terms. One would imagine where the laws are so favourable to the women, as to give them at least an equal share of dominion with their husbands, that conversation should be more free: this conduct however may be imputed to that incommunicative manner of life, in which the lower and middle sorts of the people are bred up.

It is no uncommon thing in HOLLAND, except among those who have travelled and acquired some generosity of behaviour, to treat strangers by whom they get nothing, with that sort of reserve as plainly indicates that you may go about your business as soon as you please. But there is nothing which lowers the reputation of the HOLLANDERS, or reflects greater dishonour on them than their cruelty. This does not arise so much from fiery particles in their blood, or warm passions, as the love of money, witness their sacrifices of human blood: but they have followed the example of their old masters, by taking the same steps to support themselves in the EAST as the others did in the WEST INDIES. In this GREAT BRITAIN is distinguished, no part of her greatness being owing to unwarrantable slaughter.

C H A P. L.

*Of the present situation of the DUTCH, and their partiality to FRANCE.
Their prevailing opinions with regard to GREAT BRITAIN.*

IF we consider a government of so complex a nature as that of the UNITED PROVINCES, in which such a variety of interests and inclination are necessary to support it in full force and efficacy; it is rather amazing how it has lasted so long, than that of late years it has tottered, and been in danger of subversion. It is no mean entertainment to trace this republic to its origin. Historians seem to agree, that the people of which it is composed, so early as the time when the ROMAN commonwealth gave laws to a great part of the world, were in the highest degree impatient of any encroachments on their liberty.

Under PHILIP II. of SPAIN they groaned under heavy oppressions. Several formidable attempts were made from the year 1556 to 1579, to compel them to submit to an arbitrary power, extended not to their lives and fortunes only, but also to their consciences. Persecutions have often called forth such a degree of human strength as seem to argue the interposition of the immediate hand of GOD. The treaty of MUNSTER in 1648, at length settled the independence of the republic: the deputies of the STATES were no longer denominated rebels by the SPANIARDS. The vigilance, sobriety and industry of the DUTCH supporteth their revolt against the crown of SPAIN, and after many years spent in laborious trials of their own constancy, they formed at length that plan of government which now exists. How long it will last is hard to say; the foundation of it does not appear to be very stable. A HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST IT SELF, CANNOT STAND. Whilst these people are not agreed concerning their first magistrate, they will never invest him with power sufficient to answer all the various exigencies to which the state is subject.

It seems evident from their late conduct, from the present condition of that state, and from the nature of their constitution, that they are in no

happy, or secure situation. Hence they require the help of a first magistrate, whose power, though limited, shall be sufficient to constitute him the umpire of all their interior contests, and who, by a proper direction of their strength, may restore them to a REAL independency. Their conduct in the late war was a demonstrative proof that themselves conceived their security was founded in the clashing interest of other princes, and that their country was not in such great danger as we commonly apprehended, because the division of the spoil would create difficulties among the neighbouring powers.

A free state, whose inhabitants are rich, surrounded by powerful neighbours, able to support a considerable military force, and yet unwilling to support it, can hardly be presumed to exist long without some change: at least we may conclude that such a system of politics as that of GREAT BRITAIN contending for the independency of the UNITED PROVINCES, in the same manner as in the last war, without their exerting their own strength, cannot last long. Supposing that their preservation was not the sole motive on which we set out, yet it must be ever allowed, that if FLANDERS becomes a prey to FRANCE, and the barrier is lost, the liberty of the DUTCH is at the mercy of the FRENCH: and what would have become of the barrier in the last war, had it not been for GREAT BRITAIN, it is not difficult to determine.

If the DUTCH are incapable of defending themselves; if their state, though in its early period, is grown decrepit, and needs a support; can GREAT BRITAIN afford such a support, or must it come from another quarter on the continent? What quarter is hard to say. It seems more consistent with their interest to change to some more happy form of government, by a consent of the people, than to run the hazard of being compelled to change for the worse, by some bold invader: and if their independency is of such moment to us, as it may be presumed they imagine, it might be more our interest to assist them in that change, than follow such a system as that of the late war. The DUTCH are tenacious of their liberty, but seem to fall into a belief that they need not provide the means of supporting that liberty, as their good friends the

ENGLISH, and other allies, will do that business for them. We may see what notions Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE had of this republic, when he says, “Thus these stomachful people, who could not endure the least exercise of arbitrary power, or impositions, or the sight of any foreign troops, under the SPANISH government, have been since inured to all of them, in the highest degree under their own popular magistrates, bridled with hard laws, terrified with severe executions, environed with foreign forces, and oppressed with the most cruel hardship, and variety of taxes that was ever known under any government.” It might be expected, that the remembrance of these calamities, which did not arise from us, but from our common enemies, should, whilst that common enemy is in the same strength and inclination, bind them to us in the strongest friendship; but this is plainly not the case.

Politicians seem to agree, that the interest of the MARITIME POWERS is mutual: that is, so long as they in fact continue to be MARITIME POWERS: and ought not the UNITED PROVINCES to continue a maritime power, if they mean to support an independency? The union of such maritime powers might be a counterpoise to that of the house of BOURBON: whereas if they aim at a counterpoise entirely by land, it is plain they must go much farther for it, engage in deeper expences, and complex treaties; and take share in the quarrels of other powers, which must render the welfare of their state the more precarious. Besides, as commerce naturally encreases with naval strength; such union might prove the best means of checking the rapid progress of the trade of other countries, and particularly that of FRANCE, whenever it should prove prejudicial to this mutual and natural interest. However consistent this system may be, the fact is, that in the last war, either the timidity of the DUTCH; the artifices of FRENCH ministers, who disguised this matter; or perhaps that PERSUASION which is apt to conquer all mankind, inclined them more to see GREAT BRITAIN ruined, than erecting new trophies on the ruin of the FRENCH commerce. This is very certain, that the DUTCH looked with a jealous eye on the BRITISH trade, concluding that every step it was advanced, their own would be thrown back.

If our interest was really mutual, they were as blind to their own advantage and security as averse to ours: and if it was not mutual, the system of our politics was founded on a fallacy, which THEY easily saw through. It is a truth too obvious to be denied, that the DUTCH do receive some PRESENT advantages by their commerce with FRANCE; and this was one great obstacle to our detaching them from that delusive connexion. As to the FUTURE, it does not seem to be the fashion of mankind to consider; their thoughts are absorbed in present gratifications. If this were not the case, I presume the thing would have taken a different turn, and remoter consequences would have been examined into.

If the game had been played fair, the question is, whether the bulk of the people of the UNITED PROVINCES would not have seen, that no point can be more essential to them, than to keep the wings of the house of BOURBON so well clipt, as to put it out of her power to fly away with their country, their riches, and their commerce; for probably they must ALL go together: it is impossible they can be the same people under an arbitrary monarchy.

Notwithstanding all the artful evasions, and ungenerousness of the DUTCH in the late war; it is hard to say what had been their fate, if BRITISH valour, and BRITISH treasure, had not been so much employed to keep FRANCE at bay. That the DUTCH set out upon false principles in the late war, I believe all the world will grant. Who can relate without sorrow, the event of the battle of FONTENoy, when victory was snatched from us, not so much by our enemies, as by our friends? We had indeed reason to suspect, that the DUTCH did not mean well to us: we knew their government was embarrassed, and wore a double face. SOME of their ministers were for fighting, OTHERS for a neutrality, and ALL for saving their money at the expence of their VERY GOOD AND GENEROUS FRIENDS AND ANTIEN T ALLIES. At length they compromised the matter, and made war in parade, as an excellent expedient to save appearances, and to quiet the minds of their own people, that no desperate attempt might be made to call the prince of ORANGE to the office of his ancestors. Those in
office

office knew that such a step would eclipse that authority, by means of which they had so long lorded it over the state, and enriched themselves and their families.

It is remarkable that our enemies, who knew the orders and inclination of the DUTCH, from a generosity peculiar to soldiers, at the same time they exulted in our credulity, laughed them to scorn. We PULLED them indeed to the scene of action; but we could not PULL the triggers of their muskets, nor secure their horses from being KILLED, if they had engaged.

But what shall we say of the friendship and good intentions of the DUTCH at that time, if to this very day they avow they COULD not fight. Morally considered, nations are not accountable to nations for errors in politics; but they are answerable to each other for the non-observance of treaties. Whatever motives biased the conduct of these republicans, the inference from real fact, cannot but raise an indignation in the breasts of those who are inclined to shed a tear to the manes of our brave countrymen, who fell in that unequal war. If the DUTCH had declared at that time that they WOULD not, or, which is the same, that they COULD not fight, and that their army was only for parade and observation; I presume, in such case, we could complain only of the inactivity of their AUXILIARY troops as stipulated by treaty. And the question is, if, in such cases, the party failing is not subject to all consequences. If this doctrine was proved good, the DUTCH might now owe us fifteen or twenty millions of pounds, with a further debt which they can never pay, the lives of fifteen or twenty thousand of the bravest troops in the world.

What sense the people of HOLLAND had of their engagements to us, appears, in some measure, from their behaviour, when news arrived at the HAGUE of the battle of FONTENoy. It went current that we had deserted the DUTCH, and left them to be cut in pieces; insomuch that the inhabitants were highly incensed, and exclaimed bitterly, as if the ENGLISH had completed that ruin, which our conduct in the QUEEN's war, they said, had almost produced. When the real fact was known, and the tables turned

on them, though it afforded consolation with regard to the safety of their army, the rulers of the STATE thought it necessary for THEIR own safety to retire out of the town: this was a tacit acknowledgment, that however disposed the people might be to push on the war, they themselves favoured the schemes of FRANCE.

To speak dispassionately of the conduct of the DUTCH, we may reflect on their specious manner of reasoning. "Did we desire you," say they, "to make war, much less to bring it to our doors? And, after all, what reliance could we make on you, when a handful of rebels in SCOTLAND occasioned the demand of six thousand of our best troops, at a time when we most needed them ourselves? If other powers do not keep FRANCE within bounds; the UNITED PROVINCES may become an easy conquest, in spite of all your endeavours to preserve us." This excuse carries with it some weight: but they forget that it was their conduct at FONTENAY which brought on those consequences; that their six thousand men were of no use to us with regard to the rebellion; and lastly, that the preservation of the UNITED PROVINCES, in spite of the FRENCH partizans, became at length one great object of the war: there must then be an unaccountable defection in the hearts of DUTCHMEN, to allow this reasoning to be good. The time may not be far off when they will solicit us to act in confederacy with them, and when they will not have any delusive reserves.

The present political contest, if we can with propriety say there is any contest, seems to be, whether, in case of another war, GREAT BRITAIN ought to send her native troops abroad; or confine herself to the water, and make her money, in a reasonable proportion with other princes, fight her battles on the continent?

Happily for EUROPE, FRANCE is not able to support a great army, and a great fleet also, for any length of time. But as we sometimes see national efforts, which baffle all the systems of the most acute politicians; and as FRANCE may make a formidable figure both by land and sea; can we consistently neglect our land-forces? If it is necessary to preserve the independency

pendency of the DUTCH ; it may be also necessary to employ our troops, as well as our money, on the continent. It might be fortunate indeed to establish a system which would render a great land-force unnecessary. If it is inconsistent for us to attempt the support of great armies, and great fleets also, we may presume that GREAT BRITAIN will adhere to the system which renders that force least necessary, which is most expensive.

Embarkations of our land-men may sometimes be necessary for such purposes, as neither our ships nor money can execute without them ; and in behalf of those states whom it is our duty, and may be our obligation by treaty to preserve on the general principle of commercial interest. But where, and in what numbers, seems to be a point which the occasion only can determine. I apprehend one rule of politics cannot suit all times, more than one medicine all distempers.

The sending great armies abroad has been, among others, a means of involving BRITAIN in a very large debt. But it is also true, that FRANCE has been greatly impoverished by her wars. That the latter has made vast acquisitions by commerce within fifty years past, must be granted ; but yet it is disputed if she is now so rich, compared with other STATES, as she was in king WILLIAM's reign : and since money is the sinews of war, we must reckon the strength of STATES by their riches, compared with other STATES, as well as by their numbers, valour, and genius for

There are, I believe, some general maxims, which are necessary for every government to adopt, as far as they are practicable without adhering to a blind prejudice. If the naval force of GREAT BRITAIN is her proper and natural strength, considering her situation, produce, and the genius of the people ; will it not follow, that the more of such strength she possesses, in proportion to other STATES, the greater will be her commerce, and consequently her riches ? And if she is strongest at sea, may she not command the source of FRENCH power, which is almost the sole object she has to fear ?

Enquiries after political knowledge soon create difficulties, which suggest that the study of politics is no vulgar task, though we talk of it so familiarly. Ministers, like other men, are sometimes biassed by their passions and prejudices, to commit absurdities; but it is their duty to understand the interest of a nation, and their trade to manage it. Others ought to approve or condemn with moderation, as the surest way to come at the truth, without confounding themselves with the use of NAMES and WORDS, to which their ideas are not adequate.

C H A P. LI.

The author leaves the HAGUE. A description of DELFT. Of ROTTERDAM, its trade, and the BRITISH factory established there. A short account of HELVOET, and the present low state of the DUTCH navy.

THE 22d of October I left the HAGUE, and returning back part of the way on the same canal on which I came from LEYDEN, I arrived at DELFT in an hour, the distance being only three miles. The land here is low, and there is no particular object that strikes the eye.

DELFT is surrounded by a considerable extent of flat meadow lands: this place, which is very antient, is well known for its earthen ware, which goes by that name. It is a very pleasant town, and well peopled: the inhabitants are computed at above twenty thousand. Its situation has invited several persons of fortune and distinction to take up their habitations there; but the trade of the place is not considerable. It has however a chamber in the EAST-INDIA company, and a rank in the assembly of the STATES of the province of HOLLAND. This city was burnt down in 1536, and in 1654 the greatest part of it was blown up by an accident of the powder-magazine taking fire; but these misfortunes have rather contributed to its beauty, than defects, as may be inferred from its present appearance.

From hence I departed for ROTTERDAM; the distance is hardly seven ENGLISH miles. This place may well be esteemed next in rank to AMSTERDAM; and, in regard to GREAT BRITAIN, and the southern trade
of

of EUROPE, has many advantages beyond that city : the navigation of the MAESE being, without comparison, more safe and commodious than that of the TEXEL : the air and the water are also better than in AMSTERDAM. The canals here being broad and deep, convey ships of burthen into the heart of the city, and exhibit a view of a flourishing trade. Being thus a rival in commerce to the metropolis, it is considered as an object of some jealousy ; but the power is, for the most part, in the hands of the merchants of AMSTERDAM. Many of the commodities imported here center chiefly in that city, consequently the spirit of competition does not rise very high. There is indeed business enough in both cities to furnish employment to a great number of hands.

ROTTERDAM has a further advantage : the passage of the MAESE is generally open, particularly in hard winters, sooner than that of the TEXEL. They have great magazines of EAST-INDIA goods, this city having its quota of that trade. Tobacco, corn, and rice are also considerable articles, and chiefly imported from GREAT BRITAIN : they have great quantities of tallow from IRELAND, for which they return flax, which is a commodity much cultivated in the UNITED PROVINCES, as it will bear a high rent of land, if properly conducted.

In this city is a very good exchange, where the merchants meet, and transact their business ; it was finished so late as the year 1736. Here are several public buildings of note ; but the most remarkable is the great church dedicated to St. LAWRENCE, in which are the monuments of several persons of distinction, particularly of their most celebrated sea-officers, among whom is that of admiral DE WIT. On the great bridge is a statue of the famous ERASMUS, who was born in 1467 in a small house very near to the statue.

The BRITISH factory in this place is very considerable, and is, for the most part, composed of north BRITONS of the church of SCOTLAND, for which they have a church or meeting-house. During the war in FLANDERS under the duke of MARLBOROUGH, an episcopal church was built by the contribution of the ENGLISH officers, merchants, and

mariners ; and this is said to be the only regular episcopal church countenanced and established, belonging to BRITISH subjects out of GREAT BRITAIN.

Mr. DAVISON, and several others of the factors, received me with great marks of regard and politeness, as well in consequence of the several letters of recommendation, which my friends at AMSTERDAM had given me, as the hospitality for which the factory is distinguished. Provisions here are not cheap, though plenty. The factors live parsimoniously, after the manner of the country, without parade, but with great satisfaction and convenience. Expence, noise, and shew, are indeed but the shadows of pleasure, to minds not spoiled by a habit of living in a croud, or in pursuit of trifling amusements. The expence of eating and drinking, IN THE HIGHEST TASTE, as is ordinarily understood, generally serves but to remove us the farther from the happiness we seek. The true end of these supports of nature, is better answered by a little, than much ; by a dish or two, rather than by a multiplicity ; if we consider what is due to health, to a clear understanding, to moderate passions, submissive appetites ; to a virtuous cast of thought, and, in a word, to the true felicity of life.

The 27th I left ROTTERDAM ; the most speedy conveyance is said to be to NEWSLUYS in a yatch, and from thence by land to HELVOET. It was my desire to see the banks of the MAESE, I therefore preferred going all the way by water. There are many fertile and agreeable spots of land, but the whole did not answer the idea I had conceived of DUTCH industry, and knowledge of improvement as extended to every part^b. HELVOET SLUYS is well known, as the port from whence the HARWICH packet boats set off on wednesdays and saturdays. Though this is esteemed one of the best harbours in the UNITED PROVINCES, yet the town is in itself very inconsiderable, having only three small streets, and a quay ; the last is of some extent, and borders a great part of the harbour. From this place the island of GOREE appears to the south, as a sandy country, and ZEALAND is to the north of it.

^a We must make great allowances, in all countries, with regard to those lands contiguous to the sea.

HAVING often heard of the naval strength of the UNITED PROVINCES, so formidable at sea within little more than half a century; and as I had hardly seen a ship of war in any other port of these PROVINCES, I entertained some expectation of being agreeably surprized at HELVOET. However all the naval strength which I could discover, amounted only to ten capital ships: these indeed appeared to be clean and in good order, but without any modern improvement in their structure. In this particular the DUTCH are said to be forty years behind the ENGLISH; nor ought we to be surprized, considering how great a decline there has been of DUTCH naval strength. Whether this wondrous change is an effect of unavoidable calamities; or of voluntary national defection from their antient maxims of government, the reader will best judge from the modern accounts of these PROVINCES. It is not one hundred years since the DUTCH were able to vie with ENGLAND; and, towards the close of the last century, even in the time of peace, they thought it their interest to employ between thirty-five and forty ships of war. Upon an emergency they were able to send a hundred sail to sea: it was computed, that the support of thirty capital ships then cost them annually only six millions of guilders^b. Perhaps the time is not far off when they will be again obliged to fight at sea, as well as by land: but if this power is departed from them, which seems to be the case, and GREAT BRITAIN left to take care of herself, the larger portion of commerce must fall to her share, in order to the support of a greater naval force. This consideration seems to put us in mind of the present situation of GREAT BRITAIN, and the necessity of application to our marine; not only as a counterbalance to the accumulating strength of FRANCE, but as an easy and natural expedient to compensate for the insufficiency of the DUTCH.

I had the pleasure to find here a small squadron, with four yachts, belonging to the crown of GREAT BRITAIN, under the command of lord ANSON, his BRITANNIC majesty being expected to embark in a few days. This sight gave me the more pleasure, as I had not seen a BRITISH ship of war for near eight years before. It also afforded me an opportunity of

* 550,000 l. In ENGLAND reckoning five hundred men in each ship, it would be 720,000 l.

seeing some of my old acquaintances, particularly my honoured friend captain EDWARDS, who commanded the CHARLOTTE yacht. I had no time to accept his civilities, as I embarked in the packet a short time after my arrival there.

The packets are built commodiously for passengers, and have about fourteen beds, or cabins. . In these vessels there seems to be a certain degree of equality observed between the officers and men, which slackens the reins of discipline ; and perhaps it is from the shortness of the passage, that there is not such a regard to oeconomy, as one would expect where no merchandize are supposed to be carried. They talk much of the dangerous navigation between HELVOET and HARWICH ; but at the same time confess, that only one packet has been lost within the compass of any memory. The 28th, after a passage of twenty-two hours, the wind blowing hard from the east, I landed at HARWICH.

P A R T IV.

M O R A L and P O L I T I C A L
R E F L E X I O N S

In relation to

G R E A T B R I T A I N.

C H A P. LII.

Reflexions on the use of travelling. The difficulty of taking up a political faith. Thoughts on public love in a free state. Irreligion the ordinary source of national calamities.

THANKS to the goodness of providence, I am now returned into this HAPPY ISLAND; happy, in spite of all it's blemishes, compared with any country that I have yet been acquainted with. Perfect happiness most certainly is not the lot of mortals on this side the grave: the portion of bliss, which heaven has granted to this country, like the disorders arising from sanguine health, seems to create a satiety, even in those who have a claim to the reward of virtue; as if we were to learn from hence, that there is yet a better country, whither we are travelling, where only the mind can possess an entire satisfaction.

The passage of a merchant from one country into another, in pursuit of commercial affairs, ought not to be considered in the same light, as the travels of a man of letters, in search of arts or learning: but if in the course of their observation they have supported one common spirit of national affection; in proportion to their advantages of education and na-

tural

tural abilities, the effect will be in a great degree similar. Their own country must necessarily become the dearer to them, according as they discover the superiority it enjoys in laws and government above other nations. Being thus excited by a generous emulation, instead of bringing home the vices of other countries, they will strive to plant the virtues which are more peculiar to foreign climes, and not the proper growth of their own soil.

The ravages of time, the ruins of cities, the desolation of countries, the tyranny of kings, the folly and iniquity of subjects in selling themselves like beasts to the slaughter; with all the pernicious effects of arbitrary power, must, in a serious mind, draw reflexions on the uncertainty of human affairs. By tracing these events, as near as possible to their source, the heart will be lifted up to the great author of nature, and adopt a consistent principle concerning the GENERAL law of his moral government, by observing how vice is ever productive of misery. Though the dispensations of his providence are oftentimes incomprehensible, yet this ought not to weaken a steady persuasion, that virtue is in every region, and under every government, acceptable to him; "THAT WHAT HE DELIGHTS IN
"MUST BE HAPPY," however the face of things may appear. And to check every fond presumption of independency, though we grasp the fleeting moments, it is but as to-morrow when a curtain will be drawn over all the glories, as well as the miseries of this world. In the mean while, whether we go abroad, or remain at home; enjoy a profusion, or mediocrity of the gifts of providence, we are travelling to another country. Our noblest science, our highest accomplishment, our supreme felicity, is the knowledge and observance of that compass, whose needle points to our proper home; to those regions, where millions of blessed spirits inhabit; where the eye will be satisfied with seeing, the understanding with knowledge, and the heart with delights, of which this world can give but faint ideas.

Whether hackneyed in the paths of gain and ambition; or pursuing the delights of a philosophic and religious cast of thought; life still ebbs out much faster than we can easily discover, or deal fairly enough
with

with ourselves to acknowledge. But a day, an hour employed in the exercise of reason, and the practice of religion, is, upon the whole, preferable to an age wasted in foolish pursuits which rise no higher than this world.

The soul is ever active : this world is its scene, as a prelude to the next ; some ruling principle will always possess and lead us on to action. To be idle, and to be happy, is a contradiction : but however employed, he has no mean lot who glides through life in tranquil silence, though unobserved. Perhaps he is one of the most happy of men ; but all are not capable of this felicity.

We cannot reflect too often, that “ True self-love and social are the same ;” yet considering man as a unity, SELF must, and ought to predominate. That is best for him which is most productive of his particular happiness, with respect to the scene in which he takes his part ; and in which he is best qualified to act with dignity, and with a due regard to both worlds. We are happy only when we are employed, and when some PARTICULAR OBJECT governs the lesser passions and desires. The wise author of nature certainly intended that this OBJECT should be HIMSELF, and that all the various connections of our animal, our social, our intellectual nature, should ultimately terminate in him, and be subservient to this end. Here then let our enquiry rest : and since every day brings eternity the nearer, the contemplation of that eternity ought in all reason to encrease, as our hours are fleeting away. Without neglecting the ordinary course of his affairs, the merchant who is wise, will apply most vigilantly to that business in which his whole fortune is embarked.

As the peculiar happiness of this government leads every thinking subject to disclose freely his sentiments, as far as he may judge them conducive to the national welfare, may I finish my book with some indulgence of this sort ? But in speaking of public affairs, the mind ought, in a more peculiar manner, to be divested of all prepossession, or it can answer no end but to adopt or confirm a principle, which, though true, loses its charms by being founded in prejudice. If the pursuit of wis-

dom and virtue is the proper business of life, we ought to examine before we pronounce sentence; and always to be diffident where we have not had opportunities of knowledge. I am very sensible that even general reflexions on political interest, belong to those who are grown grey in experience, rather than for transient spectators.

The knowledge which I have of my own country being acquired abroad, and very limited, the affairs of it now appear to me in a great measure as matter of enquiry and curiosity, as well as interest. Things ever strike us most while they are most new: the indulgent reader may consider me yet as a traveller, who gives his thoughts of things as their novelty, their variety, or their singularity affect him; with some distinction however in regard to the motive, as well as some previous knowledge derived from the early impressions of youth.

It is the happiness of a free state, directed by good laws, that every member belonging to it is entitled to protection, so long as he obeys those laws. The dignity he derives from hence raises him in his own esteem: this is apt to render him inquisitive in matters of which he is not qualified to judge, and is the cause of infinite follies. Even those who are bred up in the knowledge of national affairs in ENGLAND, are generally swayed by their prejudices in favour of some person or party; in the mean while the number of the judicious and unprejudiced is so small, that a man has hardly any opportunity of learning how to settle his mind.

How can it be imagined in an age in which corruption abounds, not in ENGLAND only, but in every country, that only virtuous men should be in office? To rail at them, without considering the corruption of mankind in general, must render the complainant suspected of discontent, because he is not in office himself. When the influence of the crown preponderates, and the measures which are pursued do not immediately produce all the good we fondly expected; the subjects who do not receive any PECUNIARY ADVANTAGES from the government, for others have generally the wit to hold their tongues, are apt to cry out against the court, or against the minister, forgetting that the true source

source of national calamities, in a free state, is the venality and impiety of the people.

It must be apparent to men who make any observations, that those who bellowed loud for liberty, and were impatient to pull down those in power, have generally given the same offence themselves, when they became vested with authority; whence it has been natural to conclude, that the people were capricious, and not capable of contentment, or, with some few exceptions, all equally corrupt; and changed their principles, or their conduct, with their outward condition.

Be this as it may, it is surprising to me how little the people of this island generally seem to know of their own advantages and happiness. Complaints are so often the subject of discourse, even among the more sober part, that one would imagine the state was under the greatest distress, and in imminent danger of ruin. “How great, say they, are the emoluments of offices, and how little is done for them! vanity and ambition, and a devotion to luxury, reign in the breasts of THOUSANDS; and the robbery of their country by every base artifice, is either openly countenanced and protected, or connived at and left unpunished; whilst the freedom established in the original plan of this government, exists in little more than a name. To one person who even pretends to love his country, there are a hundred who are cherished, if not openly applauded, by their friends or confederates, in consequence of their fortune or address in pillaging the public. The way of doing this with dexterity and address, is a science of the most profitable kind. Shall we draw a curtain over our nakedness, and hide our shame? Alas it is too apparent to be an object of concealment! Foreigners see it, and will continue us till they perceive a change in our condition, by the exertion of national virtue. And what satisfaction ought it to afford us, if other nations are more vain and abandoned than this? Do we desire to put on the same kind of chains as they wear, and with all the advantages of our glorious constitution become yet more wretched than they? Things are come to that pass, that if this nation does exist, it must first fall a sacrifice to venality, and rise again out of its own ashes. Are we not

“ eighty millions in debt, and consequently is not our credit plunged deep ?
 “ We are threatened with a war in a few years, but what measures are
 “ taken to reduce that debt, and enable us to support a war ? ’Tis hard to
 “ say what all this will come to. Observe the conduct of some men of
 “ the greatest quality in the kingdom ; persons who in MANY respects are
 “ worthy of great honour and esteem ; their rank and fortune set them in
 “ a point of view to make their examples of the greatest moment ; and
 “ YET these men indulge themselves in a passion for GAMING, in viola-
 “ tion of those very laws they made themselves, and by which the state
 “ is to be supported. What can afford more delight to an ambitious
 “ FRENCHMAN, than to see such men promote a contempt of our
 “ own laws by the weight of their example ? If the GREAT amuse
 “ themselves with unlawful games, the LOWER CLASSES of the people
 “ will have THEIRS also, and the breach of laws must terminate in our
 “ SHAME, OUR DISHONOUR, OUR DECLINE, OUR RUIN. Nor will our
 “ seeming affluence avail us, if by gradations of splendid infamy, our
 “ very leaders conduct us into that slavery, under which almost every na-
 “ tion of the world already mourns.”

Now what impressions ought a man to receive upon hearing such sort
 of complaints ? Are they true in the whole, or in part ? Are they the
 effects of PARTY ZEAL, of PREJUDICE, of a natural propensity in the
 people of this country to murmur, notwithstanding ALL the good they
 enjoy ; or a want of that very national love which is the subject of com-
 plaint ; or in short, is it a compound of all these ? Under our present cir-
 cumstances, and the riches and liberty which we really enjoy, complaints
 can mean no more nor less than this ; that we are become so weak as
 not to discern our own interest, or so vicious as not to regard it any further
 than the present momentary gratification. If this be true in any degree, the
 evil is rather increased than diminished by such liberal complaints. Some
 may talk in this manner, from an honest resentment of national vices ;
 yet it is to be doubted, whether their resentment is not blended with a
 share of that very immorality which is the subject of complaint. That
 we possess a great deal of virtue is as clear as that we are a free people.

But

But that we have not virtue enough to be so formidable, or secure as providence seems to invite us to be, is the complaint of those who wish well to their country : perhaps it is equally true also ; though it cannot be demonstrated so easily as presumed. Surely it is a fault to indulge ourselves in complaints at a venture, and to sling at men in public life, though we are tender of private characters.

If to rob a nation by collusive or injurious practices, is an atrocious crime, with what consistency can we believe that those who pass for honest men have been guilty of it ? We certainly ought to be tender in our accusations of this kind. Credulity does not argue any strength of judgment : the virtue of the mind ever rises or falls, with the charity which we cherish or suppress.

To consider things and persons according to the common sense and reason of mankind, “ There are few, very few, says a great author *, who “ have the OPPORTUNITY, and the WILL, and the ABILITY to represent things TRULY. Beside the matters of fact themselves, there are “ many CIRCUMSTANCES which before sentence is past, ought to be “ known and weighed, and yet scarce ever CAN be known but to the person HIMSELF who is concerned. He may have other views, and another sense of things than his judges have ; and what he UNDERSTANDS, “ what he FEELS, what he INTENDS, may be a secret confined to his “ own breast.” If this is generally true in common life, it must often hold, with regard to those who are charged with the GOVERNMENT OF A NATION : their task requires GREAT labour and abilities ; and proper allowance must be made for the imperfections of human nature, especially with regard to the fallacies of men’s judgments. Hence if we ought to be slow in believing injuriously of mankind in general on the authority of dubious reports, or by opinions drawn from consequences, without regard to the motives of action : by the calumnious echo of words against men in high office, we are very subject to err with regard to our morals, as well as our judgment. If our complaints prevent that unanimity on

* WOOLASTON on the religion of nature.

which the good of every state depends, we may imagine ourselves to be patriots, and yet do an injury to our country.

In private life, a disposition inclined to the submissive, is not that which makes the greatest eclat; but it certainly is most agreeable to the dignity of human nature, because it was practised by HIM who was the great pattern of human perfection. In spite then of the suggestions of pride; this rule of conduct must be the most amiable. In order to be free, is it necessary to be querulous or turbulent? Freedom must arise from a steady, even principle, a determined resolution not to offend against our own minds, or, in other words, to adhere to what is right. To this we may add vigilance and care in our respective stations, that those who are our immediate guardians take no steps destructive of our safety.

Our compassion for HUMAN INFIRMITIES, is generally in proportion to the degree of knowledge we have of HUMAN NATURE. This consideration in GOOD MINDS, will check the spirit of national complaint upon trivial evidence, and consequently restore a greater national virtue. If those hours spent in political satyr, were applied to the cultivation of knowledge and virtue, even granting there is frequent occasion of complaint, what good might we not expect? Among the lower classes of the people, COMPLAINTS are seldom without great ignorance; and those of the higher rank generally include a secret desire of the emoluments possessed by the very persons who are the subjects of such COMPLAINTS. And of whom should we complain, but of ourselves? What is our boasted constitution? What our darling liberty, but that we cannot be ruined without our own consent? Was the making complaints the characteristic of virtue, we should then be our own panegyrists; but still they would answer little purpose till we brought that virtue into action. One vigorous and well concerted remonstrance of a real evil, must be ever more effectual than a thousand vague complaints.

If we consider that this is a mixed government, and that the parts of which it is composed are numerous, we may indulge a jealousy; but

but hard words can be warrantable only when the iniquity is flagrant. Let us call to mind the advantages we enjoy above any people in the world, and that the flaws in some characters and dispositions, are hid by the lustre of those virtues and talents which shine forth in others. If we ever looked to our OWN rather than to our NEIGHBOURS faults, the state would CERTAINLY be the better; for nothing is more plain than this, that every individual, who governs his life by the rules of right reason, contributes to the government of the kingdom. We all know that government must be maintained, power must be lodged somewhere. We know that we enjoy liberty; those who doubt whether we are free or not, certainly do not know what slavery is.

The spirit of contest in the different branches of the legislative body of this island, seems to subside; and yet it is remarkable, that the words "public debt" are no sooner mentioned, than the people start, as if they saw an apparition: talk of obedience to the laws, and they shake their heads and cry, "Alas, the laws are trampled upon." If this repose means an union of councils, it is a happy circumstance with regard to the DEBT, as well as to that libertinism against which we have reason to complain. It cannot be presumed that such an union will decline into a supine negligence, much less be employed to distress the state.

It may be observed further, that many of the people of this ISLAND, who have high notions of liberty, are offended at the name and power of a FIRST MINISTER, as one of the great officers of the state is generally called. They figure to themselves that his power is very extensive; and, from an observation of the strong connexions between his OFFICE and their own representatives, imagine that he may do WHATEVER HE PLEASES: but as, in fact, he DOES NOT every thing they think is right; they conclude immediately, that he is omisive in his duty; pursues the gratifications of his own ambition; and therefore his power tends rather to destroy, than support the common-wealth.

Opinions taken up in a hurry, and with prejudices, are hardly ever just, with regard to persons, or things. A minister, who should happen to be
a man

a man of very great parts, and very great dissimulation and ambition, is indeed an object of JEALOUSY; but if the people are true to themselves, how can such a man support himself in his power? We must be the instruments of our own ruin whenever that happens. But, on the other hand, let us consider this office in the hands of a man, who means well, whose ambition is apparently limited, and whose private character has nothing dangerous in it; and he will appear as necessary, as he is a valuable subject. Liberty, in the highest sense, has been ideal ever since the crime of our first parents, we can only preserve such a portion of it as we justly dignify by that venerable name. To prevent perplexities in the councils of a nation, and irresolution in the conduct of government, it is become necessary in some measure that there should be, as I believe there is, in almost every department of the government, a person whom they call a LEADING MAN. This seems to be the natural effect of superior talents, or superior industry; some distinguished power of doing good, or at least a reputation of integrity and disinterestedness: these men are not however the lords, but the servants of the public; and so long as they behave with moderation, and in the general tenor of their conduct, act with a view to the good of society, though with some imperfections, ought they not to be considered as useful, and even as essential to the well being of the state? Thus the matter will rest on the degree of vice or imperfection, that should render a minister odious or disagreeable; and in our estimate of such defects, we must compare MEN with MEN, and not with angels.

With regard to the legislative body of this nation, the first minister, for this is the term that all parties adopt, I presume is a kind of representative on behalf of the regal prerogative, and his office as such is understood to reconcile the difficulties that may occur concerning the interests and inclinations of the sovereign and his subjects. How any particular man arrives at this office, is as easy to comprehend, as that kings, like other men, chuse such instruments for their purposes as they think best; and sometimes they chuse with great propriety. If there was no such person FOR the crown, it seems as if there would be one AGAINST it; and
might

might not ~~HE~~ hurt the constitution yet more, since it is a principle established, that the state must be supported by MONARCHICAL, though limited POWER?

All periods of time produce a numerous train of discontented subjects, some WITH, and many more WITHOUT reason. Partiality to our own faults is apt to make us ascribe the evils we suffer, real or imaginary, to any cause, rather than to our own vices and imperfections. The comparison of characters renders them odious or amiable; but we ought not, I think, to judge from a few choice spirits, but consider what is the general turn of a people.

LIBERTY, national honour, or whatever idea of moral excellence charms us, never DID, nor never CAN exist long without virtue. Virtue is the only stable foundation on which the happiness of a private man, a family, or a nation CAN be built. The experience of all ages proves, that every refinement foreign to this motive, must ultimately terminate in ruin. Vice may reign for a season; but the supreme governor of the world will vindicate his authority: and though this does not always happen within the short compass of human life, yet NATIONAL vices have been ever corrected by NATIONAL calamities, and I presume ever will be so. It cannot possibly be otherwise in the nature of things; for if there is a God who governs the world, with respect to men religion must be the rule of that government. The coercive power of human legislatures can no more support a state without the superior law of religion, than due order can be maintained where the judge is as corrupt as the criminal, or the father as vicious as his offending son. The history of the world proves this assertion, and I believe it is generally found true, that some evils which happen to the body politic, have a great analogy with wounds in the natural body; that is, that they prove extremely difficult to cure when the habit is bad, though they might otherwise be easily healed.

True politics are undoubtedly built on true religion: a nation long accustomed to be governed by laws founded in reason, and a defence of the rights of mankind, cannot submit to any other, without the convulsive

vulvive pangs of expiring liberty. But it is as easy to conceive that any state may be dissolved by the immorality of the people, as that there are countries, which having once been free, now groan under arbitrary power. Let the miseries of such countries be truly known, and a free nation will tremble at every act of injustice that may produce them. What avails the superiority of this constitution, if the virtue in which it is founded, does not continue to support its influence? The notion of liberty would only serve to delude us with an imaginary phantom; the real excellency of it *MUST* ever be connected with the hearts and minds of the people corresponding with the laws; their knowledge and riches being only means subservient to its support.

Were we to lose our *VIRTUE*, in the strictest sense, we must lose our liberty also. The arbitrary power which prevails in some other nation, would be a compulsive means of employing their strength to our ruin; whilst our freedom of with-holding our assistance in support of the commonwealth, might, by our acting contrary to the apparent designs of providence, prepare an easier way to their conquest, if we did not fall by our own hands. In proportion to the disobedience of laws, divine or human, by the observance of which the constitution has been so long and so happily supported, it must tend to its dissolution; for the contrary of that which set it up must throw it down again. I think nothing can be more demonstrable than this; if *LIBERTINISM* is carried to a certain degree, the *COERCIVE* power must become *ARBITRARY*, in the rigid sense of that word. A nation which has not virtue enough to be ruled by the laws of reason, must submit to military force, as is now the case of much the greatest part of the world. Thus *LIBERTY* ceases, and when that is gone, it is no impropriety to say the nation is *UNDONE*. Has ever so formidable a state as this fallen but under the weight of its own vices? Great monarchies have been dissolved only by great corruption and civil discord; so that the Almighty has certainly annexed temporal felicities to nations, as well as eternal rewards to men, in consequence of their virtue.

I hope this nation will continue great and happy, till TIME shall end his reign; but if the inferutable wisdom of providence has ordained the period of BRITISH happiness to draw to an end, by any rule of his government of which we have no experience, we must submit to the decrees of heaven: but as it will ever be in our power, I am sure it ought to be in our choice, to welcome an HONOURABLE DEATH, rather than INGlorious CHAINS. If we do fall, our hearts ought to bleed as victims to liberty and virtue.

The name of a free state has something divine lodged in it: whilst EVERY ONE is solicitous to preserve EVERY ONE, they perform the office of a guardian angel. On the other hand, where public spirit ceases to prevail in the minds of a people; how can they long subsist in that state without arbitrary power? The notion of a public spirit cannot be confined; its object is ages past, and it looks forward to the verge of time. We have no certainty how long the world will last, and little can we presume on the existence of a particular nation, however wise the government of it may be: but how much greater is the probability of that existence than of the duration of any particular man's life? Man, as considered separate from the community, is in the most emphatical sense "a thing of nought; his time "passes away like a shadow:" but with regard to the duties of society he not only exists as long as TIME, but is partaker of a glorious immortality.

What constitutes the greatness or goodness of a man but his regard to the society? or why is a prince called GOOD, and his people ready to offer themselves as VICTIMS for his safety, but as he honours, loves, and respects the community of which he professes to be the guardian?

The present and future happiness of individuals, as well as the felicity of the state, are all intimately dependent on each other. True politeness is but humanity refined, which ultimately centers in CHARITY; PUBLIC LOVE is but the same CHARITY adapted to the dignity and prosperity of the community of which we are members. A free government is moreover the state of nature, with regard to the equality of men

and their common rights: PUBLIC LOVE cannot be separated from the idea of such a state; and as the notion of this love implies a desire of the virtue and TEMPORAL felicity of men, it is analogous with that charity which the ALMIGHTY has appointed as the GREAT RULE of conduct, and WITHOUT WHICH he has given mankind no title to ETERNAL happiness.

The liberty for which we pretend to be ready to die, necessarily includes the love of posterity; but an immoderate tenderness of ourselves, on the NARROW PRINCIPLE of a vicious self love, is injurious to posterity. Upon this NARROW PRINCIPLE it is, that we do not consent to a small change of our manner of life, that would enable us to support the state in greater safety, reputation, and splendor. Without a submission to some acts of self-denial, we can neither be politically nor morally virtuous; we cannot support such an equality of strength, nor such a consistency of conduct, as are essential to the maintenance of so admirable a constitution as ours; nor be enabled to guard against the over-bearing insolence and superior numbers of our enemies. It must needs be, that either we are not aware of the end of the course we run; or we do not mean what we say, when we talk of spilling our blood in the cause of liberty. If the former, we only want consideration: If the latter, we want EVERY THING for which life ought to be desirable.

It is a very familiar, but no less just thought, which we find in a late celebrated writer ^a, in allusion to the present state of things in this ISLAND. There have been times of much greater danger than the present; yet if we consider what the ordinary consequences of human actions are, and by what means nations, yet more formidable than this, have come to ruin, we shall understand the force of what the author has remarked: "From their ^brailleries, on the barbarity and misery of our " ISLAND, one cannot help reflecting on the surprizing fate and revolution of kingdoms: how ROME, once the mistress of the world, the seat " of arts, empire, and glory, now lies sunk in sloth, ignorance, and pover-

^a DR. MIDDLETON'S life of CICERO.

^b Meaning the ancient ROMANS.

“ ty ; enslaved to the most cruel, as well as to the most contemptible of
 “ tyrants, superstition, and religious imposture ; whilst this remote country,
 “ antiently the jest and contempt of the polite ROMANS, is become the
 “ happy seat of liberty, plenty, and letters, flourishing in all the arts and
 “ refinements of civil life ; yet running perhaps the same course, which
 “ ROME itself had run before it ; from virtuous industry to wealth, from
 “ wealth to luxury, from luxury to an impatience of discipline and corrup-
 “ tion of morals ; till, by a total degeneracy and loss of virtue, being
 “ grown ripe for destruction, it fall a prey at last to some hardy oppres-
 “ sor ; and, with the loss of liberty, losing every thing else that is valu-
 “ able, sink gradually again into it’s original barbarism.”

Human nature being ever the same, to form a just idea of things, we must trace them to their fountain. Self-preservation is the first and strongest law in nature. What is our duty in obedience to this law ? We know that a nation is composed of many individuals, who have one common interest ; that the different ranks, employments, and circumstances of a people, are only means essential to the support of the public ; and that every condition of life has its peculiar happiness, as well as misery. Providence has been indulgent to us all ; do we move on this great plan, and according to the orders of that providence ? Do we not rather vie with each other, not who shall be wisest, but who shall excel most in vanities and expensive follies ; and thus deviating from the great principle laid down, at least, PREPARE a way for ruin ?

C H A P. LIII.

The prevalency of example. The great riches and advantages which this ISLAND enjoys. A militia proper as the guard of these national blessings.

IT is a general, and perhaps just complaint, that whilst we aim at imaginary perfection in theory, our real conduct falls short of the virtue that is practicable, and within our reach. Superior opportunities of know-

ledge ought to produce superior degrees of virtue : and can it be expected, that the lower classes of the people will be virtuous, whilst the higher neglect to instruct them by their example ? The reformation of manners called for by one part of the nation, and universally acknowledged to be necessary, must then be most countenanced by persons in the most eminent life ; a gradation to the lower classes will be easy and familiar.

Under the laws and the sovereign, persons of high rank and great fortunes are the parents and guardians of the people : in their hands more immediately is deposited that glorious plan which our great ancestors have transmitted to us : if THEY are not careful to preserve it from violation, what are we to expect from the DREGS of the people ?

Custom and imitation generally prescribe and support the rule of men's conduct ; and what have been the consequences of the modern custom of following a CONTINUED ROUND of amusements by persons of distinction of both sexes, but idleness and vice of every denomination among the lower class ? The present fashionable manner of life, to minds yet unformed, must, in the very nature of things, enervate that firm and serious cast of thought, which is the true source of virtue and public love. When the soberer duties of life become as things accidental, and which we have no inclination to attend to, it ought not to be expected, that the interest of the community will be regarded. If the duty we owe to one private family be irksome, what must be the consideration of that which we owe to a million of families ? If religion is the true foundation of virtue in question ; will it not startle us to think of the inconsiderable number of opulent families in this ISLAND, that inculcate the FEAR OF GOD in the minds of their numerous dependents, as a principle essential to the well-being of the state ?

Heaven has been indulgent to men, by endowing them with an imitative faculty ; though our perverseness often converts that faculty into a curse. Example can certainly make saints or devils ; and every day's observation must convince us, that there is a generous pride in human nature, which perpetually carries us to worthy actions when the

the pattern is set before our eyes: especially if by a skilful conduct it is brought down to the level of our comprehensions. Nothing can strike more forcibly on the minds of the lower orders of men, than the personal attention, and religious, as well as humane conduct of the rich, the wise, the noble, in that vast scene of action, the public good. It is this which affords infinite entertainment to the different dispositions and capacities of men, particularly of those whom providence, by a liberal indulgence, has, in a more peculiar manner, appointed for this great work. The measures of compulsion, in a free state, cannot, in all respects, quadrate with the minds of the common people, more than with persons in high life. Public love, so little understood in arbitrary governments, must be a free effort of the mind, and brought into action by the force of a virtuous example.

It is undoubtedly true, in the present state of mankind, that the pure dictates of reason and religion are insufficient to the support of any state, without the coercive power of human laws; the assistance of those laws must be frequently called in; and happy is that people, who are obedient to them; but still example will never lose its force, whilst human nature continues the same.

I have often heard this nation described, as a country where no-body "regards the laws. Whatever degree of truth there may be in this harsh imputation, it is certain that numbers are obliged to submit to them; or the gallows would not exhibit so frequent and so hideous a spectacle! How ought we to endeavour, by every art of EXAMPLE and PERSUASION, to do that which EXPERIENCE evinces cannot be effected by FORCE?

It is really amazing to consider, how much the lower classes of the people are TAUGHT to break the laws of this country. The fact is, that the end proposed by many of the laws is continually defeated; and that by means

*The conduct of some of our people has sometimes brought to my memory a conversation of no ancient date, between a certain person of distinction and a POLISH lord; the latter maintained that the POLES enjoyed the most liberty of any people in the world, and might be properly denominated the only free nation: the other replied, that he knew a people superior to the POLES, meaning the KHALMUCKS; for, says he, these may not only kill but also eat one another.

so REFINED, that, one would imagine, here were people, who make the evasion of laws a regular study, and in which they acquire a greater proficiency, than others in making laws. Is it the excellency or defect of this constitution, that the legislature is so tender, in punishing offenders for base subterfuges and equivocations, in regard to the laws ?

In consequence of the common people being thus TAUGHT the ART of violating laws, liberty is frequently converted into licentiousness, or at least a neglect of that conduct which the laws require for the GOOD of the WHOLE COMMUNITY. Whatever they do not find for their PRIVATE CONVENIENCE, they are apt to think a violation of their freedom. Thus they neglect the cultivation and improvement of their manners ; and hence it follows that foreigners are apt to observe, that the LIBERTY of ENGLAND is confined to those who have no property^b.

To trace these lesser evils to their source, we shall find they arise from others, which are of greater moment, but pass uncorrected. Can the artful defeat of the intention of the legislature be a subject of wonder, when the informer is held, in some degree, infamous : here also the want of example seems to threaten us. Informations have, no doubt, been often prostituted to villainous purposes ; hence the common people, who have no immediate share in making laws, adopt it as a kind of principle of honour to conceal the transgression of them^c. Men of edu-

^b I remember the story of an ENGLISH gentleman, who, being just come from PARIS, complained loudly of the insolence of the footmen in LONDON, and wished to see some of them pulled from behind their master's coaches. His father, who was a MASTER of the GREAT SCIENCE of liberty, reproved him, by observing, that though it was true, many of these men were very insolent, this abuse ought to be regarded as a natural effect of liberty in vulgar minds ; that the remedy of this might be worse than the disease ; for the authority which should extend to pull the footman from BEHIND the coach for such offences, might also pull the master OUT of it. In opposition to this instance of abused liberty, what shall we say of the insolence of arbitrary power, where servants partake of the authority of their masters, and even in so polite a city as PARIS, men in high rank and office seem to delegate a kind of arbitrary power to their domestics ; and perhaps the footmen there are frequently more insolent than those of LONDON. .

^c What false notions of honour prevail in some countries, even among the better sort of people ! I have been told in PORTUGAL, that, if the murderer of the father has taken shelter under the roof of the son, he thinks himself bound in honour, if not to protect him, to screen him from justice, till he is safely removed from such house which has been thus chosen as an asylum.

cation and sentiment see the absurdity of this proceeding : they know that, next to the law-giver, the most valuable member of the community is HE, who executes the laws with justice ; and that HE, who, upon a principle of public love, will not be an idle spectator of the breach of them, comes in for the NEXT share of honour. But whether it is from a jealousy, that he who is charged with the execution of the laws will not perform his DUTY ; or from a dastardly fear of the resentment of those who transgress ; how rare is it to hear of any information being lodged by a gentleman, though he is always supposed the best judge of the propriety of such complaints, and his veracity most to be depended on ?

Happy is it for us, that, if we will not exert ourselves in setting good example, we are restrained in some polite mischiefs ! MEASURES are taken to fix some bounds to idleness and dissipation at least in that part of the day¹, which in all ages, and in all civilized countries in the world, has been ever devoted to instruction, to domestic oeconomy, and all the various duties of sober life. It ought to be presumed, that even the young and gay, will chearfully submit to so salutary a law.

It is some consolation also to reflect, that our deviations from virtue are not constant, we sympathize with the inequality of our climate ; so that supposing virtue at present to be in no great veneration, it may become fashionable again. Nor ought the most serious to imagine, that we are without a large portion of it. To believe the contrary, is not only an injustice with regard to the people at large, but it would also weaken the cause of virtue, by misrepresenting the strength of her forces.

If the motives derived from the fear of national punishment, do not inspire us with a higher sense of public love, yet we can never forget the pleasures and advantages we enjoy. We ought to make these a motive to gratitude, so as to produce the same effect. Look round, and survey the noble structures, and the profusion of their useful, their magnificent, their superb appendages in this great metropolis. Consider the flourishing state of eve-

¹ Act for preventing houses of diversion being opened till five in the evening.

ry branch of learning, art, and science. Let us send our thoughts abroad to the numerous regions of the earth, to which our commerce is extended, and from whence such sources of wealth flow in upon us. Let us consider what an encrease of riches our AMERICAN colonies produce, which is so much the more valuable, as it is more independent of the politics of other nations. But, above all, let us contemplate the beauteous face of this ISLAND, and the various delights it affords: the noble fabrics, with the several proud monuments of antiquity, in almost every part of ENGLAND: gardens unequalled by any in the world; mines rich in fuel and useful metals; hills and vallies, rivers and seas, all conspiring to render us rich and happy. The ALMIGHTY seems to have made choice of this ISLAND as the great granary of EUROPE and AMERICA^e. He has enabled us also to befriend mankind, in cloathing them in every quarter of the globe. Our wool is computed to near twelve millions when manufactured; this is four times the revenues of one of the greatest empires^f in the world, and which now seems to hold the balance of EUROPEAN power.

But when we consider the admirable laws to which we are subject, the good government we are under, and the pure religion we profess, can we forbear exulting in the thought of being born members of such a community, or sending up our prayers in incense of gratitude, and begging that generations yet unborn may enjoy all these good things? Shall we however presume to ASK this blessing; and at the same time INDULGE a

^e I am not rightly acquainted with the computation of our growth of corn. The bounty allowed by Parliament in one year amounted to one hundred and sixty thousand pounds at five shillings a quarter, which is one hundred and twenty eight thousand tons exported in one species of grain only. Some late political remarks in relation to taking off the bounty are much laboured upon this principle, that it makes bread, and consequently labour, dearer; but there is not a word mentioned of the industry it has been the cause of promoting; of the improvement of the lands, nor that the cheaper we sell our bread, like other commodities, the greater will be the demand abroad; and lastly, that the price of labour, though great, might not be lowered to the benefit of the nation. It may perhaps prove more than is necessary; but it is a fact, that, among the manufacturers, they do much the least work when provisions are cheapest, and consequently were provisions cheaper, the end is defeated. Be this as it may, I am persuaded, that if the national account was stated with regard to the bounty on corn, we should find ourselves very considerable gainers by this public expence.

^f RUSSIA.

conduct derogatory to religion, and repugnant to these laws? With what consistency CAN we ask it, whilst we know that immorality has subverted monarchies through all ages of the world? It must then be presumed upon the whole, that every subject will stand self-condemned, or shun those actions which tend to hurt the community of which he is himself a member; and, as far as in his power, promote the general good. Thus he will encrease his own felicity, and whilst the scene of his temporal joys is enlarged, it will naturally be attended with a firm persuasion of a glorious immortality.

There is yet one reflection which flows from a general view of our circumstances. Nothing can be held without certain conditions of tenure: happily for mankind, nations are generally apt to think more highly of themselves than of others; and in that opinion they might remain self-satisfied, if the other passions were at rest; but that seldom happens. A people distinguished among the nations of the earth, must expect to be the occasional object of envy, if not of ambition. We are led both by reason and experience to know that these passions are the chief motives of war; and that they do in fact produce wars almost periodically. It is not the politics of this nation to attempt the conquest of any country in EUROPE; and the waters which surround us are a great security against invasion. But do the same reason and experience teach us, that this just system of politics, or even that the waters and our ships are so secure a safeguard, under the several accidents to which naval affairs are subject, as the liberty and riches of this nation, or, in other words, the just esteem we ought to have for ourselves, demand? If they are not, we seem to need a militia.

Providence, within a short period, confounded a formidable attempt against us: we might have defeated that attempt in the ordinary course of things; but if one expedient had failed, we should, methinks, have another at hand, on which we might make a reliance. I hope we have virtue enough left, to trust ourselves with arms: it is high time to reform, if we have not. We cannot indeed support a very large army, nor is it deemed

proper we should. At the same time experience proves, that the friendship of other nations is not to be relied on ; and that princes seldom do any thing for each other but upon mercenary principles. We are in the neighbourhood of a formidable power, and know their temper and disposition. Could we be sure of foreign succours upon any extremity, would it be proper to trust to the courage, or strength, or honesty of such soldiers, to fight our battles at our own doors ; when property, religion, and even liberty might be at stake ? And if such an ally were able to protect us, there could be no solid security against his exacting what conditions he pleased for the defence he had afforded ? History, I believe, furnishes us with reasons to be jealous of foreign forces in this island.

If it is power which governs states ; if no compact, or law, except the law of arms, can ordinarily answer the events which happen to nations in consequence of invasions and wars ; if monarchies, humanly speaking, stand on this foundation ; should we not adapt our strength, in some measure, to the worth of the object to be defended ? If men were more in a state of nature, nations would suffer each other to be at rest. But I am afraid the golden age never existed since the FALL, though some nations in the world, from their virtue, their situation, and the genius of their neighbours, may have enjoyed, for ages, an uninterrupted peace. In the present condition of EUROPE, and the corruption of mankind, what state can long promise itself that happiness ? The depravity of its inhabitants will not permit it. All we can do is to live as if we desired peace ; but were neither afraid of war, nor unable to bear the inconveniences which attend it ; least of all should we be unprepared for self-defence.

Numerous armies are every where kept up on the continent : there are also few places of any moment, but what are well fortified. If we HAVE a sufficient bulwark by means of our ships, it is certainly better to learn how to use the shuttle and plowshare, than the sword ; but if our ships are NOT sufficient to put us entirely on an equality, or render us superior in strength to other princes, there is, at least there seems to be, something wanting to our security. Perhaps it will be our fortune to make war
again

again upon the continent; a militia, were it well ordered, could in such case, be no unhappy appendage to those advantages which nature has so liberally bestowed on this island. However the notion may be exploded concerning FRANCE's aspiring at universal monarchy, it is, I believe, undenied, that the genius of that people ever leads them to military exploits: this does not promise any good to themselves or to mankind in general, but so it is: they are bred to arms, and delight in them: they are active, enterprising, and never long at rest. How often have they lost fifty or an hundred thousand men in pursuit of a point, which, if obtained, could be of no consequence to the happiness of the people of FRANCE? Besides, their desire of conquest for the glory of their monarch^e, or, in other words, for their own vanity, however a fantastic a principle it may be, is generally as strong on their minds, as the jealous care of securing our liberty, is, and ought to be, among us.

But granting that a militia, such as would be essentially serviceable, might be attended with some inconveniences: it may still be asked, is this island in a state of proper defence? If it is, it seems reasonable to think we are best as we are; if it is not, there is one common interest, abstracted from all the low principles of contending parties, which calls on us to rectify this part of our œconomy.

Nations have been undone by indolence; and by their ignorance of the use of arms, as well as for want of courage. If gentlemen of property, mechanics, or men bred to and supported by labour and every honest art of industry, were taught how to defend their own houses against a foreign enemy, if such should dare invade the island, surely they could be no objects of jealousy or fear to the nation. Should we be so lost to all sense of duty to ourselves, as to employ the means of our SECURITY to our OWN DESTRUCTION? Such must every attempt be deemed which is injurious to the present family on the throne, or to the present constitution: but if the interest of the sovereign and his people are the same, that which will

* This notion at present seems to be languid, but must necessarily revive whenever their king becomes popular, unless they change their genius and government.

secure their interest, must establish his also. There is reason enough to think that in the case before us, the crown is as much interested as the people. But it seems to have been the peculiar unhappiness of this nation, to entertain jealousies on this subject, sometimes without reason, and, what is worse, sometimes with reason. It may be hoped for the future no cause will be given for suspicions, which prepare the way for national evils. There have been men, whose conduct no lover of his country can mention without sorrow, men who tired of their own happiness, and regardless of the general good, chose to run the greatest risk of being miserable, out of a wanton desire of change. And are there yet remaining such persons, whose secret inclinations are the cause of obstructing those measures which the wisdom of the government might otherwise think necessary to our present security, or to that of posterity?

The safety of nations, under providence, is their vigilance, and care in providing themselves with that which experience proves to be most essential to their defence, that is, money, and men inured to toil and discipline. The genius of the BRITISH nation is military, yet it seems as if ease and plenty had rendered us in some respects averse to arms, and that we have more occasion for a spur than a bridle. But it is confessed that we make a brave figure in fighting abroad, for our friends, should not we at least LEARN how to fight for ourselves, when much more may be at stake

Many of the officers of our army are not only persons of the first quality, but men of the greatest bravery and sense of honour. There are some of considerable property; and it seems to be an indignity to suppose that the bulk of them do not understand the duty they owe their country, for the advantages they enjoy as members of the community, abstracted from their pay as officers. Our common soldiers also, loose and immoral as they are, possess a certain innate humanity, inseparable from that courage by which they have always distinguished themselves. Is there any fear that such an army can be prostituted to any vile purpose, whilst the land is ruled by a just and worthy prince?

A standing army, such as the revenues of the state can bear, according to the present appearances of things, seems necessary even now in time of peace, not to awe the people, but for the dignity of the crown; to give it a necessary weight, and to provide for war; especially whilst great standing armies are so much in fashion all over EUROPE, and particularly in FRANCE. But with regard to a free and commercial people, there will ever be this material difference between a militia and a standing army; that the one are supposed never to be idle, and the other but seldom employed; consequently the state gets by the former in proportion to their labour, whilst the latter are of no use except upon emergencies^d. The difficulty is, upon what footing to establish a militia so as to remove all occasion of jealousy. If a convenient number was supported in such counties, as the situation, or reasons of state may render most proper, under the command of a lord lieutenant, who might be a nobleman of honour and discretion, and appointed by his majesty's council; such a step might perhaps give the nation a weight, which upon a general view of things it now seems to want.

At the same time if we consider the freedom of this state, and the genius of the people, perhaps the only expedient to animate a peasant to do the duty of a soldier, whenever he is called upon, is, that he be under the command of the gentleman, who is his familiar neighbour, and who engages to share with him in one common labour. This perhaps is the only method to inspire him with just sentiments, and render him obedient to discipline. Those who urge that the officers of the army ought not be admitted into the militia, seem to give greater proof of their jealousy of the crown, than of their love to the people. Might not such officers be extremely serviceable under particular circumstances^e? And were some of these such as have property in their particular counties, might they not be a means of conciliating those interests and tem-

^d In FRANCE soldiers are employed in making roads and other public works, but that does not seem to be practicable in this country.

^e Suppose a general, or lieutenant colonel and adjutant in particular, to discipline and exercise a regiment.

pers which too frequently clash amongst country gentlemen? Nor is there such a difference between scarlet and any other colour, but that a gentleman of the country, and another of the army, might agree perfectly in the same common interest. In short, whether any thing of this kind can CONSISTENTLY be done for us or not; let us keep up a sense of VIRTUOUS LIBERTY, and that I hope will ever render us INVINCIBLE.

Writing to the public, whatever the subject be, implies a desire to propagate an opinion, or to recommend some particular rule of conduct: but in subjects of this nature we are apt to write or read with prejudice, which is certainly not the true way to benefit by either; or, in other words, it cannot be the way to acquire just notions of things, or to render us wiser and better.

To be entirely of neither side in some controverted cases, is perhaps the only way to have a due love and respect for both; or, to speak more clearly, it is the best means of acquiring such a degree of knowledge of the interest of our country as will render us good subjects and good men. If those who ACT ought to be circumspect in their determination, surely others who have not such opportunities of informations, should deliver their opinion with care. Prejudices will ever divide mankind, and support different opinions: the people of a free state have the liberty of declaring their sentiments; nor is there any danger from thence, except from men of fierce and turbulent spirits. Common sense teaches us to compassionate the false judgments which arise from education or interest; but to observe the errors on both sides, and leave reason to judge what is best upon the whole, and what is practicable under particular circumstances, is, I presume, the task of an honest and a wise statesman. The same rule is necessary in judging of these matters as spectators only. The passions being thus restrained, and the judgment left to its natural freedom, we shall require nothing more than goodness of heart to become a nation of philosophers and patriots.

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